This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

3 3433 08175519 5

Digitized by Google

MICROFILMED

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

Christian Remembrancer:

A

MONTHLY MAGAZINE

AND

REVIEW.

VOL. V.

JANUARY—JUNE.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LIBRARY NEW-YORK

LONDON:
JAMES BURNS, 17, PORTMAN STREET,
PORTMAN SQUARE.

1843.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JANUARY, 1843.

The Unity of the Church. By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, M.A., *Archdeacon of Chichester.* 8vo. Murray: 1842. Pp. 373.

Die Einheit in der Kirche. Von JOHANN ADAM MÖHLER. Tubingen, 1825. Pp. 363.

WE have to thank Archdeacon Manning for a profound and interesting treatise on the most stirring subject which at present exercises the minds of theologians—*the Unity of the Church.* The importance of this subject is as great as its ramifications are extended. Regard merely the historical phenomenon, as admitted by those who depreciate, as well as by those who love, the institutions of the apostles,—and what is there more wonderful in the history of mankind? See how fluctuating has been the destiny of Europe; how often its most durable features have been effaced, by the stern assay of conquest, or the gradual corrosions of time; and how imperishable must be that one only institution which forms the connecting link between its ancient and modern destiny! And this single enduring thread in the shifting tissue of modern policies, which alone reaches back to the era when Christendom had not begun to be, is the selfsame which gives shape and consistency to the earlier part of the history of mankind. For how unmeaning are the first acts of the great drama of Time, unless interpreted by their reference to that Church of Christ which formed their consummation! How essential is it to look forwards to the fortunes of the 5th empire, if we would see unity and design in the four which preceded it! How partial and limited that view of things which does not discern how God's purposes were the providential effect of men's efforts!

All this must strike even the worldly philosopher, if he delights to trace the devious stream of contingencies. It were as impossible for Guizot or Gibbon to avoid mentioning the Church, as for Cooke to visit the Antipodes without venturing to sea. Indeed, we may describe this grand exemplification of God's providence in the words which one of our writers (an orator, to borrow Quintilian's expression, rather than a poet) has used of that wonderful part of the material cre-

Digitized by Google

ation. To the discerning mind, even the casual expressions used respecting the one admit of a singular adaptation to the other.

> "Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form
> Glasses itself in tempests, in all time
> Calm or convulsed, in *breeze, or gale, or storm,*—
> Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime
> Dark heaving,—boundless, endless, and sublime,—
> The image of eternity,—the throne
> Of the Invisible; *even from out thy slime*
> *The monsters of the deep are made;* each zone
> Obeys thee; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless, alone.
>
> Thy shores are empires, changed in all save thee:—
> Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, what are they?
> ————Their shores obey
> The stranger, slave, or savage; their decay
> Has dried up realms to deserts. Not so thou:
> Time writes no wrinkle on thine azure brow;—
> As thy creation's dawn beheld, thou rollest now."

But not only is the Church's unity striking as a fact; it responds also to a want in man's nature, which admits of no other satisfaction. Nothing is more perplexing to thoughtful minds than the *multifariousness* of life. Take the phenomena of society, its pleasures and wants, its schemes and policies, the private tastes and occupations of individuals, the public necessities of cities and of states, and how bewildering is it to elicit order from such a tangled mass of motives and actions! How hard is it for the "strong swimmer," who, amidst such confusion, would hold any onward course, either in business or speculation. To minister to the good of men, when the best attempts are so often defeated; to initiate any lasting scheme, when so many prove abortive—how vain such efforts of mortal penetration! How cheering at such a season to see a vista open, like that which is presented in so many of our glorious cathedrals, where, line after line, and moulding upon moulding, all harmonize themselves into a majestic agreement, of which some lofty arch, pointing heavenwward, in the extreme distance, is the termination! Now, such a contentment does the thoughtful observer derive, when he sees the purpose and harmony of the divine dealings in the over-ruled adaptation of the works of men in God's earthly kingdom of THE CHURCH.

The religious literature of the present period shows that this subject, interesting as it must always be, has of late received peculiar attention. We cannot be at a loss to divine the reason. The events which in our day have shaken Europe have put a stop to a state of things, which it was not possible to contemplate with satisfaction. When the religious convulsions of the 16th and 17th centuries had worked themselves to rest, a singular inaction overspread the public mind of Christendom. Its several nations, according to their character and circumstances, settled themselves down to the enjoyments of life, as though its graver works were completed. France was gazing at the starched magnificence of Louis the Fourteenth, till the

Digitized by Google

stately puppet-show found its appropriate afterpiece in the profligacy of the regency. Germany was drilling, and playing at soldiers; Spain and England were busy in cementing their colonial empires,—a fallacious attempt, because the first, unhappily, taught no morals, the second no religion, to its subjects. The princes of Italy were amusing themselves, like children at a fair, with whirligigs and spectacles. All Christendom was like a band of voyagers, who, disembarking on a tropical island during the fine season, pitch their tents among the thick trees of the forest, and enjoy the clear sky and balmy atmosphere. At length a sudden thundercloud indicates the approach of the season of storms. In a few hours the heaven is black with wind and rain; the tall palms are bent and stripped by the blast; and they discover that some more substantial covering is needed; and that mirth and joyousness is not the sole business of life.

Such a change as this have men's spirits undergone! A century ago, and they thought that the existing forms of European society had assumed a permanent shape.

> "Prostrati gramine molli,
> Propter aquæ rivum, sub ramis arboris altæ
> Non magnis opibus jucunde corpora curant."

But the revolution in France was the first note of the thunderstorm. Since that time the thrones of Europe have been shaken, and its most durable institutions carried away. Nor does the rainy season appear to be past; cloud gathers upon cloud, and to-day's thunderstorm is only the precursor of to-morrow's explosion. Now, all this has infused an increased seriousness into the minds of men. They look around for some new principle which shall give order and harmony to the elements of the moral world. Not in our own land only, but on the continent of Europe, the Church has everywhere been hailed as the seed of social regeneration. To this circumstance we attribute the unprecedented success of those who have been labouring for the last ten years to recal the national mind of England to the fact, that Christ's kingdom is set up among us. Whatever may be their errors, it is idle to deny that they are, in fact, contending for this mighty truth. Indeed, we need no further proof of it than the recent Charge of the Bishop of London. Hostile as are many of its expressions to the persons in question, it is yet regarded both by friends and foes as a decided sentence in their favour. Yet what is there in it, which can be so interpreted, except that it deals a fatal stroke to the principle of religious infidelity? Would the wrath of a certain semi-presbyterian newspaper have been so vehemently called forth, had it not felt that the real question of the day respected the existence of Christ's kingdom, and that the Bishop would not be found, as was hoped, in the line of Judas, but among the faithful successors of the Apostles?

But we must come closer to our subject. The search after some new principle of harmony and order has led men back to the only true and real bond of concord—the kingdom of Christ. And to this

Digitized by Google

circumstance we refer it that an article of the Creed, which for many years has been peculiarly lost sight of, has formed the first subject of the theological labours of two distinguished men, who (in many respects widely divided) have been alike penetrated by the importance of the great truth—"I believe in *one* Catholic and Apostolic Church." We call this the first theological work of Archdeacon Manning, for, though favourably known before to the public, this is the first matured produce of his pen. The same may be said of the remarkable work of Professor Möhler—a work which, with great general agreement with that of the Archdeacon, affords, at the same time, such interesting contrasts as are commonly seen when learned and able men have written, as in this case we conceive to be the fact, without reference to one another's labours.

Archdeacon Manning is too well known to make it necessary to speak of him in this place; his practical services, no less than his well-timed occasional works, have for some time marked him out as a man whom the Church needs in her highest offices, and who cannot be allowed to rest even in the honourable post which he at present adorns. But we must say something of the German author, whose celebrity in his own land is still as great, (his early death, absit omen, may have increased it,) as the Archdeacon's among ourselves.

John Adam Möhler was born in Wirtemberg in the year 1796. Though brought up amidst the din of arms, yet the general peace, which coincided with his admission to the theological class at the Lyceum at Ellwangen, in Swabia, left him at large to follow what appears to have been the natural bent of his mind. The same studies he afterwards continued at the University of Tubingen. After a year spent in pastoral duties, he returned, in 1822, to an university life, and was already a licensed teacher of theology (Privatdocent) at Tubingen, when he published his first work, in 1825, on the Unity of the Church. This was followed two years later by a larger book, on "Athanasius and the Church of his time, in contrast with Arianism;" and in 1832 appeared his most celebrated work, which it were mere mockery to tell the English reader was entitled "Symbolik," could we not also help him to a more detailed title—"A statement of the doctrinal contrasts between Catholics and Protestants according to their public confessions of faith."

Of the latter books we shall only say, that they have contributed to that rapid revival of the Church in southern Germany, which we wish were as pure from the vices of Romish innovation, as from those of Protestant rationalism,—a revival to which Möhler's personal labours till his untimely death, in 1838, and his various smaller essays, considerably contributed. Our present object is with the first of his publications. That its general principles accord greatly with those of Archdeacon Manning, we have already said. The merits, too, of the writers are in many respects the same. If Möhler excels less than our countryman in force of language, yet both are equally remarkable for that peculiar clearness and subtlety with which

Digitized by Google

they convey thoughts the most abstruse, and complex,—as well as for that extensive learning, which they have consecrated to the service of God. The contrast between them arises mainly, we suspect, from the audiences which they address.

When Möhler entered upon his work in Germany, he found the neological party in full possession of that ground, which, among ourselves, they are only labouring to occupy. The weakness of man's nature, the necessity of God's grace, the impossibility of understanding rightly the teaching of Scripture except through that blessed Spirit from whom it proceeded,—these are points which the laxer party among ourselves profess to believe, and which their more shrewd, but less excusable, leaders have not yet ventured to tell them, are inseparably connected with the (to them unpalatable) doctrines of the Church. In this respect their German brethren are considerably in advance. The low-Church party in Germany not only practically disbelieves, but openly scoffs at, whatever passes the limits of man's observation. The doctrine of divine grace, which, wherever the sacramental mysteries are disbelieved, is only a name, has ceased even to be a name with the rationalistic body. From this amount of error our countrymen are withheld by a happy inconsistency. Yet that they are following their more systematic precursors, is too apparent. Let us take an instance from the publications of the day.

The Bishop of London, when setting forth those doctrines, which the clergy have sworn to advocate, has been attacked in an Episcopo-Presbyterian journal, to which we have alluded, for asserting that, since "Baptismal Regeneration is the doctrine of the Church" of England, "to say that it is unscriptural is beside the purpose." "What!" says the opponent, in amazement, "does not doctrine depend only upon Scripture; and if so, must we not first elicit for ourselves the scriptural truth, and then understand the Church's dictum accordingly?" Now, it is curious to observe that this is the very cardinal position of neology. The neologists of Germany were long held in check by the stern authority of the Reformers. At length they discovered the truth, which has just been promulgated among the articles of Fleet-street, (November 9, 1842,) that formularies of faith were only to be so adopted as to accord with the paramount authority of the word of God. The text seems harmless enough, but look at the historical comment. See Paulus denying the divinity, and Strauss the very existence, of the Son of God. Such seems to them that mode of interpreting the acknowledged formularies of the German Church, which is consistent with their view of Scripture. Do we complain of these men's errors? "Alas, there must needs be heresies among you." What we censure is, that men who advocate such falsehoods should continue to be members and instructors of what calls itself a Christian society, and that, according to the admitted principles of that society—it should be impossible to reject them. Where is the fiery zeal of Luther? What has become

Digitized by Google

of the practised acumen of Melancthon? Yet once admit the crowning falsehood, which the English Calvinists are labouring to establish, and what answer could they give to their modern disciples? The articles of faith, it is maintained, are to be interpreted according to each man's view of Holy Scripture. There is no single, safe, satisfactory rule, by which the truth has been once ascertained, and in which men can abide finally. The doctors of Fleet-street decide that every passer-by is to settle the truth for himself, and as many theories are to prevail as there are judges.

The doctrine of the Church of England, on the other hand, has ever been, that the one original deposit of truth has been embodied in the Church's creeds and formularies, and that by them the humble mind will be guided in interpreting the word of God. The true divine sense, the real spiritual interpretation, is that which holy men were wont to receive, and which the Apostles intended to convey to them. To set up our own judgment against this is, in truth, to set up our spirit against the Spirit of God. It is to listen to man's word rather than to the divine word of truth. And though there have not been wanting those who, either from ignorance or heresy, have inculcated a contrary lesson, and who have told the clergy that the dictionary was their real help,—as though the object were the language, not the truths of revelation, as though the kernel were to be thrown away and the shell to be digested,—yet the system in question has never found full favour among us. Even those who advocate it *talk* of God's grace. That spiritual help is needful for the understanding of His holy word is *professed* even by those who do not take the right means of seeking it.

This, then, is the difference under which the question of the Unity of the Church is regarded by a German and by an English writer. The former is compelled to begin higher—to prove that the facts of Scripture cannot be comprehended except by divine aid—things which our countrymen in words admit, and which with us, therefore, may be taken for granted. The points which an English instructor must enforce are, that through the outward ordinances of Christ's Church His graces are appointed to flow forth upon mankind; he must show the moral ends of such a provision, its happy effect upon the hearts and tempers of mankind. Möhler, therefore, enters more upon the principles of grace, Manning more upon their application. The former is more mystical, the latter more moral in his reasoning. Perhaps, too, there is something in the inward character of the two nations which makes the mysterious fullness of the one satisfactory to the German, and the pregnant eloquence of the other to the English mind. Möhler has well sketched such a contrast as exhibited in the natural character even of two of our Lord's Apostles:

"Even among the Apostles diversities of natural character might be seen to appear. In St. Paul there predominated, as has often been remarked, the speculative and logical character, and against Jews and Hea-

Digitized by Google

thens, and against Christians of a Jewish or Heathen cast, did he bring to bear the efficacy of his own spiritual organization. St. John's characteristic on the other hand, was depth and power. In St. Ignatius, again, we meet the inward life and mysterious sublimity of the beloved disciple, while the character of the Apostle of the Gentiles is reflected by St. Clement, of Rome. Ignatius, however, stands more near to his master, St. John, than Clement to St. Paul; for depth of character being more closely allied than the speculative disposition to the Christian temper, can come more near to the model it pursues. The same may be said of Irenæus, who sprung from the school of St. John and of Justin; Irenæus, whose whole soul was penetrated by the principles of faith, had a deeper insight into the Christian system thon the philosophic Justin."—pp. 131, 132.

This may suffice as a specimen of the richness of our German author. We turn to Archdeacon Manning, of whose work we must give a more exact account, illustrating it by occasional references to the foreign writer.

It consists of three several parts,—historical—moral—practical. He finds the Church in existence, and in his first part asks how the opinion of its unity has arisen, and whence it is derived. The answer is, that the opinion is conveyed to us through the words of a creed, which was acknowledged to be true among our Lord's first followers, and that it is asserted in those Scriptures which were given by the Holy Ghost. In the second part he shows the moral objects of the Church's unity, and in the third part applies the subject to the present state of Christendom.

The work begins with the assertion of the Church's unity in the creed. We are glad to see this course adopted, for it is of the utmost moment that the minds of our clergy should be impressed with the truth, that the *credenda*, the *fundamentals* of belief, are the doctrines of the creed. This is the Church view, as opposed to the Socinian, or Rationalistic notion, that no truths are *fundamental* unless we can by argument demonstrate their importance. Archdeacon Manning has pointed out the danger of this error in an appropriate instance. No mistake is more common with careless men than to compare the *order* of the Church to a scaffolding, its *doctrines* to the building underneath, and then, arguing from this metaphor, to call the first "*non-essential.*" Thus do men take an arbitrary example from the things of this world, and think it a sufficient measure for judging the works of Him who maketh all. Surely if they must limit God by the accidents of humanity, it were safer to take an instance from those laws of society which were intended at least to be a reflex of the eternal will. Let them fancy some one who made it an excuse for violating a law of the land that he had always felt the statute in question to be a "*non-essential.*" Suppose him to enlarge on his love of our Sovereign as a reason why the common-place duty of obedience to her laws was disregarded. The duty, it might be, was one, of which the obvious intention was to encourage loyalty—the not executing justice, perhaps, except in the queen's name, and by her authority—and for himself, our objector

Digitized by Google

would declare he was so filled with a loyal spirit, that he could not bear the restraint of these outward demonstrations. We should like to see such a plea as this adduced before some of the shrewd and business-like chiefs of our law. We can fancy the calm astonishment of Rolfe, the keen irony of Maule, and the bursting indignation of Lord Denman. But how strange is it that men will hazard their eternal interests on grounds on which they would not risk a shop or a farm! Surely the text was not written in vain,—"Be not deceived, God is not mocked."

But we must hear our author's declaration, that among the positive institutions of Christ we may not venture to admit some as important, and discard others as "non-essential;" and that to separate discipline from doctrine, as that which is not entitled to the same kind of regard, is a delusive dream of modern tradition.

"It is a common axiom, that discipline may be changed, but doctrine never; and this is true so long as by discipline is understood only the detailed orders and rules of administration, which the apostolical authority may develop out of itself, such as the penitential code, and the like. But when taken to include what are commonly, but most unmeaningly, called forms of Church government, it is absolutely untrue. Throughout this work I have endeavoured to prove that the organic policy of the Church is a divine institution,—positive, indeed, in its nature, but moral in its design; that it is not subject to man, but man to it; that he may not mould it, forasmuch as it is ordained to remould his very being, that it is therefore absolutely and universally binding and immutable. There is no reason which will clear a man for rejecting the apostolical succession, which will not also acquit him for rejecting baptism. There is no reason to establish the right of men, without succession from the Apostles, to administer the Holy Eucharist, which will not justify the taking away of the cup. The positive institutions of Christ, being moral as a continuous probation, and mystical in their complex effect, are binding in all their parts. To touch them in one point is to mutilate them in all. It is a usurpation of the will of man upon the will of Christ, and a subjecting of the mould to the nature which it is ordained to shape."—pp. 324, 325.

In accordance with these principles, the Archdeacon begins by showing the unity of the Church to be an article of the creed; he gives, i. e. the best proof that it is a fundamental doctrine, in that it was so regarded by the hearers of the apostles.

Then comes the interpretation of this general statement; What is meant by the unity of the Church? The fact itself, our author observes, is commonly admitted.

"In teaching that there is only one church of Christ, all Christians agree, the only controversy being wherein that one church consists."—p. 29.

In answering this question he follows the usual method; he is guided by concurrent testimony, and advances along it to that scriptural warrant on which his proof depends.

This is exactly the course adopted by that which calls itself the religious world. A person who is brought up in its ranks is taught from his infancy to believe in the existence of a great society which he

Digitized by Google

sometimes hears called the Church, but more commonly the body of *religious people*, or *true Christians*. He is instructed to believe that it has a double aspect, one visible only to Him who discerns the heart, the other apparent to himself and other mortals. Viewed on the former side, its limitations are, of course, spiritual and unseen; viewed on the latter side, he perceives that the point most insisted on in the present day is, that its boundaries are *not* those sacraments which are instituted by our Lord, or that common worship which was established by the apostles. If he asks what its visible boundaries *are*, the answer would be more difficult, though perhaps he would not be far wrong if he defined this body to consist of those who regard Exeter Hall as their cathedral, the platform as their altar, Mr. ——'s "hymns from all sources" as their book of Common Prayer, the May meetings as their Easter festival, the Record newspaper as their inspired writings, and as their "note and comment," the publications of the Religious Tract Society. We are far, observe, from asserting that the use of these means is believed in the religious world to prove the reality of a man's piety; to say so would be as unfair as to insinuate that those who take contrary ground consider all men safe who are baptized and communicate; but what we do assert and could easily establish, is that the same notion of being *boundaries* which is attached on one side to the grace-conveying sacraments of the Church is ascribed on the other to those outward conformities.

Such, then, being the notion in which a man is taught, he is led in proof of it to the word of God. A similar course is followed by Archdeacon Manning. But in place of the tradition of the present day, he gives us that interpretation of the creed which was received by the first followers of the apostles. This he gives not as proof, but merely as a fact, designed to lead men to the authority of Scripture.

"I shall confine myself," he says, "to inquiring in what sense this article was expounded in the earliest times. Whether such expositions be right or wrong, will be a matter for discussion hereafter."—p. 30.

Let it be borne in mind, then, that this is the use made by churchmen of antiquity. They are justly jealous of the opinions of their contemporaries, knowing how apt are popular opinions to obscure the light of Scripture. They know how many a young man preaches the last leading articles of the Record newspaper, when he means to preach the Gospel of God, and in truth quotes Scott, when he supposes himself to quote St. Paul. There is less danger, doubtless, of being misled by those whose thoughts and language are cast in a mould less congenial to our own, and thus it is that churchmen approach the subject discussed in our author's third chapter—"the Unity of the Church as taught in Holy Scripture,"—with so great an advantage over the *traditionists* of the religious world. Indeed, we know of no more startling proof of the great power of tradition than the common inattention to those distinct statements of this momen-

Digitized by Google

tous truth, which our author has collected from the word of God. The usual answer to such statements by men who are unwilling to attend to them is, that they know all this, but cannot think it of importance. How differs this from the manner in which Jews and Romanists have subordinated the word of God to their traditions?

But our limits prevent us from entering as we would on this part of our author's labours, or from noticing what seems to us his somewhat questionable remarks on St. Paul's use of the word "Bishops," p. 128. He scarcely gives due weight, we think, to the gradual manner in which the Church system was elicited from the shell of Judaism. Whenever the apostles themselves may have discerned the perpetual nature of the kingdom which they had established, they did not unfold it to their disciples till the gradual decay of the old system revealed the indestructible features of the new. Thorndike, in his "Rights of a Christian Church," has given some interesting instances, in which the minor institutions of Judaism gave a direction to the policy of the Apostles. And it was not till the temple service fell with its ancient dwelling-place, that the full nature and final appointment of the Christian priesthood could be fully revealed.

But we quit this subject, and omit three very interesting pages (158—160,) which we had marked for insertion, and which contain a statement wherein unity consists, in order to pass to the second, and, in our opinion, the ablest part of this treatise—the moral purposes of the unity of the Church. On this the Archdeacon dwells at length. He shows, that as the world bears marks of design, so much more does the Church. The latter bespeaks its author's character and power as forcibly as the former. The same impress of unity, therefore, which marks the physical, is still more manifest in the moral world. And thus is the Church constituted to keep up the knowledge of its *one* Author, and to restore His single image in place of the multiform idols of human depravity. Here it is that the contrast between the German writer and our countryman is most apparent. While Möhler treats chiefly of the mystic communication of supernatural gifts, Archdeacon Manning delights to set before us, in such passages as the following, how the unity of the Church is an object for the faith, and a probation for the will, of man:—

"To become a Christian in the beginning of the gospel was a conscious act of the individual choice and will. And so it is still in the conversion of adults. But as these are the rare and outlying exceptions, the whole body of Christendom is by an act of God made Christian without any conscious act of choice. Generation after generation grows up among the objects of faith, and as the energies of the reason and the heart unfold, every several reality of faith, unless slighted, becomes a direct probation of the will. The unity of the Church is an article of the baptismal creed, and an object of faith as truly and fully as the article of the Incarnation, or Resurrection of Christ. These articles are by perfect Christians consciously accepted, one by one, until the whole is incorporated in the moral nature. Oftentimes they are held implicitly; sometimes they are in part secretly rejected; sometimes they may be reduced to the smallest remainder which

Digitized by Google

will consist with a continued profession of Christianity; sometimes they are so faintly held as rather to be not denied than believed. And yet we shall find all these several classes of persons living, more or less, a seemingly Christian life. They fulfil the obligations of personal and economical morality; they observe the rights of political justice; they are blameless sons, fathers, citizens; they mix in the communion of the Church, and partake of her ministrations, but their outward life is rather a coincidence with her moral scheme, than a consequence of her spiritual grace. Now such men, looking around them, and seeing in other communities all they are conscious of in themselves, having no aspiration, no sympathy, no weakness which might not be satisfied as well without as within the Church, cannot but regard the Church as only one of many like communities,—perhaps the oldest,—it may be the best; the most conformable to society as a whole, and the most helpful to the offices of civil government, and yet, after all, only one of a number all equally wanting in direct authority from God. The unity of the Church is the matter of their probation. They neither believe it as a mystery, nor yearn after it as the stay of their soul. It is the same habit which makes other men deliberately reject, or indolently slight, the Sacraments of Christ; they neither believe in their mysterious power, nor feel their own need of the proffered grace. The unity of the Church may be viewed as the one all-comprehending Sacrament of the Person of Christ, from the side of which holy baptism and the holy Eucharist flow forth as the water and the blood. All these doctrines, then, are objects of faith; and by propounding them to the world, the faith of man is put on trial before God."—pp. 263, 264.

"There is also in the order of the church a probation of our intellectual nature, for the right conduct of which we are responsible. The tendency of all men is to put subjective opinion in the place of objective truth. This is directly encountered by the delivery of a dogmatic faith embodied in creeds and Catholic traditions; and the probation of the moral reason is brought to a point by the subjection of men as learners to an order of men who are divinely commissioned to teach. Against this ordinance of Christ the whole throng of indocile, self-trusting, irreverent, contemptuous dispositions of the heart rise in rebellion. And so it was foreseen; and for the mortification and rooting out of these tempers this very ordinance was designed; and their revolt manifests His wisdom who ordained it as a test to detect, and a curb to check them. The whole lineage of heresies, and the whole history of schism, is but a continuous attestation that the pastoral office is the institution of Him who knew what was in man. The idea of humbly learning God's truth, and of passively receiving sacramental mysteries from the hands of a man like ourselves, of submitting to counsel, reproof, rebuke, correction, at the judgment of a fellow-sinner, is a test and probation of our moral habit, which, by its searching and salutary virtue, attests itself to be of God. In this way, then, the objective unity of the Church tries man in the two points of moral duty least akin to his fallen nature—forbearance and submission."—p. 238.

This is a subject, on which it were easy to enlarge. It is the basis of the whole controversy. The rejection of any part of God's truth is occasioned by the perversity of man's will; and the great perverter of this will is pride. We speak it not in harshness, but in love, not with anger but with grief, that a conceited opinion of themselves is at the bottom of that antipathy which is felt by many who believe themselves religious persons, to the ordinances of the Church. It is a matter of serious regret to see amiable, well-meaning persons spend their life in continual dissensions with another on points of faith, while that greatest blessing of humility is hid from

Digitized by Google

their eyes. Would that they could see themselves in the strangely unchristian attitude which they exhibit to others! Their feeling is that of children who, left for a time without the guardianship of their elders, are pleased to be independent, and responsible only to a future account. The great truth, therefore, of our Lord's real presence in the ordinances of His Church, that He it is who is to be discerned in his ministers, and that their acts are only the expressions of His presence here,—this is unpalatable, because it robs them of their consequence as insulated followers of an absent Lord. This is the reason, apparently, why what calls itself the religious world is especially wanting in a belief of two doctrines, to which it supposes itself peculiarly awake—our Lord's presence, and the gifts of His grace. These, therefore, are in reality the two notes of what is called, either in praise or blame, (for ourselves, we hate all sectional epithets,) the High Church party—a constant remembrance of Christ's presence—a faithful discernment of the doctrines of grace.

But we return to our author. His third part consists of an application of his system to the existing condition of Christendom. His expressions in respect to dissenters are serious, yet indulgent. He is ready to recognise the imperishable features of God's grace, under whatever aspect he can discern them :—

"Whenever we see forms of Christian obedience among those who have lost the doctrine and discipline of the Church, they are so many moral miracles; they are revelations in fact, which are therefore no way contrary to God's revelation in word. He has promised to sanctify man through His Church. He has not declared that He will sanctify none in other ways."—p. 310.

"We who see men under the energy of God's Spirit without His Sacraments, may well hope that they shall partake of salvation without His Church."—p. 311.

As introductory to this view of things, he speaks of

"The spiritual penury to which 'such persons' were born, the moral destitution of their Father's home, no witness for truth, no sacraments of grace, no gentle suasion, and moulding pressure of a spiritual discipline." —p. 309.

With no less calmness does the Archdeacon review our situation on the side of Romanism. He has evidently no doubts as to the completeness of what Bramhall calls the "just vindication of the Church of England:"—

"The same causes which divided the eastern from the western churches, divided also the western church itself. It would seem as if the same causes of provocation, when they were baffled by the Greeks, fell with a more intolerable weight upon the west of Europe."—p. 361.

"The churches of the east are not schismatical for their rejection of this usurpation, neither are the churches of Britain. But *they* are guilty of the schism that obtrude this novelty as the condition of Christian communion. Nor again would the British churches be open to the lightest imputation of schism, if they were, with the usurped pontificate, to remove also the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. For the patriarchal autho-

Digitized by Google

rity is itself founded on the very canons to which the pontiff refuses to submit. The defect of his canonical privileges is with himself. He will not exercise them as they are intrusted to him; and the canons command obedience on no other condition."—p. 364.

With all this we heartily concur. We agree that it is sufficient for any man to be in communion with his own bishop, that—

"His own pastor, and the altar where he communicates in the Eucharistic sacrifice, is the test and the centre of all duties and obligations of love and loyalty."—p. 368.

We think that as much as this might readily be demonstrated from the confessions of Möhler himself, had we time to pursue the subject. But, while asserting this, we must take occasion to observe, what we infer from the concluding sentence of his work that Archdeacon Manning would be the last to deny, that, if we can be cleared from the guilt of division, we must not expect to escape from its disadvantages. This is a point on which many members of the English Church are singularly insensible. That Christendom no longer presents the glorious spectacle of one united family, pouring forth in unison the consentient prayer,—that we have lost the grand tie of brotherhood among discordant nations, and can no longer find kindred and harmony among every people upon earth,—that the service of the Church below responds so imperfectly to the jubilant acclamation of the Church triumphant—this spectacle, so overwhelming to the devout mind, affects them with no consternation. In the true spirit of Judaism, they feel a pride in being dissevered from the other nations of the earth. But however justifiable, is not this division a lamentable event? If a man had lost a limb in successful defence against robbers, however thankful for his escape, would he take pride in his mutilation? And should this dismemberment of the Lord's body, which defeats his very last affecting prayer, be regarded save with tears?

Indeed, however we may justify our fathers for those acts which were dictated by necessity, the feelings and expressions of many in the present day can hardly be cleared of the guilt of schism. It seems truly laid down by Aristotle, that crimes committed through blameless, involuntary ignorance, are not excusable unless, when known, they are regretted. The same rule seems applicable to acts of necessary self-defence. To separate from Rome was necessary, it may be urged, for our fathers, because they could not remain in communion with her without sinful compliances. (We waive what may fairly be urged, that Rome separated from them, not they from her.) The same separation is in like manner imperative upon ourselves, while sinful terms of communion are exacted. But if we separate, not from compulsion but from choice, if we regard division not as an evil but a blessing, if we will not allow that we lose anything by the mutilation of the Christian body, we forfeit the very principle on which our division is justified, and that which would otherwise be an excusable evil, becomes a voluntary sin.

Digitized by Google

It is surely in this manner that much of that spirit of schism has been engendered, which has since turned its venom against ourselves. We should not see such disgraceful love of division, as is at this moment exhibited by certain episcopalian dissenters in Edinburgh, nor that fatal disregard of unity which is covering our land with conventicles, and destroying the social safety and moral life of our colonies, if the principle of unity were duly prized, and the evils of its loss conscientiously acknowledged.

And if we look higher, and, from its baneful effect upon the lowest, trace its influence upon the most exalted order of the Church, we shall see, in like manner, that an indifference to this great truth of the development among us of Christ's kingdom, as one glorious whole, is paralyzing the very vitals of our state. For hence it is that those who bear rule among us are so slow in assisting their real dignity and most efficient prerogative. The best thing that remains to us, the only method whereby each individual may still realize his hold on the unity of the Church, is, to retain connexion with that successor of the Apostles, under whose spiritual guardianship he is individually placed. Thus may each man carry back his thoughts along the chain of succession, till he feels himself linked to that early age, when the whole Christian body retained its unity, and its strength.

But how shall our people feel thus, unless the successors of the Apostles stand forth in their true character as possessors of a mysterious gift,—as the centres of moral unity to mankind? By their means must the discordance of various minds be harmonized, and separate spirits be made sensible, that, by one common centre, they are truly at one among themselves. Shall this be attained by their appearance at certain triennial intervals, like the vagarious wanderers of the sky, or by the continual light and warmth of their presence? The people of England assuredly will never believe the rule—Ecclesia est in Episcopo,—they will never understand the meaning of that unity of which every Bishop should be a central point,—till they see this order resident continually among them, and discharging its superior duties with the same permanent attention as the inferior priesthood of the land. While confirmation is practically impeded, because the senate occupies the most seasonable portion of the year,—while the consecration of churches is continually deferred, or still worse, dispensed with for a season,—while the Bishop is seldom seen, ministering the public service at the head of his clergy,—it were idle to hope that the moral and mysterious nature of his office, and therefore, that the true principles of unity, can be comprehended in our land.

To accuse, indeed, our present rulers of inactivity, were no less absurd than unjust. No men toil more assiduously than they. But twenty-four bishops were not found too many in the days of Elizabeth, and are they enough, therefore, since our people have increased tenfold? At the present moment, also, two of our bishops are suffering from incurable mental incapacity (the effect of age or sick-

Digitized by Google

ness), and several others are very far advanced into the vale of years. If we impute blame, therefore, it is to the Church at large, which does not call for some adaptation of our system to the moral exigencies of the times. But for the want of some legislative power in the Church of England, we should not surely suffer helplessly under an evil which all considerate men deplore. Why do we not call with one voice upon our leaders to remove that obstacle by which the unfriendly spirit of the last century prevented the Church of England from giving utterance to her collective will? Why do we not implore our present rulers to exercise that power which they already possess; and by calling a body of suffragan bishops into existence to give stability and life to our moral power? Without this we may grow in bulk,—new churches and ministers may everywhere be planted,—but unless the heart beat with a more generous impulse, our torpid limbs will never compass any vigorous and united efforts in the cause of Christ.

Fourier and his System. By MADAME GATTI DE GAMOND. *Translated by* C. T. WOOD, Junior, *Esq.* London. 1842.

Théorie des Quatre Mouvemens et des Destinées générales. Par C. FOURIER. 1808.

Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire. C. FOURIER. 1829.

The London Phalanx Magazine. Published Monthly. London. 1841-2.

The Biography of Charles Fourier, with a brief Sketch of his Theory of Attractive Industry. By HUGH DOHERTY, *Esq.* London. 1841.

Christian Sympathy; a Sermon, preached at Horbling, Lincolnshire, on behalf of the Distrest Manufacturers; with an Appendix, containing a Sketch of the Industrial System of Fourier. By E. R. LARKIN, M.A., *Curate of Horbling.* London. 1842.

WITH Monsieur Fourier, and his male and female followers and annotators in France and America, we should most probably have never meddled, had this new movement in the social and political world been confined to those two countries, by nature and prescription the abiding places of panto-logical crotchets and vagaries. In France, the land of its birth, persons have been found not only to believe in the theory, but to attempt to reduce it into practice. Near Citeaux, there is the first Phalansterian colony in the world. In America, all at present is periodical talk: the Democratic Review, the Boston Quarterly, the Dial, and some few other publications, have called the attention of the public to the scheme of attractive industry. And now the attempt is being made in this country to bring the theory into favour with our half-starved manufacturing population: books are being sold and circulated at a very cheap rate;

Digitized by Google

publications, of many closely printed pages, that of Madame de Gamond, one hundred pages, for a shilling, or even less; a Monthly Magazine advocates its adoption; and, at last, one priest of the Church has been pressed into the service of the Phalansterians, and has taken the opportunity of the late distress to propose the system of Fourier as a remedy for our social evils. We think we have now given sufficient reasons for at once gratifying our own and our friends' curiosity with a peep into this wondrous remedy for "every ill that society is heir to;" whilst at the same time we perform the duty we owe to society in laying bare the scheme which many well-intentioned and many more evil-intentioned persons are striving, heart and hand, to render popular, especially among the lower classes of our countrymen. We will first speak of the wondrous philosopher himself, who professes to have at last discovered the true and natural principles upon which societies should be based to secure peace, plenty, and happiness to mankind.

Charles Fourier, the younger son of a woollen-draper at Besançon, in Franche-Comté, was born in April, 1772. From his earliest infancy he seems to have been very obstinate, or, as his biographer states it, "manifested an indomitable tenacity of opinion when he believed himself right, notwithstanding the opposition he might meet with on the part of prejudiced authority." His sisters merely said he was very obstinate: according to the antagonistic principle, he imbibed a hatred of falsehood from having been well thrashed for telling a customer the truth, instead of the white lie his father had concocted. As a boy, he seems to have been considered the prodigy of Besançon, and to have deserved the title from his studiousness and general quickness of apprehension. After leaving school, Fourier entered as a clerk in a commercial house at Lyons, and after a few years at the desk, was promoted to the situation of traveller, a place in those days of higher standing than a bagman's of the present time. For some years he seems to have travelled in this capacity through Germany, Holland, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and France, and to have acquired an extensive but very superficial kind of knowledge. The nature of his mind is shewn in the following extract from his biography:—

"He studied almost every branch of science, so as to acquire, at least, a general knowledge of each, and their relative degrees of importance in a universal point of view. The mathematical, musical, chemical, and natural sciences were those which he cultivated most: the metaphysical, political, moral, and economical sciences he mistrusted as soon as he found their doctrines were based on arbitrary and uncertain principles. He discarded every thing which was not rigorously derived from the laws of nature, deeming it absolute loss of time to study arbitrary rules, even where they are more or less indispensable, as in languages; he paid little or no attention to rules of grammar and logical sophistry. He had a correct knowledge of Latin, but he gave himself no trouble to learn modern languages; he neglected even to acquire a critical knowledge of his native idiom, the French. This neglect of languages, was caused more by a positive knowledge of their imperfections, than by a natural distaste for the acquisition of words; one of his earliest discoveries revealed to him the natural scale of

Digitized by Google

variety in the sounds of the human voice, and, as the most simple sounds were forty-eight in number, he saw the confusion which must necessarily arise, from the fragmentary attempts to represent a compound multiplicity of these distinct sounds, by means of twenty or thirty simple letters. Having also discovered the natural laws by which names should be given to things, he was aware of the inconveniences which must arise from an arbitrary system of forming words: that different persons would attach different meanings to the same word, appeared to him a natural consequence of the arbitrary formation of languages; and, as it is impossible for one man, or one generation, to remedy evils of this nature, he contented himself by indicating the natural process of reform, when society should be sufficiently advanced to think of undertaking such an operation. One of his principal rules of study was, 'to observe Nature as she reveals her laws, rather than delude himself by imagining or learning arbitrary doctrines.'"

In 1793, Fourier succeeded to his share of his father's property, about four thousand pounds; commenced business at Lyons, and lost every thing in the revolutionary tempest that followed. Our young philosopher, "the implacable enemy of falsehood," saved his life on the surrender of Lyons to the conventionalists, by telling three different lies in one day; and, as his biographer informs us, "never felt the slightest remorse for having made that exception to the heavenly laws of truth." Like the rest of his countrymen, he served in the armies of the revolution, though but for a short time, on account or the interest of a Colonel Bricour, who had married one of his cousins. He now returned to his commercial pursuits, and devoted all his leisure time to develope the true theory of society. As far back as the year 1790, having been obliged to pay sevenpence to an old woman at Paris for an apple he had often purchased at Besançon at three farthings a dozen, his mind had been forcibly driven to the consideration of commercial extortion; from that time he laboured nine years with his theory, and at last discovered in the ninth year "the laws of universal unity and the essential destiny of humanity on earth." These be great words, Madame Gamond; reader, they are not ours. We give his discoveries in the words of his friends, because, as we hardly know what they mean, we think the story had better be told by themselves.

"His first inquiries concerning commerce, led him to discover the evils of incoherence and jarring individual interests. He perceived that the only possible mode of introducing truth, equity, and economy in productive and distributive industry, was by means of agricultural association and wholesale trade. He found that attraction and repulsion were the two principal laws by which the Creator governs the world; and in order to obtain a complete knowledge of these laws, he resolved to study simultaneously the highest and lowest orders of creation in the universe. He considered the stars as the highest order of creation, mankind as the middle term, and the inferior orders of the creation as the lowest step in the scale. He supposed that there must be certain general laws of unity common to these three orders of existence, or it would be impossible for them to compose one harmonious whole; and he hoped that by studying all that was known in the positive sciences concerning them, he might discover the natural laws of correlativeness, which bind them together in unity and eternity. His

Digitized by Google

principal lever in the work of discovery was a sort of algebraical calculation, by which he supposed every law that was common to any two of these general terms, must be common to the third; and he never abandoned, any branch of study until he had discovered those principles of nature which were common to the medium and the two extremes.

"His first discovery was the universality of distribution, according to a law of ascending and descending progression, in every order of the creation, from the highest to the lowest degree of animate and inanimate beings. This law of progressive distribution he termed series: accordingly, the first grand axiom which he established was this,—'*All the harmonies of the universe are distributed in progressive series.*'

"Having observed a perfect correspondency between the various orders of creation in the universe, he was led to infer, that, as the Creator was one and the same being, infinite and eternal, in his attributes, there must necessarily be a principle of unity in all his works; that the creation must necessarily be a reflection of the attributes of the Creator; that the Creator being all in all, it was impossible for him to paint or represent any thing but himself in the creation. If he had represented any thing foreign to his own attributes, that something must exist independently; and, in that case, the Deity would not be infinite. Such an hypothesis being perfectly absurd, we must admit that the Creator is infinite, and that it would be impossible for him to create any thing which was not analogous to some of his own attributes. From these considerations, Fourier derived his second axiom,—'*The Creator being one infinite harmonious being, everything in nature must be an imitation of his attributes, and therefore there exists in every order of creation, similarity or universal analogy.*'

"Considering attraction and repulsion as the universal laws of nature, and God as the original distributor of all sorts of attraction, it is perfectly rational to infer, that the respective faculties or impulses of attraction and repulsion in all orders of beings, are distributed exactly in proportion to their respective functions in the general harmony of the universe: the affinity which binds the atom to the atom, the attractive power which rules the movement of the planets the affections which bind human beings to each other in society, are only so many different modes of the one universal law of attraction and repulsion; and from this self-evident induction, Fourier derived his third general axiom,—'*The permanent attractions and repulsions of every being in creation, are exactly in proportion to their respective functions and their final destinies in the universe.*'"

Such are the three foundation stones of the Phalansterian system which the Curate of Horbling wishes to introduce among his people. Does the Reverend Mr. Larken agree with his pet philosopher, that "theology and arbitrary science are false philosophy, erroneous and one-sided interpretations of scriptural and natural revelation?" Or has this Lincolnshire curate a fellow-feeling with the sceptic who penned the following paragraph, with which the seventh page of the biographical sketch is ornamented?

"Those who take an interest in oddities, may find a subject of curious remark in the history of four apples: a striking contrast between the influence of two apples in antiquity, and two in modern history. According *to tradition*, the two first were the causes of original sin, and the celebrated Trojan war: the other two have been instrumental in causing the discovery of the universal laws of attraction: the material branch by Newton, the spiritual by Fourier. Those of antiquity were the causes of discord and suffering; those of modern date highly influential in effecting harmony and happiness."

Digitized by Google

Fourier's English followers are not so cunning as those in France, or as their own master, in covering the cloven foot with a fair fitting boot. But as we shall have other opportunities of speaking of the tendency of the new theory, let us return to its inventor. His employments prevented his putting forth these new discoveries until the year 1808, when Fourier published his first work under the title of "Théorie des Quatre Mouvemens." This volume was intended merely as a prospectus to its successors, and a hint for subscriptions; but as the work fell still-born from the press, he manfully determined on withdrawing that from circulation which never had been in circulation, and once more returned to his studies and his business as "a courtier marron," an unlicensed commercial agent. After seven years preparation, he was once more going to press, when the return of Napoleon from Elba turned people's minds rather to politics and battle fields than to universal harmonies or attractive theories; so once more our philosopher returned to think again. One copy, however, of his book had found a reader, M. Just Muiron, a fellow citizen of the author. "Struck with its originality," says Fourier's biographer, "the sublime simplicity of the theory announced, the immense importance of the discovery, *if it were practicable*," he set about finding out the author. This, however, was no easy matter: the book had been printed at Leipsic, and subscribers were referred to a friend at Lyons. At last, in 1816, Muiron routed out our philosopher at his retreat at Belley, and commenced his connexion with the writer. Such was the first conversion to FOURIERISM. Three more years the master and pupil laboured; and when, in 1829, they were about to try the reading public once more, the master made a discovery in cosmogony, and so the affair was put off for two years. At last, in 1821, two volumes were printed at Besançon, which, in the year following, were published under the title of "A Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association." Again the work was unnoticed by the periodical caterers for the Parisian public. Nothing daunted, Fourier waited seven years, and then terrified the press with a shorter and more methodical work, entitled "Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire." Still the same unaccountable conduct on the part of the Reviewers—absolute silence. By dint of sending copies to every one likely to understand it, or take an interest in it, Fourier at last was brought into notice through the St. Simonians, in the year 1832.

"In the beginning of that year, the St. Simonians made a stir in Paris, by their preachings and writings. Fourier had sent his works to the teachers of these new doctrines as early as the year 1830, informing them of the possibility of realizing that social regeneration for which they appeared so anxious in their predications. Instead of listening to the simplicity of Fourier's advice, they deemed themselves vastly superior to every body else, and gave him to understand they were perfectly competent to the task which they had undertaken. They did not, however, neglect to read his works privately, adopting many of his principles, without acknowledging the source from which they had drawn them, until, at length, several of their proselytes

Digitized by Google

who were really serious in their convictions, abandoned the defective theories of St. Simonism, and publicly professed the principles of Fourier. *It may not be improper to observe here, that these principles are directly opposed to all systems of community, and that it is quite erroneous to confound Fourier with Owen.** Soon after the desertion of Transon, Le Chevalier, Paget, Lemoyne, and several other learned and influential men, the St. Simonians were dispersed, and a weekly journal was commenced for the diffusion of Fourier's principles of association and progressive policy. This journal, called 'La Reforme Industrielle,' was conducted with spirit, and obtained many adherents to its principles. A joint-stock company was formed to realise the new theory of association; and one gentleman, M. Baudet Dulary, member of parliament for the county of Seine and Oise, bought an estate which cost him five hundred thousand francs (twenty thousand pounds sterling,) for the express purpose of putting the theory into practice. Operations were actually commenced, but for want of sufficient capital to erect buildings and stock the farm, the whole operation was paralysed; and notwithstanding the natural cause of cessation, the simple fact of stopping short after having commenced operations, made a very unfavourable impression upon the public mind. Success is the only criterion with the indolent and indifferent, who do not take the trouble to reason on circumstances and accidental difficulties."

In the year 1830, Baron Capella, the then minister of public works, had a hankering after the theory; but the July revolution drove out the minister and the theory together: five years after he again published a book, entitled "La Fausse Industrie, morcelée, répugnante, mensongère," and was on the eve of putting forth the second part, when death overtook him. A serious fall brought him to the grave: on his tomb, in the Montmartre cemetery, are engraved the three fundamental doctrines of his theory. 1. "La Série distribue les Harmonies." 2. Les Attractions sont proportionnelles aux Destinées." 3. "Analogie Universelle:" and in order to more effectually puzzle the feast-day wanderers in the cemetry, the last discovery appears in mathematical symbols. Such was the career, and such the primary opinions of the man to whom the Phalansterians look as their guide, and whose views the Universalists of London are trying to propagate by the pen of Mr. Doherty—the writer of the note concerning the apples—and by the aid of the composing machine of Mr. Young. Before we pass on to a detailed account of their wild system, let us quote their own summary of the doctrine, policy, and aim of that periodical, in which alone their opinions are represented; a periodical daily increasing in circulation, and which boasts among its readers—we speak on the authority of the chief distributor—very many clergymen of the Church of England. The following is their own summary of their views:—

"DOCTRINE, POLICY AND AIM OF THE LONDON PHALANX MAGAZINE.

"The system of association, as discovered and explained by C. Fourier, is what we advocate, with a view to its adoption, practically as a means of

* We are very glad to hear so. Whether our readers will be of this opinion by the end of this article we cannot tell; we should rather think not. The work of Madame Gamond generally appears side by side with the "Moral World" and "Voltaire's Dictionary," in shops of the Socialist booksellers. *Unfortunate accident!*

Digitized by Google

progress in society, combining temporal with scriptural order in the unity of social life.

"Our policy is not to agitate discordantly, or to create schism, but to invite the attention of all parties to the principles of universal unity, that they may understand that change of order which must unavoidably result from discontent with old imperfect institutions in society, and act consistently with truth and justice when the proper time arrives for innovation. The fear of change prevents the rich from welcoming new principles of order; and the fear of actual want prevents the poor from welcoming the slowness of organic progress; and the opposite pre-occupations of the human mind are hurrying nations into civil war, the end of which will be confusion; nor will either party lend a willing ear to principles of peace and unity, until they FEEL the want of them. It is to the reflecting *few* that we address ourselves, then, especially, until the reckless *many* are prepared, by disappointment, to attend to reason. *To conserve whatever is established in the Church and the State,* UNTIL IT BE IMPROVED UPON IN PRACTICE GRADUALLY BY ASSOCIATIVE UNITY, *is also an essential feature of our policy.*

"The Bible and the book of Nature are the standard of our faith;—the universal word and work of God, and universal unity in Christ, is our religious doctrine;—the spirit of interpretation in the universal Church, the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Spirit of eternal truth, is our instructor and our guide. Our enemies, apparently, are Ignorance, Indifference, and Infidelity. With these we war, and not with persons or with classes. Our aim is to locate the people on the land, in joint-stock freeholds, that machinery may labour for and not against the mass."

That the great and holy words placed in such strange juxtaposition in the concluding paragraph of this address, mean anything,—if, indeed, they do mean anything at all,—save a philosophical Deism, few can doubt; though of course the many words and dark phrases in which every allusion to religion is generally involved in the phalansterian writers, renders it no easy task distinctly to aver what these new lights do hold. This, however, is evident, that "these principles,"—we quote the first advertisement of the London Phalanx,—"these principles explain the mysteries of Scripture and of nature, and account for all diversities of doctrine in the human mind as various aspects of one universal truth, which may be reconciled without negation; and they show all sects and parties to be partly right and partly wrong in their respective views; right, in their assertions of particular truths, but wrong in their negations of all other aspects but their own." It is also evident that the Editor, the proprietor of the Phalanx, the human pivot of the sect in England, regards the forbidden fruit as an equal oddity with the apples of discord of Newton and of Fourier, and considers the fact of the cause of original sin to rest on the same foundation as the fable of Paris and the three competitors for the prize of beauty. *According to tradition,* says Mr. Doherty, *the two first were the causes of original sin and the celebrated Trojan war.* Of their notions on religion we have a clear proof in the equality of praise afforded by them, in the last Phalanx, to the Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures, by the Rev. S. Noble, and the Swedenborgian New Church Advocate of the *Rev.* Thomas Goyder, and their quasi patronage of what they term Puseyism. It is clear that to them the Church is but a sect equally

Digitized by Google

with Unitarians and Mormonites; that the "theological education given by the clergy is no doubt very much calculated to make bigots of the children, if they do not altogether cast it off and become atheists in mature life;" or, as they express it, "bigots of a negative sort;" and that in their eyes, Mr. Publicola Williams was not wrong in applying the word "humbug" to Church education, though the application of irreverent language to the teaching of theology or religion in the absolute, *without distinguishing between a catholic or universal theology* (Phalansterianism) *and a particular sectarian creed*, (the Church,) showed not only great ignorance on the part of Publicola, but a certain lowness of mind, which could not rise higher in its standard of educational excellence than the knowledge of isolated facts, such as Jack Cade's history, or the meaning of latitude and longitude. And lastly, mark how, with truly Satanical subtlety, they press the words of Scripture into the service of violence and robbery, and justify the *poor thief*, under the plea of David's abstraction of the shewbread. The following passage contains the Phalansterian creed as to crime, as represented by the omnipotent Hugh Doherty, in his translation of Abel Transom's Analysis of their master's Theory of Attractive Industry and the Moral Harmony of the Passions.

"It is often very difficult for *poor* people to find *perfectly just* modes of satisfying their natural wants; and the degree of crime in committing injustice depends upon the degree of facility with which the culpable person might have avoided it. So that, when it is impossible to find a just and moral mode of satisfying a natural desire, *there is no absolute crime in having recourse to a subversive mode of satisfaction* (*i. e.* robbery.) Christ has expressed himself to this effect, in the 12th chapter of St Matthew. When the Pharisees reproached him for permitting the disciples to break the sabbath, he replied thus:—'Have ye not heard what David did, when he was hungred, and they that were with him; how he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but only for the priests?'"—p. 49.*

Such, it is certain, are some few of the doctrines and opinions entertained and advocated by Fourier and his followers. Of their moral, religious, and political tendency it is needless to speak: they tell their own story far too plainly to need a commentary. For even in the advocacy of doctrines on which the stamp of falsehood has been placed by universal consent, the fair and open spirit of our nation is shown. That which among our neighbours is clothed in a flowing robe of fair speaking words, apt to deceive the unwary, or to mystify the uneducated, among us comes forth in all its nakedness and deformity, despite the careful following in the steps of their wary master. It is all very well for the Curate of Horbling to talk about

* Can the trifling differences in the above quotation to that in our translation of the Bible arise from the translator making use of some other copy than that authorized by our Church? A straw will show which way the wind blows.

Digitized by Google

association upon Christian principles as the only remedy for our social evils, and to call upon us to construct a mighty and substantial edifice on these principles, as a shelter from the storms of antagonism and the wants of distress. It is all very well to preach submission to the poor; but when at the same time he recommends the theory of Fourier, and refers, and recommends his friends to refer, to the very books from which our extracts have been taken, he makes himself answerable for their contents, and can only be taken as holding the opinions therein advocated to the utmost, or as having recommended a theory before he was acquainted with its principles, or had perused the works of its advocates.

But to return to Madame Gatti de Gamond. Her work opens with a chapter on "the various systems concerning human destiny." The pagan religion is glanced at; the philosophical sects are condemned, except a slight modicum of praise to Lycurgus, "as apparently the legislator who best understood the human mind;" and Christianity is represented as teaching two doctrines alone,—universal charity and the immortality of the soul. Those doctrines, we are told, men have distorted; no one has taught them aright until Fourier arose. Side by side, Paganism, Lycurgism, Christianity, Benthamism, Republicanism, St. Simonianism, and Owenism, stand in this chapter. True it is, a divine character is allowed to Christianity, in that it taught universal charity; in no other respect does it seem to be taken out of the class of system with which it is here coupled. The St. Simonians, although not quite right, yet were "more advanced" than any previous sect "in social doctrines, and had understood that man should not despise any gifts of Providence, and that it was the duty of society to distribute them to all. Owenism, too, was partly right. The world has charged the Phalansterians with Owenism: read their own account of that arch deceiver, and then judge how far the world was wrong.

"Owen is one of those generous men, who, although among the number of the privileged, sympathise with the poor, sigh over the public misery, and before condemning the culpable, examine what could have impelled him to crime. Owen, seeing under his eyes, on the one side, wealth, and knowledge, and refinement; on the other, misery, ignorance, mendicity, too often accompanied by idleness, drunkenness, and theft, thought that vice was not the result of the nature of man, but of education, and of the circumstances that act on man, in the midst of which he finds himself from his birth, through life, until he leaves this world. He thought that by assuring labour to the poor, and giving them a suitable education, all the errors that now afflict their class might be eradicated, and that the reign of equality might be insensibly established. Enjoying the confidence of his countrymen, and possessing a large fortune, he, in some measure, attained the realization of his principles, which, truly, yielded astonishing results. He brought together, under his paternal management at New Lanark, beggars, drunkards, men come from prison, and succeeded in accustoming them to labour, and changing all this corrupted class into honest, expert, laborious workmen. The partisans of the doctrine of Baboeuf might think that Owen was going completely to realise their system of equality and of community; but the experiment at New Lanark was incomplete, and Mr. Owen has extended his views to a higher order of community, embracing agricultural as well as

Digitized by Google

manufacturing industry. How far he may succeed in future experiments we cannot say; but many things are wanting to complete his views, as they have hitherto been given to the world. The absence of religious unity and discipline alone, in our opinion, is and will be constantly a source of failure in establishing communities."

All, however, has now been set right by the discovery of the theory of attraction. We have only to believe that our "final destinies are proportionate to our inborn attractions," procure a square league of land, mass together four hundred families, and be happy, if we can: and if we will not be persuaded into it, we must be frightened by a superficial view of society and its evils. We must regret the semi-barbarism of the middle ages, and sigh over the disappearance of some of the virtues of Greece and Rome, and believe that it was only in the sixteenth century, and in Greece and Italy alone at that æra, that art ever ruled and cherished among men the sacred fire of religion, of love, and of enthusiasm. We may believe that manners are softened, that laws are more humane, but that faith and energy are gone from among all men; that the system of prison discipline is far worse than the rack of the Inquisition; that blind superstition and fanaticism have been indeed disarmed, but that with them has departed pure faith. To prepare ourselves for Phalansterianism, we must believe that

"In this state of things each individual is forced to scheme for himself, to the detriment of others; if a link of association is formed, it consists of interests in league against other interests; rich and poor, great and little—all the classes, all the industries, and all the members of each profession are in competition; in war, forming hostile coalitions to ruin each other, in self-defence.

"'Every where,' says Fourier, 'we see each class interested in wishing ill to the others, and the individual interest in contradiction with the collective interest. The lawyer wishes, against his conscience, that discord should establish itself in all rich families, and create 'good law-suits;' the physician is unconsciously anxious that sickness should be plentiful; the military man wishes for a good war which would carry off his comrades, that he may procure advancement; the pastor is interested in the death of the rich, whose funerals are profitable; the judge unconsciously desires that France should continue to furnish annually fifty-five thousand seven hundred crimes; the monopolist desires to profit by good famines, which would double or triple the price of bread; the wine-merchant likewise is constrained to wish for 'good hailstorms' for the vine-crops, and 'good frosts' for the buds; the architect, the mason, the carpenter desire, no doubt unwillingly, a good fire, which should consume an hundred houses, to forward their trade.'"

But the remedy is at hand for all these and countless more evils. Industry as now exercised is repulsive; we must make it attractive, and to do so, it must flow from a mode of association in which all interests agree and harmonise, instead of injuring each other; then only will man be in accordance with himself, with the universe, and with God. The following is Fourier's introductory argument:—

"The law of attraction governs the whole universe, the plant, the insect, and the stars, accomplishing their revolutions. The animals obey a Divine

Digitized by Google

law, revealed by instinct, by attraction; all nature groups itself, associates in an harmonious concert, and accomplishes its destiny attractively. Man alone, ignorant of this Divine law, still struggles with his instincts, his desires, his passions, and attractions. In the midst of universal association and the harmony of worlds, human societies are sunk in discord and antagonism: their labours are repugnant; their relationships conflictive. Attraction, not being obeyed, becomes for man a source of suffering and chastisement. His miseries are aggravated by the knowledge of enjoyments he does not possess. Like a bee, transported to a barren rock, languishing from want of flowers to call forth its industry, man, being out of his destiny, is not the less capable of fulfilling it, and suffers in proportion to the distance separating him from harmony and unity.

"Attraction in the hands of God is like a magic wand, which enables him to obtain by love and pleasure, what man can only obtain by violence. It transforms the most repugnant functions into pleasure. What can be more repugnant than the care of a new-born infant, crying, helpless, and unclean? What does God do to transform so repulsive a duty into pleasure? He gives the mother impassioned attraction for these unclean offices; he simply uses his magical prerogative—the impress of attraction. Thenceforth repugnant functions disappear, and are changed into pleasures.

"We see God confine himself to the simple lever of attraction to direct the planets and the stars, creatures immeasurably greater than ourselves; is man then alone excluded from the happiness of being guided to social unity by attraction? Why this interruption in the scale of the system of the universe? Why does attraction, the divine interpreter of unity in the highest and the lowest orders of creation, the law of stars and animals, sufficient to conduct them to harmony, not suffice for man, who is a creature between the planets and the animals? Where is the unity of the Divine system, if the law of general harmony, if attraction, is not applicable to societies of the human species, as well as to those of stars and animals; if attraction is not applicable to agricultural and manufacturing industry, which is the pivot of the social mechanism?

"Industry, the torment of the servant and the slave, nevertheless causes the delight of various creatures, bees, beavers, wasps, and ants, wholly free to prefer a life of idleness; but God has provided them with a social mechanism which attracts them to industry, their source of happiness. Why should he not have granted us the same privilege? What a difference between their industrial condition and ours! A Russian, an Algerine, works from fear of the whip and the bastonade; an Englishman, a Frenchman, from fear of famine, which threatens their families; the Greeks and Romans, whose liberty has been so much vaunted among us, laboured as slaves under the fear of punishment, as the negroes do now in our colonial possessions.

"Such is the happiness of man in the absence of an attractive law of industry; such is the effect of human laws; it reduces humanity to envy the lot of the industrious animals, for whom attraction changes their labours into pleasures. What would have been our happiness had God assimilated us to these animals, had he impressed on us passional attraction for the exercise of all the labour to which we are destined? Our life would be a series of delights, whence would arise immense riches; while in ignorant subversion of attractive industry, we are nothing but a society of galley-slaves, of whom some few escape from drudgery and maintain themselves in idleness. These are hateful to the mass, which tends, like them, to emancipate itself from labour: from thence arise revolutionary ferments, agitators, who promise the people leisure, wealth, and happiness, and who by some revulsion, having once obtained this for themselves, enslave the multitude anew to maintain themselves in the rank of idlers, or privileged directors of the industrious classes, which is a sort of idleness."

Digitized by Google

This law of association is, we are told, a continuation of the theory of the Newtonian calculation of attraction. Its means of action are, first, the division of all men into corporations or phalanges, of fifteen to eighteen hundred persons, by which agricultural, domestic and manufacturing industry are to be developed; profits distributed according to the industrial powers, capital, labour, and skill; and labour rendered attractive by the formation of labourers into groups and series, relieving each other every two or three hours, and embracing a variety of tasks by means of this division of labour, which alone, Fourier maintains, renders occupation easy. Corporativeness, or social unity, is the pivot of the system; attractive industry the motive power. The machine to be moved is a Phalanx. There are many phalanxes, but one of complete harmony must consist of a congregation of from four hundred persons to four hundred families. It is wonderful how much depends on numbers, and how accurately our philosopher can draw the line of phalangial concord and discord. It all depends on a mathematical calculation, a sum without an error in it, and the result is the two magical numbers, 400 and 1800, the limits of the domain of concord. A human parallelogram, whose sides are in the ratio of four to eighteen; an estate of humanity, bounded on the east and west by four hundred souls, and on the north and south by eighteen hundred of a like kind. The mystical numbers of Pythagoras were as dust to the calculations of Fourier. Well, let us take a full-grown phalanx, situated on an estate nine miles square,—numbers again,—

> "Thrice to thine and thrice to mine,
> And thrice again to make up nine.
> Peace,—the charm's wound up."

Even so; and four hundred families, rich and poor, little and large, fat and thin, clever and stupid, good and bad, are all lodged in one huge building, the material Phalanx. Each person or each family is to contribute so much capital, either in money, skill, or labour. To the lowest class, who contribute labour alone, the Phalanx will advance the minimum common necessaries of life;—to the other two classes, the skillists and capitalists, proportionately to their contributions to the society. Every one may raise himself out of the minimum, or suffer himself to fall into a lower class: at the year's end the entire produce of the estate will be taken by the corporation, who will first deduct the expenses of supporting the phalansterians and working the colony, including the advances to the three classes, and then divide the surplus into twelfths. Five of which are to be divided *per capita* among the simple labourers, whilst four others are to be shared among the capitalists who hold the 1728 shares, into which the concern's capital is divided; and the remaining three twelfths are to satisfy the skillists for their practical and theoretical knowledge. Such is the theory: now for the building. We give it in Fourier's words:—

"The centre should be devoted to peaceful functions, to dining rooms,

Digitized by Google

exchange, council rooms, libraries, studies, &c. In this centre are placed the temple, the tour d'ordre, the telegraph, the observatory, the winter court, ornamented with evergreens, and placed behind the court of parade.

"One of the wings must contain all the noisy trades, as carpentery, smith-work, and hammering; it must likewise contain all the industrial assemblies of children, who are generally very noisy.

"The other wing must contain the caravansery hotel with its ball-rooms, and chambers for intercourse with strangers, that they may not encumber the domestic relationship of the Phalanx.

"The Phalanstery, besides its individual apartments, should contain many public rooms, called seristeries, or places of industrial and corporate accommodation.

"There should be set apart, near the dining-rooms, chambers for the different groups who wish to separate themselves from the common tables.

"For every occupation small rooms are contrived close to the 'seristeries,' or large rooms for the convenience of smaller companies.

"The stables and store-rooms should be placed, if possible, opposite the mansion. The interval between the palace and the industrial buildings would serve as a court of honour, or general evolution.

"Behind the centre of the palace, the lateral fronts of the two wings ought to be prolonged, to contrive and enclose a great winter court, forming a garden and promenade, planted with evergreens; this promenade can be placed only in a closed court, and is not to be open to the fields.

"Not to give to the palace too extended a front, with developments and prolongations which would retard the communications, it will be convenient to double the body of buildings in the wings and centre, and leave in the interval of the contiguous parallel bodies a vacant space of from thirty to forty feet, at least, which would form elongated courts, traversed by corridors on columns, level with the first story, with closed glass windows, and heated or ventilated, according to the season.

"The street-galleries of a Phalanx do not receive light from both sides, they form part of the body of the dwellings; each body has a double suite of chambers, of which one suite looks out on the fields, and the other into the gallery. *The church on one side and the theatre on the other, complete the centre of Phalansterian unity.*"*

Supposing all the eighteen hundred Phalansterians to be Goody-two-Shoes of the very first water; supposing concord *vice* discord; supposing contentment *vice* discontentment; supposing that every one is contented with the position in which the Phalanx has placed him; in fine, suppose human nature not human, but phalansterian nature, and the Phalanx practicable, and then no one can deny the immense temporal benefit that will accrue to the members of the harmonious corporation.

The jolly sons of harmony
a-meeting at the Phalanx.

Doubtless under these suppositions five kitchens are cheaper than four hundred. One vast store-room with its various compartments for every kind of produce, is undoubtedly an improvement on four hundred small barns, with a higgledy-piggledy conglomerate within its walls; of a truth, the Phalanx having got its estate, can choose the most suitable localities for various produce, or the most favour-

* We have placed this in italics, for the especial benefit of the Curate of Horbling.

Digitized by Google

able spots for its many buildings, which the small farmer cannot. And though the massing together of these four hundred families may reduce the demand for enclosures and barricades, for suits, title-deeds, and litigation, and destroy the trade of thieves, shutters, dogs, and ditches; what matters it to the Phalansterians how soon non-phalangian carpenters, lawyers, ditches and dogs disappear from this renovated world. You have no right to work either for yourself or by yourself, says M. Fourier: like a convict, you must work in a gang, and for the benefit of government.

Nay, says our philosopher, but look at the increase of pleasure I offer you by this gang-working: remember, my industry is to be attractive. Industry is natural to man and animals—always excepting cats, we presume; it is monotony that makes it repulsive; ergo, change will make it attractive. Why does not the clerk enjoy the addition and subtraction of columns of figures? because he is at it all day, and also, we may add, because his pay is small. Why does not the seamstress enjoy shirt-making? because it lasts for ten mortal hours every day, says our philosopher: and also, say we, because she only gets one penny halfpenny per shirt, and, work herself to death, can not gain more than fourpence halfpenny a-day. Doubtless, pin-sharpening, or cotton-piecing, or composing, or pleading, is very monotonous. *Ergo*, changey for changey, says Fourier; take an hour in the morning—we beg pardon, two hours is an harmonic spell at work—well, two hours after breakfast at turnip-hoeing; then take another harmonic spell at drawing pleas, or teaching French, or sticking on pins' heads, or painting, or teaching theology on the pantological system, or hedging, or ditching, or cooking, or all and each of these, one after the other, and then see how the work will be done. "Be all things by starts, and nothing long," and, like the Margites of Homer, you may by some lucky chance, know every thing, but nothing well.

In two ways, in especial, the benefits of attractive industry are to be developed; the one is religion, the other domestic servitude. In harmony, we are assured the household service will be performed by groups and series; domestic corporations of men, women and children, will apply themselves to these duties spontaneously. How fearfully ignorant was our father's cook when she pinned the dishcloth to our jacket in return for the anxiety we displayed in watching the roasting of a leg of mutton: poor victim to false society, she little knew that she was endeavouring to stifle by derision the principle of attractive industry in our puerile heart. Good neighbours all, would you conceive such a paradise of a servants' hall, housekeeper's room, kitchen, butler's pantry, larder, and scullery as the following:—

"In harmony, domestic industry will be ennobled by the fact, that none are attached to an individual, that all are attached to the Phalanx. Domesticity, in this sense, is but a reciprocal exchange of services. The various cares of the interior attract intrinsically, when free from degradation; and this attraction is again enforced by the zeal and devotedness of domestic

Digitized by Google

corporations to the Phalanx. A certain pleasure will be felt, in the general service of the Phalanx, in attending more particularly to the wants of those whom we esteem and love. Numbers will engage in the groups and series of domestic service through aptitude and vocation, through zeal for the common good, through attachment for individuals.

"The groups and series are so interwoven, that almost all the members of the Phalanx participate in some of the labours of domesticity, &c.; and where spontaneous attraction is deficient, the sacred legion of boys and girls, the devoted corporation, will set all to rights with ardour and alacrity. There is, therefore, reciprocity of services. Domestic cares in this order of things will become the most powerful links of affection, and esteem, and gratitude. Every one is served with zeal, ardour, and devotedness; there is no occasion to command—all desires are foreseen; those who serve are apt and zealous friends, who will be served on another occasion with equal zeal and aptitude. It is the realization of the evangelical command—that society should form but one family, and that all men should be brothers."

We once knew a fellow-collegian who declared he would not marry until steam servants were invented: poor fellow, if he sees this extract, his hesitation is gone. Fourier beats the high pressure footman by many a mile.

The change to be wrought on religion is wondrous; as the world changes under the system of attraction, it is to become a scene of happiness, rejoicing, and perpetual activity. Truth and innocent simplicity are to reign in every heart, and God is to be adored in love; whilst religion is first, we presume, to be made a "mockery of truth, a cloud of fear and darkness, overshadowing men's mind, and shutting out the soul from the pure light of heaven," in order that Phalansterianism, when perfected, may no longer permit her to be that mockery of truth, that cloud of fear and thick darkness, that obstruction to the pure light of heaven, as she is denominated by our new philosophers, whose errors the Curate of Horbling, alas! not alone among our brethren, dares not only to cherish in his own bosom, but to advocate in the temple of God.

We have now arrived at what is styled at once the basis and apex of the system of Fourier, unitary education, which is at once to do away with all the present obstacles to education, and to be so simple a thing in harmony, that children cannot help being "brought up well without constraint, and educated by the natural development of their respective faculties in choirs and corporations of attractive industry, art, and science, under the incessant influence of moral and *religious* discipline and joyous freedom of vocation." So far as morality can be taught apart from doctrine, we do not mean to deny that moral education is one part of the scheme of phalansterianism—the syncretism of the modern system of education; of what nature the religious discipline must be intended to be, we have already had some glimpses as we passed on in our discoveries: doubtless we shall discover more as we progress through the chapter on Education.

After every kind of education now in being has been duly exposed and cried down, our philosopher's new system is set out at length. No one can accuse him of not beginning early enough—from the

Digitized by Google

cradle the new scheme is to commence. First, a great nursery in three departments for the infants of the entire phalanstery—rather noisy at times. We beg pardon, the children are in harmony; this is the true singing for the million. No swaddling-clothes and furs, but rooms of even temperature, hot water stoves, and spontaneous nurses. And now comes the grand invention,—the pivot of infantine harmony: "the cradles are moved by machinery, twenty at a time." Ohe jam satis, Madame Gammon—a mere slip of the pen. We have not time to alter it now. But let the lady give her own view of this education scheme.

"To vary the positions of the child, a cradle alone would not be sufficient; elastic mats will be employed. They are placed breast high; their supports form cavities, where each infant can lodge without incommoding its neighbours. Nets of cord and silk, placed from distance to distance, will guard the infant, without depriving it of motion, or preventing it from seeing and approaching the neighbouring infant, separated only by a net. Other arrangements are provided, so that they may all occupy themselves, amuse themselves, play, and at the same time extend, develop and exercise their limbs, and try their strength.

"Each of the chambers is served day and night by several groups of nurses of all ages; for the care of children pleases women at all periods of life. The greater part of the young girls, women, and matrons of the Phalanx, will voluntarily enrol themselves in the groups of nurses; the infants, who will be classed in the different rooms as their dispositions, more or less mild or clamorous, mischievous or violent, require nurses of different characters. The nurses will choose the groups for which they feel an aptitude. The more patient and easy-tempered will enrol themselves in the group of service for noisy and impatient children; the less patient will enrol themselves in the group of little angels. Each group will be again divided into smaller groups, forming a new choice for the nurses: one division is appointed to give nourishment; another attends to cleanliness; another watches constantly.

"The wet-nurses will form distinct groups; these are the mothers, who come at appointed hours, each to nourish her own infant. If one of the mothers is unwell, or deficient in milk, another who has a superabundance will assist her; it is a duty she performs towards the Phalanx, charged with the care of all the infants; it is a mark of affection she gives to the mother; it is a bond of unity among the sex.

"If a mother falls ill, all the series of nurses will offer to replace her immediately. Each mother who wishes to prolong the cares given to her own infant, will enrol herself in the series of nurses, and will choose the groups which suit her: she gives her suckling particular attention, according to her own good pleasure. The infant belongs to the mother first, and to the Phalanx next. She joins the general group only because she sees she cannot give her infant near such constant and assiduous cares as it would find in the nursery, where groups of nurses, ardently attached to the children, relieve each other, day and night, without interruption. The mothers who wish to suckle their infants, without attending to the common duties of the nursery, will not enrol themselves in any group of the nursery corporation but the one, and be free to attend to other labours of their choice. The young mother, thus disposed, may content herself with seeing and embracing her infant, and witness the cares bestowed on it by others; nor is she required to participate in its maintenance. The Phalanx ensures to all its members, from the day of their birth, the minimum of subsistence, care, and comfort.

"As soon as the children have some gleams of intelligence, and are

Digitized by Google

capable of some address, from three to four years of age, new corporations, devoted to the guardianship and guidance of children, have the care of conducting them in the different workshops of the Phalanstery, and in the gardens, orchards, fields, kitchen-gardens, stables, cow-houses, and poultry-yards, where they have constantly under their eyes the labours of organized groups and series. The superintendents will consist chiefly of old men and matrons, for old age sympathizes most with childhood. The various aptitudes and talents of these young children will be allowed freely to dawn, grow, and develop themselves: their instinct of imitation is such, that to attract them to industry, it would be sufficient to allow them the use of miniature tools of gardening and general industry; they will immediately make use of them ardently and passionately, as they are instructed. *They will not seek to break and destroy;* but, stimulated by the example of children a little older than themselves, already useful workers, who enjoy certain privileges, such as larger and more substantial instruments, agreeable uniforms, a regular organization in groups and series, the little children will strive to put all the address of which they are susceptible into their miniature labours. A certain pride innate in children will likewise be taken advantage of, a feeling which makes them aspire to participate in the labours of those a little older, to render themselves useful, to be of importance; this will be turned to account from the earliest infancy upwards. In the gardens they will grub up noxious weeds; in the kitchen they will turn little spits, shell peas, wash the vegetables, sort the fruit, wash the plates, &c. From the moment that they become useful, they will be formed into choirs and corporations, groups and series, regularly disciplined in all their studies and their occupations. In each group are established different degrees of capacity, which is a means of emulation contained within the group itself, without reckoning the rivalries between contiguous groups. A means still more powerful, is the successive passage of childhood in different phases, corresponding to different ages. In proportion as he acquires vigour and intelligence, the child passes successively through different choirs and companies of youth, all of which enjoy the prerogatives and privileges conformable to their employments, which are successively more difficult and more elevated, so that each child has before him a group more advanced in strength and skill, into which he cannot enter, without perfecting himself, and passing the examinations necessary to prepare him for the labours and the studies of the group above."

Plenty of provision this for the social and material education, excepting in one very material point! How is it to be ensured that all these young Phalansterian angels may not with genuine perverseness become attached to one occupation—perhaps to that of doing nothing? As for their religious education, in that as well as the social and material, independence seems the foundation, the principle—pick it up where and as you can. They are to see God in his works; to feel him in themselves; to recognise his presence in the social harmony of the Phalanx. Of course creeds are quite out of the question; it is these that have brought fear and darkness over man's soul, and shut him out from heaven. As for setting apart a body of men as teachers of religion—cannot be dreamt of—monstrous—contrary to attraction. What! when a man is allowed to be painter, servant, professor of music, ditcher, and cook, consecutively, shall one man be bound to be a teacher of religion for more than two hours? Fit it in between the cooking and the dancing lesson; take a two hours' turn at it in the barn, the cellar, the cow-house, the garden,

Digitized by Google

the stable, the poultry-yard, or any other of the perpetual scenes and texts of Phalansterian instruction. But mark another benefit to arise from stocking the world with Phalansterian colonies—unlimited travelling, cheap and instructive. Each individual will travel as his nature prompts him, with a view to pleasure, from want of motion, or for instruction and utility. The next great benefit is the formation of mighty armies, not of warriors, but of workers; not of subversive, but of constructive glory; to create, instead of to destroy; to spread themselves over the world as candidates for work, ready to construct, in one campaign, a canal through the isthmus of Suez, a rail-road through the desert of Sahara, or a tunnel through the Alps or Apennines. But hear the teacher—

"In harmony, a magnificent career opens itself for all active dispositions; it is at once the aim, the recompense, and the completion of the first education. This career is that of the industrial armies, which, in numbers of many hundred thousand men, will spread themselves over the whole world, to cultivate and fertilize the earth, to embellish and make it fit for human beings to inhabit. These armies will be sacred legions, conquering the physical obstructions of the globe, and cleansing it from all impurities. The substitution of industrial armies for the present armies of destruction is one of the most sublime conceptions of Fourier, and one which opens the largest field for the imagination with regard to the material prospects of the globe.

"Industrial armies spring naturally from the system of unity. That which would be quite impossible in the present state of national hostility, namely, the levy of a million of athletic industrials, drawn from fifty empires, each furnishing twenty thousand men, will be *easily effected* WHEN all countries, organized in unitary series of Phalanxes, and living in harmony, shall have for their first care the progressive cultivation and embellishment of the whole globe.

"If we divest ourselves of the prejudice of false perfectibility, and cast an impartial glance over the globe, we are immediately struck with astonishment in seeing that, after so many ages, some thousand years of man's existence, it is yet a wilderness, a desert! but we soon discover the real cause of this calamity in our destructive armies, who have permanently steeped the earth in human blood, and ravaged it incessantly; destroying man's creations as fast as they arose, and opposing their destructive furies to the industrial genius of humanity. *How* is it that philanthropists, on seeing these disastrous struggles, have not proposed to themselves the union of five hundred thousand men, engaged in general constructive labours rather than destructive energy? In contemplating the magnificent results which would arise from substituting industrial for destructive armies, they would have discovered the principles of unity which could alone maintain them, and they would also have discovered the true social state, the destiny of man."

Why industrial armies were not thought of before was because, mad as many philosophers have been, and devoted to impracticabilities, they had too much regard for their systems to hazard them by such an acme of nonsense. The primary requisite for the development of this theory seems a state of perfection; or, as Mr. Doherty would call it, Edenism. In order to prevent evil passions arising and being matured in the independent youths of the Phalanx, they are to live in an atmosphere of perfection. The example of others is to be

Digitized by Google

their guide, and the absence of everything imperfect, the means of preventing the introduction even of the thought of vice. Ergo, the independent elders of the Phalanx must be themselves perfect, in order to ensure the perfect education of the juniors by example. But as, according to M. Fourier, there is no scheme of education by which perfection such as a Phalansterian must enjoy, except by the means of a Phalansterian, the independent exemplars—the *exempla majora*—of the Phalanx must themselves have been nursed in machine-rocked cradles, warm rooms, and educated on the Phalansterian scheme. Ergo, we have got into as pretty a vicious circle of argument as ever philosopher conceived.

The new philosophers are very eager in accusing the Socialists as having no religion, and in claiming for themselves the title of Christian philosophers. Will any one of their defenders, from Mr. Doherty, their pontifex maximus, to the curate of Horbling, tell us what their religious belief really and truly is. We are unwilling to disbelieve their assertions, as their notions are quite ridiculous enough not to require being stamped as unchristian; but to us—and we will be judged by our friends—to us they do seem to be nothing better than deists.

Mr. Doherty aforesaid has, in his biography of Fourier, set out the eight "serious objections," which the world has advanced against his master's discoveries. The objections are of the world, worldly.

"1. Such pretended discoveries concerning the perfection of social institutions are mere arbitrary combinations, incompatible with human nature.

"2. The science of society would have been discovered long ago, if it existed in principle.

"3. Such ideal perfection never has been, and therefore never can be, realized on earth.

"4. All theoretical systems are impracticable: the improvement of society must be the work of time in gradually reforming political institutions.

"5. The condition of the poor must always depend on the state of trade, and be subject to its fluctuations.

"6. The political economists have described all the secret springs of production and economy.

"7. Commercial intercourse affords the most effectual means of generalising civilization among barbarous nations.

"8. Malthus has proved, that all systems of improvement in society are rendered inadequate by the principles of population."

These eight pins of objection, of course, Mr. Doherty knocks over with ease and self-satisfaction; he might have saved himself the trouble with the last, as Mr. Alison had long ago done his work for him. But to the O'Doherty, argument is as easy as Phalansterianism. And then, look at his vocabulary. Who can stand against such words as "edenism," "savageism," "competitive civilization," "solidarity," "simple association and contrasted association"? Who can match one who knows the exact note in the diatonic scale of the family affection of an orphan, or of a parent that has lost a child; or who can prove that "the family affection between parents and children, where the same father has legitimate children by his wife,

Digitized by Google

and illegitimate by his concubine"—oh, fie, for an attractive industry man !—" is the dissonance of the first and second notes of the musical scale ?" As to the practicability of the scheme, we have now, after one failure, some years ago, a full-grown Phalanx in actual operation near Dijon. With some account of this material argument we will conclude our paper.

In the year 1841 Mr. Young purchased an estate of thirteen hundred acres, situated in the canton Nuits, about twelve miles from Dijon. On the estate was the old abbey of Citeaux, built about the end of the last century, with its orangeries, private theatre, monks' dormitory, and large out-buildings for farming purposes, including everything of stock and moveables. About 65,000*l.* was given for the property. On these lands, and in this chateau, Mr. Young has located a joint-stock company, or cooperative society, for working the estate of Citeaux, in whom the moveable property of the estate is vested; whilst another joint-stock company are proprietors of the estate itself. Mr. Young, of course, is head of the mob, called the responsible director, and is assisted by "associes commanditaires," signs for the society, and has three hundred shares out of the thousand, into which the million francs working capital is divided. By article 10, "Shareholders may either take part in the active industrial pursuits of the establishment, or not, as they please, and may transfer their shares as in other joint-stock companies. Once every year all the shareholders will meet to hear the directors' report, whilst the "commission de surveillance" will meet more often to inspect accounts and suggest improvements or alterations; the general body of shareholders elect the members of the "commission de surveillance," who again elect the directors. In number nine, they sit for three years, three retiring every year, but capable of re-election. So much for the "sociétaires externes." The "sociétaires internes," or cooperative members, the pure Phalansterians, come next. Let them state their own rules themselves.

"SOCIETAIRES INTERNES—COOPERATIVE MEMBERS.

"Art. 24.—All persons employed in the active business of the establishment, manufacturing, commercial, agricultural, domestic, educational, administrative, or otherwise, will be interested in the general advantages of the society, by participating in the dividends awarded to labour, independently of capital, and without possessing any property in shares as hereinafter explained. Such members to be classed under the head of 'Sociétaires Internes,' or cooperative members.

"Art. 25.—The cooperative members, who possess at least one coupon of a share (value 4*l.*,) will be entitled to elect a committee of three members from amongst themselves, who will have the right of inspecting, at all times, the general accounts of the society, and to give their advice collectively and consultatively to the director, with regard to the actual proceedings of the society, and the best mode of conducting particular operations practically. This committee will be elected by a majority of voters, and each coupon will give a right to one vote. The committee thus elected forming a cooperative council, designated the 'Conseil de Capital' (Council of Capital.)

"Art. 26.—All the cooperative members of the society, having attained

Digitized by Google

the age of 21 years, whether they possess coupons of shares or not, will have the right of electing a committee of three persons, to be named the 'Council of Industry' (Conseil du Travail.) Each person will be entitled to one vote, and this committee will be elected by the simple majority of votes.

"The functions of this committee will consist in preparing regulations for the practical operations of industry and the daily distribution of labour, the fixing of salaries, &c. &c., subject to the approval of the directors.

"Art. 27.—The members of the Council of Capital will unite with those of the Council of Industry to form a collective council, to advise the director when he requires their assistance to decide upon internal regulations. In such cases, the united councils will elect a president from their own body, who will have a casting vote in case of equally divided votes.

"The members of these councils will be elected for one year, one-third of whom will retire every four months, and be replaced by new elections. During the first year the retiring members will be designated by drawing lots; and afterwards, the completion of the year's service will entitle members to retire.

"Art. 28.—Cooperative members are entitled to an advance of food, clothing, and accommodation for one year, equal to the estimated minimum value of their labour for that period, which will be regulated by the general state of industry, and fixed by the director consistently with the wants of the member and the interests of the society.

"This minimum includes food, washing, and lodging, the education of children, with medical and necessary care in case of illness.

"This advance of a minimum will not in any case involve a debt or obligation from the person who receives it, as it will not be made to any person whose services are not deemed equal in value, except in cases of illness, orphans, or very young children.

"Art. 29.—Every labourer on the establishment, whether a hired servant or cooperative member of the society, will be under the authority of the director, and liable to be dismissed for improper conduct.

"No person will be admitted as a cooperative member, interested in the general dividends of this society, without having previously adhered to these rules and regulations.

"Art. 30.—The cooperative member who may be discharged for improper conduct in the course of the year, will not be entitled to any share of the general dividend at the end of the year; the minimum advanced being deemed equal to the services performed by such persons, who would have no claim upon the society under any pretext whatever."

What! improper conduct in a state of perfection?

"GENERAL DIVIDENDS.

"Art. 34 —The necessary expenses of the establishment will be deducted from the total produce before the amount of dividend be fixed on the net amount of profit. These necessary expenses comprise: 1st.—All that is required to secure the minimum of comfort to the cooperative members, as stated in Art. 28. 2d.—The minimum of interest guaranteed to the proprietors of the estate. 3d.—All taxes and imposts legally due to the government of the country. 4th.—All expenses of repair in the general wear and tear of the establishment.

"Art. 35.—In addition to the general expenses enumerated in the preceding article, the director and the "commission de surveillance," when the general inventory has been completed at the end of the year, will determine conjointly upon the amount of reserve required to guard against unfavourable harvests and other contingencies, such as the depreciation of value in machinery or other property, and this reserve fund will also be deducted from the general product, before the amount of dividend be fixed.

Digitized by Google

"Art. 36.—The minimum of interest secured to Mr. Young or his representatives for capital is fixed at forty-three thousand five hundred francs per annum, being three per cent. on the sum paid for the estate.

"Art. 37.—After deducting from the general product of the estate during the year, the various expenses enumerated in the two preceding articles, the remainder will be net profit, from which net profit a sum, equal to three per cent., will be set apart for the interest of capital invested in the shares of the industrial society, to be paid to the shareholders for interest due on their shares from the date of payment, and for arrears of interest due, if such a case occur, from difficulties of preceding years.

"After deducting all these dues from the general produce of the establishment, the surplus will be set apart for dividends, in the general proportion of one-third to capital (the passive source of production,) and two-thirds to labour and skill (the active source of production.)

"Art. 38.—The dividend awarded to capital will be distributed in proportion to the sums invested by each person in the fixed property of the estate, and in the floating or industrial capital; but the proprietor of the estate cannot, in any case, receive a dividend exceeding eight per cent. on the fifty-eight thousand pounds of purchase-money, inclusive of the minimum of three per cent. All sums exceeding eight per cent. of dividend to general capital will be exclusively devoted to industrial capital.

"Art. 39.—The two-thirds of general dividend awarded to labour and skill, in addition to the minimum secured in the preceding articles, will be divided amongst the cooperative members, according to the principles of regulation mentioned in Art. 26, namely, each person respectively, according to the relative value of their labour and minimum.

"Art. 40.—The desire of Mr. Arthur Young, the present proprietor of the estate of Citeaux, being that those persons who are interested in the floating or industrial capital should also be interested in the fixed capital or property, legal arrangements have been made that persons who invest money in shares of industrial capital may have the right of investing an equal sum in shares of the fixed capital, but not where such sums are less than two thousand five hundred francs, or one hundred pounds sterling, equal to one-fourth of a full share, ten thousand francs, or four hundred pounds.

"To secure this very desirable unity of interests, Mr. Arthur Young will reserve a number of shares in the fixed property, equal to the amount of the floating capital, fixed in Art. 3, at one million (forty thousand pounds,) and will only dispose of such shares to other parties, in the event of their not being subscribed by persons interested in the acting capital.

"Art. 41.—If at any time it should be found, from a general inventory, that the society for working the estate had lost one-half of the capital invested, a dissolution of the society might immediately take place, before the expiration of the time mentioned in Art. 2; and the minimum of interest secured (in Art. 36) to the capital invested in the fixed property, would cease to be due.*

"Art. 42.—In case of such results, the improvements realised upon the estate would be estimated by authorised appraisers, and one-third of the value of such improvements would be reserved to the proprietor, who would pay over the amount of the other two-thirds to the industrial society.

"If the proprietor of the estate preferred selling it by auction to accepting the valuation of improvements by appraisers, he would be at liberty to do so, and the value of improvements would then be equal to the sum realised over and above the fifty-eight thousand pounds paid for the estate by Mr. Arthur Young.

---

* The society has taken a lease of existence for ninety-nine years.

Digitized by Google

"Art. 43.—The dissolution mentioned in the preceding articles could only be effected by an absolute majority of individual voters, representing, at least, two-thirds of the capital invested in the industrial society."

Such is the primary phalanx at Citeaux. "It is twelve months," say they, "since this establishment was organized, and every thing progresses in it better and more rapidly than was anticipated by the most sanguine of its projectors. The labourers live well, and are interested in its success by the hope of a good profit at the end of the year, in addition to their regular salary." The work we quote from has not been in print more than a month; the year of the association (it began in September, 1841) is concluded—we should like to have known with what results. Has Mr. Young as yet discovered the similarity between Fourierism and Owenism, by finding that it is *all owing*, and no paying?

A letter with which the curate of Horbling has favoured the *Times* newspaper, requires us to say a few more words on this subject. It seems that others have considered it their duty to warn people of the tendency of these doctrines of Fourier, and in doing so have charged our curate with advocating Socialism. This is his answer:

"The industrial system of the late Charles Fourier, is the *only* portion of his theory that I have recommended; and this I have done, not in the sermon itself, but in the appendix, a reference to which will show in a moment *how unlike* that system is to communism, or the views of Owen.

"Whatever may be the speculative and erroneous views of Fourier upon other matters, *I have nothing to do with them;* [INDEED?] the public are qualified to deal with them, and to decide upon their merits or demerits. My aim has been, and is nothing more, than to direct attention to a matter which I hope I may live to see taken up by the Church, viz. association upon christian principles, for which purpose the system I have indicated seems better adapted than anything I have hitherto met with."

So, when the spiritual instructor of a parish deems it his duty to recommend a portion of a philosopher's scheme for the adoption of his flock, it is not this pastor's duty to warn his flock of the erroneous views this philosopher held on points of most vital interest to their souls. It is not his duty to denounce the covert deism, the hardly concealed disbelief in the Scriptures, otherwise than as traditions, little more credible than heathen fables of old. Oh, no! He has nothing to do with his new protegé's erroneous opinions on other points, however vital. Nay, more, if the curate is right, he is to recommend to his readers a careful and dispassionate study of the books in which what he approves of is welded together with these erroneous opinions, without one word of warning. As far as we can judge, the errors of Fourier on vital points cannot be disjoined from his industrial theory, the groundwork of which is a vital error. But, admitting that this rejunction could be effected, and that our curate is not bound to warn his readers of the pitfall, how far is he justified in openly sanctioning the Phalansterians as a class, in giving a holy sanction to the entire theory and the books in which it is advocated, by adopting their publisher, heralding the titles of their writings, and

Digitized by Google

recommending their destructive works; not extracts from them, not portions of them; their entire works, as they are printed on the wrapper of his sermon—the works from which our extracts have been made? It is not every one can decide—nay, perhaps Mr. Larken himself may be puzzled in determining—how far he goes with the Phalansterians. It is enough for the sect and for the world that he gives the theory his countenance, without a warning, without a disclaimer. He is answerable by his sermon for every error advocated by the sect he thus partially (as he tells us) patronises.

It may appear, at first sight, to some of our readers that we have been writing in a tone of needless alarm;—that, on our own showing, Fourierism is a thing too absurd to be dreaded; that the mere difficulties interposed by the whole frame-work of society in the way of establishing a Phalanx, are such as may set every man's mind at ease on the subject of his living to see any thing of the sort. To this we reply, that it is not Fourierism *per se* that we in any way fear. We no more expect to see a Phalanx than our imaginary objectors. But what we do think ought to be regarded with seriousness, even with awe, is the present multiplication of schemes for uniting men otherwise than by God's grace, and in the bonds of His holy Church. To avert the evils of mortality, and to scale the heavens by structures of our own erection, has been the dream of man's heart, at intervals, from the presumptuous attempt on Shinar, down to the present time. And surely one day it is to be made on a fearful scale; and will tempt men by presenting every human appearance of success. One day the restraints of society, and law, and government—that "which now letteth," must be taken away, to make room for the full and the last revelation of the rebellion that is in man's heart. The mystery of iniquity would seem to be working now in many shapes: schemes of union through education, falsely so called; through a common vow of temperance, having no respect to that taken in Baptism, are but its least appalling forms. Then we have seen St. Simonism, Socialism, Mormonism, and Fourierism. None of these, perhaps, are ever to come up to the full mark, or develop the entire outline and image of Antichrist; but do they not sound in the ear of Faith like prelusive mutterings—the first fitful gusts of the coming tempest? Whether that tempest be near or distant, according to human computation, matters little: on any supposition, those who would pass unhurt through "the trial that is to come on all the earth," should give heed to the signs of the times. On any supposition, the multiplication of such schemes as we have been considering, is one of the most awful and significant of those signs.

And one other consideration strikes us as important. Every plan of social regeneration and union, except the Divine one, must, from the very nature of the case, be infidel in its principle; and infidel such have, for the most part, avowed themselves to be; but of late

Digitized by Google

they have presented us with a ghastly phantom of religion. This, surely, is markworthy. Infidel they remain; but with the full horror of infidelity hid beneath a tempting veil. And is not this what, taking the prophetic word in its simplest acceptation, we may expect the final Antichrist to be—sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he is God.

There is but one course for the appointed watchmen, when they observe portents like these: to proclaim the grace of God as the one remedy for the evils perceptible alike in individuals and in society, and the Church of God as the one only plan of union on which a blessing can be expected, and in which the natural selfishness and separation of fallen men can be done away with. So may they hope at once to prevent the earnest struggler against that selfishness and separation, with the blessedness which he might be led vainly to seek for in some godless scheme, and to arm Christians with a power of instinctively detecting whatever plans of melioration come not from above, and must, at all hazards, be cast aside.

Hymns of the Primitive Church, mostly Primitive, collected, translated, and arranged for Public Use. By the Rev. J. Chandler. *A New Edition.* 24mo. London: J. W. Parker. 1842.

Church Hymns, adapted to Congregational Use. 18mo. Oxford: Shrimpton. 1842.

A Selection of Psalms, to which are added, Hymns chiefly Ancient. 18mo. London: Burns. 1837.

Psalms and Hymns, selected and adapted to the Purposes of Public Worship. By the Rev. E. Scobell. 18mo. London: Cleaver. 1840.

Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship, selected for the Use of the Parish Churches of Islington. Islington: Jackson. 1841.

The taste for collections of hymns for public worship appears now so extensively spread in this country, that, whether we approve it or disapprove it, it seems vain to think of changing it. In country places, and here and there a town congregation, the old and new versions of Psalms linger on, with such additions as the managers of the University Press have thought proper to add to them; but in many parts of the kingdom even the villages are invaded, and one pastor after another follows his own taste, or obeys that of his people, by introducing some collection of hymns, as judgment or caprice may suggest. The matter, therefore, assumes an interest which may justify us in bestowing a little time and attention in considering its various bearings.

In briefly discussing this subject, then, it may be as well first to recollect what was the state of things before the Reformation.

Digitized by Google

It will be remembered, that in the old breviaries, which contained the service for the various hours of the day, the musical service, as distinguished from the more monotonous chant in which the prayers were recited, (now designated in our rubrics by the term "*saying*," as distinguished both from mere "reading" on the one hand, and "singing" on the other,) comprised chanted psalms and versicles, anthems, and hymns; and in the missals, or service-books for (what ought to have been) the Holy Communion, of longer anthems, the creed, and a peculiar kind of hymn called a prose. At the time of the Reformation, the Psalms, versicles, anthems and creed, not being in metre, were put into English without difficulty; but with regard to the hymns the case was different. To translate them required some readiness at rhythmical composition, and, to do it well, something of the spirit of poetry; and as at that period even our English *secular* poetry was much behind the prose, there probably existed no means of procuring any such translation of the ancient hymns as would have had any chance of becoming popular. Cranmer, we know, tried his hand, but his success was not such as to encourage either him or any of his friends to extend the experiment.

There might have been other causes. The metre of the Latin hymns is different from our own, many being strictly classical. The tunes, therefore, of the old hymns could not be taken for the translations; and to compose English verses in the Latin metres would have been contrary to the genius of the language, and have ensured failure. Furthermore, although the *great body* of the Latin hymns were admirable in subject, in system, in tone and spirit, yet the *most popular* were objectionable, as being invocations of the Virgin; and it was therefore, perhaps, thought better to let them all drop, than to risk perpetuating those which were unscriptural, by showing any person the way to putting them into the vernacular tongue. Whatever were the causes, the hymns were allowed to fall into desuetude, and nothing remained to the English Church of the most popular style of its devotional minstrelsy.

But it was not to be expected that metrical singing should be laid aside; and accordingly, first in private houses, then as it were by stealth in parish churches, and afterwards by royal permission, a custom brought from abroad of singing portions of the Psalms in metre, came, in default of the hymns, to prevail in our churches to a great extent.* But the royal autho-

* To this it must be added, that the Ultra-protestant, or Puritan spirit, both on the continent and in our own country, was, from the first, opposed to the ancient mode of chanting the psalter; and this, as is well known, came to its height at the fearful outbreak of the great rebellion. In the later English Church, chanting, as a part of congregational worship, has certainly, for the most part, been little prac-

Digitized by Google

rity in this case (whatever be its value) is but permissive. In the rubric there is of course no countenance for the practice. A clergyman may therefore exercise his own judgment in the matter, whether, or to what extent, he will use these versions of Psalms; but if metrical versions are used at all, (though, we confess, we are not among those who desire their continuance in our churches,) the Old and New Versions seem to possess claims upon churchmen which no other compositions in present use have; and we know not how it may be with other persons, but, for ourselves, we still prefer portions of them to any similar compositions we have ever met with. The last, and perhaps the best of them, Mr. Keble's, appears to us to labour under insuperable objections. To say nothing of the frequent divisions of the sense in the middle of a line, and (what appears to plain people) affected poetical language, he has made arbitrary divisions of the Psalms, and precluded those who may use his version from making any other division, or from making their own selection of verses, by translating different portions of the same Psalm in different metres; and that alone is a complete bar to its general adoption. Still it must be confessed that individual psalms, and portions of psalms, have been translated, both by him and by other persons, with a flow of poetical feeling, a force of expression, and smoothness of rhythm, which leaves nothing to desire in such compositions.

The metrical Psalms are now made to occupy a place in our service which was never contemplated in the ancient ritual. They come "before and after morning and evening prayer, and before and after sermons;" *i. e.* they form (properly speaking) no part of the public devotion, but either introduce it and prepare for it,

---

tised. In cathedrals it has been made an exhibition by a few practised singers; in parochial churches it has been almost wholly unknown, owing to the substitution of metrical versions, and a kind of feeling, at the same time, that the chanting of the prose Psalter is attended with much greater difficulty. The notion that chanting is difficult, has no foundation, however, in fact. Of course, time is required to accustom our people to what has been so long in abeyance; still they *may* be taught; and as contrasted with metrical psalmody, let a *whole* congregation but join with heart and voice, and it will be found that chanting is infinitely the more devotional and impressive of the two kinds of worship, while, again, the spirit of the Psalms, as we must never forget, is much more effectually preserved. On this head, it is hardly possible to add anything to the force of Hooker's glowing language in that never-to-be-forgotten passage of his 5th Book, ch. xxxviii.-ix.

Mr. Keble has an unfortunate passage in the preface to his Metrical Psalter, which we hope in a future edition to see expunged. "The custom," he says, "of singing the psalms rather than chanting them, has prevailed among us so long, and so universally, that there is small hope at present of changing it; and, as long as it lasts, and is sanctioned by authority, such efforts as the present are admissible." But if the chanting of the Psalter *be* the true, ancient, and really authorized congregational psalmody, which Mr. Keble surely would admit, then let us neither discourage nor look doubtfully upon its revival; and let us beware lest, by multiplying metrical versions, and metrical tunes, we only hold out temptations to the prolongation of an uncatholic custom. We do not so act in our attempts to revive other ancient practices of the Church.

Digitized by Google

or fill up the interval between one service and another—for instance, between morning prayer and the communion service. *After* sermons they are not *commonly* used; and before morning and evening prayer their use is less frequent than it was. There is another portion of the service in which custom has introduced the Psalms in some college chapels, cathedrals, and parish churches, *i. e.* after the third collect of morning and evening prayer. Here, of course, they come in place of the anthem; and, as it is intended by the Church that there should be singing at this part of the service, it seems proper enough that metrical portions of the Psalms should be used in cases where the anthem, in its usual form, cannot, for want of a competent choir, be performed.*

We now come to *hymns*. We have said, that the ancient Latin hymns were thrown away (not perhaps intentionally) at the Reformation. As the mass of the people did not understand them, and as the most popular were superstitious, it might at first be imagined that the Church sustained no great loss; but this requires reconsideration. Let it be remembered, that the greater portion of these hymns were not only free from all taint of superstition, but thoroughly sound and scriptural in tone and matter; that there was a warm vein of devotion running through most of them; that they were arranged upon a system, three for each day in the week, two or three each for all the great days or seasons of the Church, and others again suited for various specified occasions; that in this system there was a strict application of the thoughts to the time for which the hymn was appointed; that they were throughout christian and evangelical, embodying all the great doctrines and practical principles of the Gospel; and so in this respect distinguished from the Psalms,† that all who understood Latin, *i. e.* a con-

* The only restriction placed upon anthems by authority is, "that they be taken out of the word of God." And as being translations of parts of Holy Scripture, (though not in the authorized prose versions,) the metrical Psalms, especially the Old Version, from its acknowledged faithfulness, may be allowable. It is well known that metrical anthems were in use before as well as at the Reformation; and several ancient compositions of this kind are still extant in our cathedral books; and, of course, the occasional use of detached passages in this way has not the objectionable effect of superseding the ordinary chanting.

† We are desirous of strengthening our own views in some respects, and of supplying some remarks on the distinct uses and characteristics of Psalms and Hymns by the following just and thoughtful extract from the *British Critic* for July last:—

"We would by no means be understood to uphold them [metrical Psalms] as substitutes for Christian Hymns. Psalms, after all, are one thing, Hymns another; as the words of the Apostle may teach us. Metrical Psalms, however, even the most successful, partake of the character of both at once; and, like other attempts at a compromise, miss, rather than combine, the distinctive excellences of the things united. Instead of being Hymns, they are rather spoiled Psalms; for who will say, even of the best imaginable version, in metre and rhyme, of the Psalms of David, that it is not a very insufficient representation of its original? Metre and rhyme must be some drawback upon literal accuracy in the hands even of the most skilful; and if *any* composition must suffer more or less in the transfer from one language, or from one form, into another, this is *à fortiori* true of a portion of the inspired Scriptures. Now the metrical Psalms are not merely a translation, but a paraphrase besides. We

Digitized by Google

siderable body of both clergy and laity, had the benefit of them in their public devotions previous to the Reformation, and

---

are, therefore, for leaving the divine work of the Psalmist, as nearly as possible, in the form in which it was originally cast.

* * * * * * *

"But there are other than these merely mechanical differences between the Psalms and the Ecclesiastical Hymns, which make it important that they should be kept apart. Each kind of sacred song has its own purpose; and each should accordingly be confined to its own department. The Psalms of David were never, that we can make out, designed by the Church for what may be called an outlet of enthusiasm,[1] which is, nevertheless, an object quite within the scope of her provisions. What we mean is this: the special subjects of the Evangelical, as distinguished from the Legal dispensation; the mystery of Divine love in all its manifold and engaging features; the solemn circumstances of the Gospel History; the graces and achievements of the Saints; or, again, the wonders of creation and the order of the natural world, as viewed by a Christian eye; all these are topics calculated to awaken feelings of a very impatient force in every religious mind; feelings which, under the almost overwhelming pressure of the reserve imposed by a want of sympathy in the world around, are apt to grow even clamorous for their appointed satisfaction; and so, where the Church does not take them under her guidance, to vent themselves in irregular and irreverent ways. This, and nothing worse than this, we take to be the account of a great deal of that ardent, but unchastised religious writing, speaking, and preaching, which are found on every side. All this is the enthusiastic element of man's religious nature, struggling for freedom under a system, not of equitable government, but of inconsiderate despotism; struggling for freedom, and issuing in lawlessness. Now this is a result which the Church, if she had her way, would never allow. She would penetrate to the souls of men, as one may say, through every pore; there would be no amiable or holy feeling (such as those to which we are quite willing to attribute the irregularities or extravagances just hinted at) which she would not arrest, absorb, and regulate; no principle of action in our regenerated nature which she would not consult; no hue of its versatile forms, of which she would not present to the eye the Divine type and matchless counterpart in her own celestial pattern.

"In a small way, the removal of the Catholic (metrical) Hymns from our Church Service has operated to our disadvantage in this respect. The Hymns of the Church are intended to furnish one, among many other legitimate outlets, of that spirit of ardent and affectionate devotion, which it is so grievous to see wasting itself, under actual circumstances, in irregular and erroneous courses. The Psalms alone, as we shall attempt to show, do not seem *adequate* to the special object which we are here supposing the Church to have at heart; the *direct* satisfaction, namely, of the feelings of

---

[1] "This appears partly from the custom, which came into the Church at a very early period, of applying to the Psalms a much less jubilant kind of chant than to the Ecclesiastical Hymns. The Donatists (as observed by Bingham, Ant. L. 14) reproached the Catholics with even "shouting out their Hymns of human composition like persons trying to excite the feelings of an audience by exhortations of their own," whereas the divine canticles they sang to "a *subdued* measure." The account of the Donatists was probably an exaggeration; but the contrast which they observed, and which was no doubt in the main true, would seem to point at some such difference of principle as has been now observed. Sir John Hawkins says, 'Almost from the first time when music was introduced into the Service of the Church, it was of two kinds, consisting in a gentle inflection of the voice, which they termed plain song, and a more artificial and elaborate kind of music adapted to the Hymns and solemn Offices contained in the ritual; and this distinction has been maintained through all succeeding ages.' The figured *chants* which have come into use in this country since the Reformation, [Revolution?] are an exception to this remark; but it is getting to be more and more felt, that the nearer the chanting of the Psalms approaches to plain song, the greater is the security for reverence. The simpler the strain, the more entirely we seem to abandon the thought of *giving effect* to the Divine words, which should be left to speak for themselves. But the Church appears to have looked on the Hymns in a somewhat different light, Hymns are for *singing*, Psalms rather for *recitation*."

Digitized by Google

lost that benefit then: let all this be considered, and we think it will be felt that the removal of them from the service altogether was a serious loss; and it would have been a much more serious loss, if in the Church before the Reformation a devotional spirit had been at all prevalent. Unhappily it was otherwise; and as the revival of religion took an intellectual turn rather than one that reached the affections, or kindled the imagination, it was long before the loss was felt as it otherwise would have been.

But it is impossible to destroy the tendencies of human nature; whatever man is in earnest about, to that he will devote those powers with which his Maker has gifted him. So persons of earnest piety, and at the same time gifted with the power of versification, or the spirit of poetry, will express their thoughts and feelings on religion in rhythmical or poetical language. Accordingly we have remaining many efforts more or less successful, some of which are appended to each of the versions, Old and New, which have been received in the Church. They appear to be at least of equal merit with the versions themselves. The "Humble Lamentation of a Sinner," for instance, appended to the Old Version, contains verses very good in expression, and very touching in feeling; and Bishop Ken's Morning and Evening Hymns, which have become attached to the New Version, are at least equal to any thing of the kind in the language which had then appeared. It is remarkable that both versions contain translations in two metres of the ancient "Veni Creator Spiritus."—One wonders that acquaintance with that gem of antiquity did not lead the translators to search further into the same mine; but, in all probability, they did not translate from the Latin, but merely paraphrased the English version already existing in the Ordination service. Bishop Ken's hymns came out in the interval between the two versions; and we believe that it was late in the last century when they were first appended to the New Version. Even those hymns, when so appended, do not appear to have made their way into parish churches, and there seems, therefore, to have been no temptation to search for more. In addition to this we may remark, that they seem better adapted for private use, and to have been printed for such use among the boys of

---

Christian love and thankfulness, as called forth by the exhibition of specially Christian subjects. Which is saying no more than that the Psalms do not answer a purpose beyond (so to speak) their scope; a sentiment no more inconsistent with the profoundest veneration for the Psalms themselves, than it would be a disparagement of the Decalogue to say, that it does not supersede the Ecclesiastical precepts. Of course, the Psalms *involve* all Christian truth; the question is, whether, in the present case, an *implied* recognition be enough.

"The Psalms, then, have their use in Divine Service, as the Hymns have theirs; and the Hymns are as little fitted to take the place of the Psalms, as the Psalms that of the Hymns."—Pp. 5—7.

Digitized by Google

Winchester School. They probably were suggested by the Latin hymns, which remained in use at that school from its very foundation; but they are not translations of them. Indeed Ken seems to have practised translation very sparingly, at least if we may judge by the collection of his poems published by Mr. Combe, of Leicester. One Psalm is to be found there; and the sonnet "on Judgment" may *remind* one of *Dies iræ*, but nothing more; it is not even a paraphrase of it. So again, the sonnet "on Redemption" may remind one of the hymns for Corpus Christi day, or for Good Friday, in the Parisian Breviary; but it is more by its general style than by any connected train of thought.

Contemporary with Ken was Dr. George Hickes. Many of his hymns have as much beauty and good taste as simplicity and piety; but his being connected with the nonjuring schism no doubt prevented them from being generally received amongst churchmen, although some of them have been adopted in publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

We are not intending to give at large the history of hymns in the Church; but it is remarkable that successive collections of hymns should have been published by persons who were either actually dissenters, or, at least, more or less irregular,—Watts, Doddridge, John and Charles Wesley, Madan, Romaine, Haweis. During a long period, religion in the Church generally appears to have taken a cold, rational, common sense, argumentative, or moral turn—or even much worse than that; and most of the zeal and earnestness, or, at least, that which was most apparent, was to be found in irregular channels;* and we know that there can be little expectation of devotional poetry, except where there is a considerable portion of fervour. From the circumstance, then, that hymns were most published and used in this country by the irregular or fanatical, there arose a prejudice against them altogether; nor was this prejudice removed by the fact that those clergymen, in various parts of the country, who introduced them into their churches, and for that purpose made selections of them, were themselves somewhat irregular, and, in some cases, acted, in so doing, in direct defiance of the authority of their own bishops.

Things, however, took a turn when some *prelates*, as the present Archbishop of York and the late Bishop of Lincoln, *sanctioned* collections of Psalms and *hymns* in their respective dioceses; and still more when a collection came out which had been actually made and arranged by a deceased prelate, (Bishop

* In fact it required great firmness of principle, in those days, for a person, clergyman or layman, to be earnest and fervent, and yet not find himself driven into irregularity by the suspicion and discountenance with which zeal was ordinarily treated.

Digitized by Google

Heber,) when he sustained the office of a private clergyman. From the publication of this collection public feeling began to change decidedly. From this period the singing of hymns in churches has ceased to be esteemed a spot of the conventicle, and the use of them has gone on increasing ever since. No party in the Church now refuses them—the only important difference being the source from which they are derived.

And yet to any one who will look carefully over Bishop Heber's collection, it seems wonderful, both that he should have *made* such a collection, (we believe he never authorized the publication,) and that it should have taken such hold, even for a time, on the public mind. Beyond a few old favourites of Addison's and others, and one or two translations from the Breviary, there seems surprisingly little of any great value. The metres of several are unusual and fantastical; the poetical merit is but slight; and the general tone is more fitted for the drawing-room than the plain, manly character of our parish churches: so that, if there had not been a silent change going on in public feeling, and if the publication had not been graced by the name of a bishop, and that bishop Heber, and if it had not been suited to the seasons observed by the Church, it seems scarcely conceivable that it should have had the powerful effect we are disposed to attribute to it.

Two effects, however, appear to have been produced which were not at first contemplated. There are hymns in that collection expressly appointed for the holy days of the Church, and there can be but little doubt that the countenance thus given by this popular prelate to the public observance of the feasts and fasts of the Church, and the enshrining them in the popular feeling, by giving hymns expressly for them, has greatly tended to dispose many persons to their revival who would otherwise have been averse to them.* The other effect is still more unexpected. For three of those occasions it was seen that the bishop had recourse to Drummond;—and who was Drummond? It turned out that he was a gentleman who had translated these hymns from the Breviary, in the time of Charles the First. It was seen that these hymns exceeded the

* It seems to be scarcely known, that a collection of original compositions was previously published by the Rev. Samuel Rickards, which, although not as a whole adapted or intended for public use, contain great beauty and true Church piety, and (what they are particularly mentioned for in this place) have special hymns for the saints' days. Their defects are the want of freedom; and, in the case of the Sunday hymns, their being merely an expansion of the collect for the day; but Mr. R. was so desirous of bringing the holy days into notice, and yet so sensible how few persons would sympathize with him, that he intermixed the hymns for those days with those for the Sundays, although by that means they must most frequently be out of their proper place. In fact, he was one of those persons, in various parts of the kingdom, who were preparing men's minds for the movement which has since taken place.

Digitized by Google

rest in point and manly vigour, and greatly rose above the ordinary style of their time; then the inquiry came—why not go to Drummond for others? The rest, however, did not appear of equal merit; they had the point and vigour, but they did not run smoothly. But if Drummond translated from the Breviary, and some of his translations were so admirable, even still why should not the Breviary contain other specimens equally good, and why should not some hand be found to render them into English verse.

And accordingly hands and hearts have both been found. Bishop Mant set the example by translating from the *Roman* Breviary. Mr. Newman, in the "Tracts for the Times," has given a few from the same source; Mr. Williams followed in the *British Magazine*, and subsequently in a separate volume; and, lastly, Mr. Chandler, of Witley. Both these latter gentlemen have followed the *Parisian* Breviary, excepting that Mr. Chandler has taken some hymns from the Roman, and a few *proses* from missals, as well as one or two hymns from the old English service-books. Meanwhile, Mr. Dodsworth, in publishing a new collection of hymns for his church (No. 3 in our list), has availed himself of the translations of Bishop Mant and Mr. Chandler; and the latter has published a selection likewise, in which his own translation (a good deal altered, but not at all improved) has furnished the larger portion, the rest being made up of modern hymns. Thus the example set by Bishop Heber has been followed much earlier and more largely than any one could have calculated upon when his collection was published.

We will now briefly point out the principles upon which we think a collection of hymns for the Church of England ought to be formed, and indicate the means we have of acting upon those principles.

The principle upon which a collection of hymns ought to be made, is the same upon which our collection of prayers has been formed. The basis of our Prayer-book is the old service-book which existed before the Reformation. Additions have been made to it, both from other liturgical sources and by modern compositions. We therefore conclude, that the basis of a hymn-book, ought to be the hymns which were in use in the Church of England before the Reformation; and that we may lawfully add to that store from the hymns in use in foreign churches, and from compositions of more recent date.

We do not know what can with any justice be objected to these principles. They have the great advantage of having been sanctioned and acted on already, not only *in* our Church, but also by the body of the Church; and no other principles have that advantage. The only other principle we know, which has been acted upon in the Church, in regard to hymns, with any thing like unanimity, is that of every clergyman selecting, from

Digitized by Google

any and every quarter, such hymns as approved themselves to his own taste and judgment, or that of his own congregation. We do not expect that any churchman will defend such a principle, unless for want of a better. It is essentially opposed to the principles upon which the Church of England generally acts. The only valid objections we can imagine any person making are, that there are no ancient hymns (or at least but few) which are not superstitious or worthless, and that we have no means of putting them into English verse, suitable to the tunes in common use. They are both utterly baseless; for the ancient hymns which are perfectly scriptural are numerous and of high value; and, as we have already intimated, they have been translated by persons of acknowledged poetical talent, and most of them in such metres as suit our congregational tunes.*

The ancient hymns in use in the Church of England before the Reformation, are, *for the most part*, the same as those in the *Roman* Breviary at the same period. The latter have since that period undergone revision, with the view of removing the baldness and incorrect metre of the old verses. They are certainly more correct than those which our forefathers used, and in some respects fuller of thought; but some of them correction has rendered more frigid. The difference, however, to a translator would be very trifling, because it would be impossible to keep strictly to the exact expressions, or even thoughts of the old hymns. Some latitude must be allowed. Our old national collection is richer than the Roman in hymns, for the various christian seasons, to be used at Compline, or the last evening service. It has likewise two beautiful hymns for the day of the dedication of a Church, which we have not met with in the Roman Breviary. Mr. Newman has published a collection of *Latin* hymns from the Roman and other Breviaries; and at the end may be found those of the Church of England which are *essentially* different from the Roman. The rest may be taken for granted to have been substantially the same.

These, then, should form the basis of any collection of hymns for general use in our churches. They furnish three separate hymns for each day of one week; one each for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours, and for the last service of the day; three each for Advent, for the Christmas season, for Epiphany season, for Lent, for the Sundays after Easter, for the day of an Apostle, and for the day of an Evangelist; and two each for Passion Week, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday,

* Of these tunes there is, as is well known, a considerable variety extant; and in that ancient and solemn style which would admirably suit such a Collection of Hymns as is here supposed. Some fine ones will be found in the Volume of Sacred Music, by Tallis and others, which we noticed in our August number; and more may be found in the old works of D'Este, Ravenscroft, &c.

Digitized by Google

Michaelmas day, All Saints' day, the day of a Martyr, Lady day, and the day of the Dedication of a Church. All these are almost entirely free from objectionable matter. It will be seen that, by this arrangement, the same hymns are expected to serve for all the Sundays in each season,—and, excepting where a holy day comes in, for all Sundays, from Trinity Sunday to Advent; and, moreover, that there are hymns provided for hours of the day at which we have no public worship. Upon this we have two remarks to make; first, that if it should be thought undesirable to have the same hymn in use for so long a period, we can point out sources from which the deficiency can be supplied; and secondly, that we think that the hymns should not be appropriated to a different part of the day from that for which they are written. That was one mistake made at the Reformation in regard to the *prayers*. The division of the hours of prayer had been practically forgotten in most churches *before* the Reformation, and the services of the day were reduced to three; and our reformers (instead of casting back their eye to the *system* and *theory* of the Church services, and thinking it possible that the ancient devotional habits might one day be revived, and so leaving alone altogether the portions of them which did not suit the hours at which divine service was then held) took the services as they then existed *in practice*, viz., many separate services read continuously one after the other, and from each of these formed a new service. The result is, that now,—when we want a separate evening service, we have not the old Latin Compline to draw from, as we ought to have had; and the probability therefore is, that if we do have an evening service drawn up by authority, it will not be so good as those we now have. Now, if we avoid this error in regard to the hymns, and only take (for the present) such as suit the hours of the day in which we at this day assemble for worship,—then, if at any future period, either in collegiate societies, or in private families, a greater frequency of devotional exercises should be observed, the proper hymns will remain to be incorporated with these services.

We have said that the *Roman* hymns were, for the most part, those of the ancient English Church, and that they consequently should form the basis of the English hymn-book. But the *Gallican* hymns are, for the most part, quite distinct from them, and as a whole, of a higher and deeper character; nor can there be any reason why, upon sufficient ground, we should not draw from their stores; the more especially, as it has so happened, that more translations have been made from them into our language, than from the Roman. And surely the German and the Spanish service-books must have hymns of their own, with which our collection might be enriched.

The portions of the services of the Greek Church which most

Digitized by Google

nearly answer to our hymns, viz., those which are so constructed that many of them may be sung to the same tune, are so different in genius and structure from the Western hymns, that we apprehend little or nothing can be borrowed from them. They contain lofty thoughts, and occasionally poetical language, but they have nothing akin to our *stanza*, and they appear to us to be altogether wanting in feeling and sentiment.

But these collections will all be found deficient in two points, at least according to our ideas. They have no variety of hymns between Trinity Sunday and Advent, to say nothing of shorter periods in the winter and spring; nor have they any variety (or at least very slight) for the various Saints' days. And here more modern collections would come in. Bishop Mant has laid a foundation of hymns for the unoccupied periods, in a collection of metrical meditations on the various privileges we have, and duties we are bound to, as members of the Church; and he has likewise supplied a nucleus for hymns for the Saints' days, in the hymns attached to his sermons for those days.

Bishop Heber has likewise furnished a few, which might perhaps, bear examination. Keble's *Christian Year* will furnish some, and would have furnished more, if it had been less obscure, and written in more common measures. Rickards would likewise have been of more service, if he had composed more in the ordinary metres. But it cannot be expected that one or two persons should be able to furnish the whole of these compositions. Others, no doubt, exist, or would exist, if it was found that they were wanted.

And now a word or two on the immense mass of hymns which are already collected, and are more or less in use. The greater portion of these are so deficient in good taste, in christian sobriety, or in manly piety, (and, often we may add, so incorrect in point of theology,) that they give many persons a disgust at the very thought of hymns. To prove this, we have only to instance the two collections which stand last in our list. Many, again, are suitable for private use, but not for public. But some, no doubt, might be selected which might be very suitable for use in the Church.

And here it will be asked, will you make any use of those which have been written by persons who have been the promoters or followers of schisms? We shall not answer this by the vulgar declamation on the illiberality of setting aside the compositions of persons of such piety and poetical taste as Wesley, Doddridge, Montgomery, &c. We conceive the objection that these eminent persons were more or less schismatical to be valid, so far as it goes; *i. e.* that it *might* be wrong to appear to show indifference to schism, by using the compositions of schismatics. But we do not hesitate to reckon Tertullian amongst the Fathers of the Church, although he died in heresy

Digitized by Google

and schism, and his very writings are tinctured by it. And so, if it should seem fit to choose hymns from schismatical sources, as expressing the true christian mind, we, for our own parts, should feel not the slightest repugnance to using them, on the ground of their origin. Much as schism itself is to be blamed,—still we must own that true feelings of devotion are granted by our gracious Father to those who (ignorantly, we may trust) are guilty of it; and when such feelings are expressed in suitable language, why may not the Church appropriate them to herself, and make them useful to her children? Are they not *her* Lord's gift, upon whomsoever bestowed? Is it not the grace communicated (how ever indirectly) through her, by virtue of which those who are separate from her, live in the sight of God? But until such compositions are (in a manner) purged of their schism by the authority of our prelates, or, at least, unless the Bishop of the diocese in which they are proposed to be used, should give them his express sanction, we should have great doubt of the propriety of any clergyman's appropriating them simply upon his own judgment.*

Undesirable as is the present state of things, it is as well, perhaps, that no restriction should be placed upon the attempts which, from time to time, are made by various clergymen to produce collections of hymns for congregational use. All this will tend to bring in, sooner or later, the accomplishment of our wishes. Another and another attempt will still be made, until a selection is formed upon such principles as can approve themselves to the judgment of sound-minded churchmen, and then we trust convocation will have been once more permitted to sit for despatch of business, and will authorise one standard book of hymns for all our congregations. If another hand should be disposed to attempt such a selection, we think we have indicated the principles on which it ought to go, and have shown that means exist for carrying out those principles.

We will only add, that until this is done we have little hope that the Psalter will be sung in its proper and authorized form, as it has ever been used in the Church, or that the musical part of the English ritual generally will assume its right position. But when it is brought about, there seems little doubt that such

* The Hymns, "Hark! the Herald Angels," "Jesus Christ is risen to-day," by Charles Wesley. "My God, and is thy table spread?" by Doddridge. "Where high the heavenly temple stands," by the Presbyterian Logan, are to be found in almost every collection. Mr. Dodsworth, we perceive, has borrowed largely from the collection of hymns and paraphrases by Logan and others, authorized by the Scottish Kirk. No less than seventeen of these will be found among the hymns in his volume—many of them certainly very beautiful. Mr. D. has likewise, we can see, drawn to some extent upon the collections of Watts, Doddridge, Madan, and the Olney, though it is proper to add that these hymns occur, for the most part, in the appendix, entitled, "*Hymns chiefly for private use.*"

Digitized by Google

will be the result. Considering the progress which vocal music is making, and the reviving taste for a better and more solid class of compositions, in sacred no less than in secular music, there is every reason to believe that the chanting of the Psalter by the whole assembled congregation, priest, and people, will, in the course of a few years, be a matter of easy attainment. There will then be the *chanting* of the psalms, canticles, and responses, by the people; the *anthem* sung by the choir,—and the metrical *hymns*, such as we have suggested, completing the whole.

The Missionary Crisis in the Church of England. The Substance of two Addresses, delivered severally at Liverpool and at Leeds, in May and June, 1842, *to the Friends of the Church Missionary Society, preparatory to the Annual Meetings of the local Associations. By the Rev.* ALEXANDER R. C. DALLAS, A.M., *Rector of Wonston, Hants. With a Documentary Appendix.* London: Nisbet.

A Letter addressed to the Reverend the Presbyters and Deacons of the United Church of England and Ireland, residing in the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Madras. By W. T. HUMPHREY, *Presbyter, a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, at Myaveram, printed for circulation among the Reverend the Clergy of the said Church, and the private friends of the Author.* Madras.

THERE are two verses in the Holy Gospel according to St. Matthew, which contain within themselves, or involve in their practical application, almost all that can well be thought, or discoursed of, or acted upon, by the Church of Christ, in her missionary character. "Go ye," said our blessed Lord to his apostles, when he was just about to be taken from them into heaven—"go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."*

Some important doctrines we think we see in these sacred words, and those, too, doctrines which nearly touch the theory and practice of missions, which those who are the most loud in the support of all kinds of missionary labours, and Missionary Societies, will not readily admit; but we will not, therefore, deny their first inference, that the Church is—and must be, to fulfil the ends of its institution—a missionary body. We will not accuse them of overstraining this great truth, or the divine sanction which it receives from the words of our Lord just rehearsed. On the contrary, we do and will declare, most unequivocally, that the doctrine cannot be too strongly expressed, or

* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

Digitized by Google

too forcibly inculcated, nor made to hang too unreservedly on our Lord's express command.

But while we maintain that the Church of Christ is, and must be, missionary in its character, in its objects, and in its exertions, we yet reserve to ourselves full right to doubt whether all missionary societies are acting upon the divine rule in this matter. We reserve to ourselves full right to look beyond professions to principle; and to decide, if need be, that even the self-assumption of the title "Church" does not unequivocally determine that the society which assumes it is wholly regulated in its laws and actions by the command of our blessed Lord to the Church: and still more do we reserve to ourselves full right to expose the absurdities of individual emissaries of any society whatever, without being accounted enemies to truly Christian Missions. Nay, we trust to acquit ourselves rather as humble servants of the Church, in the true exercise of her missionary office, by exposing those absurdities and bad practices, wherever they may be found, which tend to bring into disrepute the work committed to her by her Divine Head.

Mr. Dallas's *Missionary Crisis of the Church of England* demands our attention with this view; for, certainly, if the principles which are there assumed were true, there could never be any obedience at all to the divine law, by which the Church is appointed to evangelize the world: and as certainly, if every attempt to support missionary societies were pervaded by the like spirit, the bitterness of party at home would quite destroy all hope of propagating a religion of harmony and love abroad. And, first, for his principles;—let us see what is the foundation, according to Mr. Dallas, of all missionary exertions in the Church of England.

"The Church," says he, "is a 'congregation of faithful men,' *each of whom*, in his character of Christian, *is charged with certain duties. It is not* (as some have appeared to suppose) *a corporate body, having a conventional existence and personification, with privileges and duties of which the individual members in separation are incapable.* Any number, therefore, of individual Christians are at full liberty to devise lawful plans by which to accomplish *that which is the duty of each.*"—P. 2.

From these novel principles, Mr. Dallas deduces the charter of missionary societies. Surely, from such premises, he ought to deduce that there can be no such thing as any society at all for any religious purposes; if, indeed, any conclusion at all can follow from such premises. For the second of his propositions, in which he denies to the Church personality and a corporate existence, absolutely nullifies the other two; and these, again, are either nonsense, or inconsistent the one with the other: for when it is said that *each individual is charged with certain duties*, it is either meant, or ought to be meant, that each individual has his peculiar and distinctive duties; whereas, when mention is made of *the duties of each*, it is either implied that all have the same duties, or it is nothing at all to the purpose. Now we do not stop to prove that the Church *is*

Digitized by Google

"a corporate body,* with privileges and duties of which the individual members are incapable," because we do not believe that any one but Mr. Dallas (except, perhaps, a few very ultra-Independents) ever entertained a thought to the contrary,—all persons who hold that there is a church at all, holding it to be just that which Mr. Dallas denies it to be; but this we do say, that, if she were not such a body, even the Church herself could not engage in missionary labours; and that, *à fortiori*, no self-formed society within the Church, (which, at the most can have no greater powers and privileges than the Church,) must be utterly incapable of any such exertions. It results from the very fact that the Church *is* a corporate body, with corporate privileges and duties, that each Christian "is charged with certain duties," in the distributive sense of those words. We repeat it, that if it were not distinctively the duty of some to send, and of others to go—of some to teach, and of others to hear,—that if it were not the privilege of some to rule, and of others to obey—of some to minister, and of others to be ministered to, there would be no mission at all; and that it is just that divine constitution of the Church, which gives to her, in her corporate, collective, mystical character, both duties and privileges of which no individual is or can be capable, which makes the Church the great missionary society of the world. Or, to say the same in words which no Christian will gainsay directly, though many unconsciously reason as if they were not true,—"The body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you." And again, (but we should have to transcribe the whole chapter,† to place the argument in its full light;)—"Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of teaching, helps, governments, diversities of tongues," &c.

In real truth, when Mr. Dallas enounced his great principle, he was not thinking how it would subserve the missionary work of the Church in general, or even of missionary societies in their several fields

* We omit the words, "having a conventional existence and personification," because we believe they are the representations of no ideas in the author's mind, and are introduced only for their sound. He is dealing with those who think highly of the Church; and they would be the last to hold its existence and personality merely "conventional."

† 1 Cor. xii.

Digitized by Google

of labour; but he was thinking how it would tend to account for the want of missionary fervour, which he fancies he discovers in good Churchmen; and how it would serve a polemical purpose against "the Tractarian heresy." He is so fearful of "the infusion of a refined idolatry, through a personification of 'Mother Church,' in the place of the grosser abomination of image worship," that he must deny to the Church a corporate existence, notwithstanding St. Paul's assertion that "there is one body;"*—that he must deny it an impersonation, notwithstanding the figure which pervades the Sacred Scriptures, perhaps more than any other, whereby the Church is called *the Bride* of Christ;—that he must sneer at "Mother Church," though St. Paul saith, "Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all."† But let us again hear Mr. Dallas himself.

"The leaven of the principles set forth by the authors of the 'Tracts for the Times' has spread its influence with alarming rapidity over a large portion of the Church. It has not, however, reached the counsels of the Church Missionary Society. The executive of that body has, through God's mercy, been preserved even from the suspicion of favouring the new opinions, or of helping them on, through that treacherous indifference, which, by heedlessly admitting the approaches of the enemy unobserved, betrays the post which should have been defended with watchfulness. It is the reality of conversion to Christ which the Church Missionary Society has in view, not the infusion of a refined idolatry, through a personification of 'Mother Church,' in the place of the grosser abomination of image worship. And in carrying out this design, the Lord has raised up faithful men, who, under the direction of his own Spirit, have been unobtrusively watchful against the admission of Tractarian influence. From the very formation of the Society in 1800, its path has always been characterized by a godly jealousy for the simplicity of evangelical truth, and for a distinct protest against all the forms and degrees of that principle of merely external religion, in combination with unscriptural doctrine, which, since the year 1833, have been condensed into Tractarianism. This is an unpardonable offence in the minds of Tractarians, and it may be feared, that the constant opposition which has been manifested by those who now approve of the Tracts for the Times, may be traced to the feeling engendered by this offence, however little the opposers may be aware of the root of their own motives."—Pp. 16, 17.

In another passage, Mr. Dallas fairly confesses that the Church Missionary Society has been all along the organ of a party in the Church, and acted altogether on mere party or sectarian principles.

"The history of the Church Missionary Society, from its very formation, testifies that it has ever been carried on under the direction of one ruling principle in all its active agents; and that it has united for its object the great mass of those members of the Church of England who openly and boldly profess to be actuated by the same principle. That principle is the pre-eminence of spirituality as the real life of a religious professor—the distinctive separation of spiritual Christians from the walk of worldly though orthodox professors;—in a word, the principle of evangelical piety as contradistinguished from merely formal profession—essential Christianity, as opposed to what has been termed 'Sacramental religion.' It is at once the strength of the Church Missionary Society, and the comfort and boast of its friends, that it is characteristically evangelical, as well as correctly ecclesiastical. This is its glory; and if it were to lose that character, the hour that saw this Ichabod stamped upon it would

* Eph. iv. 4. † Gal. iv. 26.

Digitized by Google

empty its treasury, and leave it but a name in the past history of the Church of Christ. Now, upon examining the opinions of the opposers of the Church Missionary Society, we find among them considerable differences in doctrines; and various degrees of feeling upon each. But upon one point they are all agreed: that point is a repugnance to the principles and profession of what is termed, in the present day, 'evangelical religion.' This repugnance is expressed in different manners, according to differences of character. It may be seen in some, as the deep-rooted hatred boldly blurted out; in others, as the bitter scorn sarcastically put forth; again, as the grave admonition of some, or the merry mockery of others;—the quiet warning—the decisive shunning—the exclusive dealing—the excluding of the poor from temporal advantages. In whatever form or shade of difference, a repugnance to 'evangelical religion' is somehow or other to be discovered in every active opponent of the Church Missionary Society; it may claim the 'semper ubique ab omnibus' impress of catholicity amongst them."

Of course, we do not stop to refute, or even to deny, the charges of Mr. Dallas;—there is nothing in the moral or intellectual weight of his pamphlet which makes it necessary;—but we do indignantly accuse him of scattering firebrands in the Church, under cover of undertaking a holy cause; and we do this the more, because we believe that this has been too much the effect of the operations of the Church Missionary Society, (whose agent he is,) both at home and abroad. A short time past, some alterations in the rules of the Society gave good hope that there might be even a possibility of uniting with it, without breach of principle. Mr. Dallas teaches us that this hope has not been realized; but surely the Society cannot be ignorant that it is, in part at least, owing to the intemperate attacks of such men as Mr. Dallas on Church principles, whenever they can find an opportunity. Here, for instance, is an irenicum:—

"Very few subscribers have been added to the list by the recent alteration, though it removed the shadow of an excuse under which so many have been wont to withhold their assistance, but it is not to be wondered at, that those who openly adhere to the system of the Tracts for the Times, should continue an active opposition; maintaining, in some mystified manner, that, in spite of the archbishops and bishops, the Church Missionary Society is not a Church Society. The notion which these persons entertain of the Church is so very different from that suggested by the 19th Article, that assuming their own definition, they can easily unchurch every thing rightly connected with the Church of England. In the point of view from which they see the Church, it would be much to be deplored if they could acknowledge the just claims of the Church Missionary Society. If we may take the received symbol of the moon to represent the Church, receiving her light from the Sun of Righteousness in heaven, and conveying it to the world during the night of his absence, we may assert that the Church Missionary Society receives the blessed beams from her at that part of her orbit from whence they are reflected to the earth at the full; and is enlightened by them to walk in the dark places of the earth, finding out God's elect amongst the heathen. The Tractarians see this same moon also, but it is from a different part of her orbit: they gaze upon her with a telescopic eye, at that point in which she obscures the rays of the Sun of Righteousness, instead of reflecting them. By their system, the Church is made to stand between us and Christ. With some, the eclipse may be partial; with some, central and annular; with some, total: but, with all who hold this system, the notion of the Church obscures the light of the Spirit by the opaque forms of external observances, which, in their true use and right position, were meant to be the medium

Digitized by Google

of conveying, and not of obstructing, the glorious light of saving spriritual truth."—Pp. 53, 54.

But the reader thinks that we have had too much of Mr. Dallas; and so should we, but that he represents a class of men who are so prominent in the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, that we are bold to say that Society can never prosper until they are driven from its proceedings, either by the authority of the Society itself, or by the loud complaint of those without. We have two or three very grave charges to make against the Church Missionary Society, and this is the first, (although, serious as it is, not, perhaps, the most serious:) —that, throughout the kingdom, more harm is done, more division effected, a greater breach made in the peace of parishes, and even of dioceses, by the meetings of the friends of the Church Missionary Society, and by the speeches of their agents, than all the time intervening between the meetings can heal. And we may appeal to those who attend such meetings, whether it is not in the places where it is supposed that the shaft against "Puseyism" will strike an ecclesiastical superior, and one who is placed in charge over those who are addressed, that it is most recklessly hurled. Mr. Dallas's advertisement to his "Crisis" will throw a little light on this point, especially when viewed in connexion with what was recorded of his speech at Leeds. He tells us that, having delivered speeches, of which the substance was the same at Liverpool and at Leeds, some "circumstances seemed to him to render it advisable that the detail of the subject should be carried out with more particularity at Leeds." Now, the "Crisis," with all its attacks upon Church principles, is, in substance, the speeches delivered at this meeting. If we ask Mr. Dallas whether the vicar of Leeds was not the innocent cause of all the additional matter about Puseyism, and remind him of the just indignation which his grossly personal attacks excited at the time, and of his most weak attempt to justify himself, in a pamphlet pretty extensively circulated by him soon after the meeting, perhaps he may be ashamed to deny the charge, and equally ashamed to admit it.

We are well aware that, after the most gross attacks, in which every thing short of the name of the object of attack is mentioned, it is not uncommon to hear a disclaimer of all intentions to be personal. But of all people in the world, your hackneyed speakers at such meetings must know the sound of personal feeling, when it is stimulated into applause by a pungent period. And do they stop, when they find that what they *accidentally* let fall, is doing mischief? Do they check the rising sectarianism, and allay the bitterness of unlawful reprobation of authorities? Surely none will for an instant accuse them of such weakness.

Well, then, we presume that one who adheres, through evil report and good report, to Church principles, is not really expected to appear either on platforms, or among the noisy applauders, while such things are said against him; especially when not the person only, but the office, through him, is attacked. And yet, if we may believe

Digitized by Google

Mr. Dallas, *it is nothing but a hatred of evangelical religion, that keeps consistent Churchmen from joining the Society!*

It is true, indeed, that the Society can hardly be said to be accountable for every harsh speech that its friends, or even its emissaries, may utter; although such injudicious advocates are accountable, morally, and ought to be practically, to the Society and to the Church, for the evils which ensue from such displays of party feeling. But what do we find where this Society is mistress? What do we find, for instance, in the Society's Missionary College, at Islington? Is the Church or the individual most exalted there? and does the system really tend to the promotion of a form of religious feeling, which can be called wholesome? Of the extempore prayers and expositions of the Principal we say little; because there may be some guarantee in his experience and qualifications of soberness at the least; and yet, surely, it is not the way to direct a set of young men to grave and reverential habits, to let them see constantly that the prayers of the Church are postponed to extempore unauthorised addresses to the Almighty. But what shall we think of the way in which the pupils themselves are encouraged to acquire habits of extempore prayer, as if prayer were an accomplishment, and not a solemn service; a display of acquired powers, and not a present sacrifice to God; as if a capacity to address the throne of grace without premeditation, were a part of the furniture of a missionary mind? What, we ask, shall we think of the prayer meetings of the students in the library, at which the tutors are not present, and when the students take the chair by turns; of the chairman's lecture and extempore prayer; of the prayers which follow, (all extempore,) from other students, at the chairman's call? Will the reader be surprised to hear, that even personal piques have been known to give a colour to prayers thus offered? And will any, officially connected with the Society, tell us what would be the consequence, if a student should venture on a lecture in which the Church Catechism and the third chapter of St. John's Gospel should be made to teach the same doctrine? Would a student be expelled, or only receive some lighter chastisement, who should venture to put together the words of our blessed Lord, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," and those of the Church, in which she thus describes the inward and spiritual grace of baptism:—"A death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness: for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are thereby made the children of grace:"—what, we ask, would be the punishment within Islington academy, for a firmly avowed conviction, that our blessed Lord and the Church are here teaching the same truth; viz. the doctrine of regeneration in holy baptism?

But we pass to other matters.

Mr. Dallas has laboured, in his Appendix, to remove from the Church Missionary Society the odium of having continually, from its neglect of ecclesiastical order, proved a trouble and a hindrance,

Digitized by Google

rather than an assistance, to the bishops of the diocese in which its missionaries are employed. Exercising, as it does, hyper-episcopal powers, and only very lately having become, even in profession, a body responsible to any ecclesiastical authorities, it must have often clashed with the colonial bishops; and though it has lately added to its code of laws, one which should seem to preclude the possibility of any very gross infringement on the bishop's authority, we shall find presently, that the hopes which we might have gathered from the publication of such laws, are altogether delusive.

We must enter somewhat at length on the case of the Rev. W. J. Humphrey, which is contained in a mass of documents of a public nature, and involving public principles, though Mr. Humphrey has shown his personal forbearance, in printing them for private circulation only. We may add, that many parts of them are already before the public in divers forms, so that it would be affectation to treat the correspondence as still private.

Mr. Humphrey having been already employed by the Society in Travancore, was nominated by them, and licensed by the bishop of Madras, to the missionary charge of Myaveram. Bringing to bear upon his highly responsible duties a mind already practically acquainted with the subject of missions, and with the way in which Christianity is likely best to be recommended to the heathen, Mr. Humphrey had scarcely commenced his labours, when he was prepared to offer to his ecclesiastical superior a plan of proceedings which he might have thought himself happy to have effected. We shall make free use of his most striking letter to the bishop of Madras, in stating his case.

Comparing the results of missionary labours with times long past, and even with those of Swartz, Mr. H. hints at the very reasonable conclusion, that there is something radically wrong in the present system, or its details; and not unnaturally—we will venture to add, not unwisely—he reverts to those primitive times in which the Church really did evangelize the world, for his principles and his models. He cannot help seeing that, surrounded with heathenism in its most luxuriant form and vigour, with a very small assembly of Christians to serve as a nucleus, he is just in the very same condition with many a missionary of primitive times; and being sanguine enough to hope that there are means of effecting the same results, he looks for those means, in an adaptation, at least, of the same principles.

Yet he is no independent speculator who forgets his allegiance to his own Church, in his study of primitive forms. On the contrary, he finds his attachment to the Anglican Church strengthened by the coincidence of principle which unites it with the early church. But here he shall speak for himself.

"*If I might*, without intrusion, I would just set down in words the train in which my thoughts ran when I reached this place. What is my object at *Myaveram?* To plant an offshoot of the Anglican Church. What is the

Digitized by Google

Anglican Church? A branch of that one holy and apostolic body, called the Church Catholic, which has existed in all times, and is fitted for all places; but was purest at the times nearest its formation by Christ and his apostles. How are the principles of the Anglican Church proved to be those of the early church? From its formularies. It retains for *doctrine*, the holy Scriptures, the three Creeds, the two Sacraments, in all their fulness of blessing and meaning. It has services for all the chief events of a man's life. It retains the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, for Sundays and Saints'-days, in nearly the same state as a thousand years ago. It retains a daily morning and evening sacrifice of prayer, and praise, and teaching, wherein, if its members could or would attend, they would, in the course of a year, have nearly the whole of the Old Testament brought before them once, the New Testament thrice, and the Psalms twelve times.

"For discipline and government, it expressly traces its connexion with the early Church, in that it derives its three orders, of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, from the Apostles' times. In requiring three, or at least two, Bishops to consecrate another Bishop, according to ancient custom. In guiding its canonical or polemical judgments by the first four general councils."—Letter, etc. p. 6.

If Mr. Humphrey finds it necessary to modify, in some measure, the ceremonial of our Church to suit the circumstances of a missionary, it is not such a society as the Church Missionary Society that ought to throw the first stone. He does, in fact, suggest some little modifications in discipline and ceremonial, adhering all the while most strictly to the rule of our Church concerning ceremonies, set forth in the preface to the Common Prayer, and in the 34th Article. And, first, he desiderates discipline; and next to this, or rather as a part of it, a separation between avowed heathens, catechumens, and communicants, which the present circumstances of the Church in England do not demand, and for which therefore we have no provision.

"Surely," he says, "it was not intended that unbaptized Christians should enter Christ's temple with as little ceremony as if walking into a toddy shop, and listen to the prayers, and thus get initiated into all the Christian mysteries, without the preparation of fasting and prayer, which our Church plainly deems a pre-requisite; (see Office for Adult Baptism.)"—P. 6.

"None can say that Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. True, but then, do we expect prayers which are intended only for Christians ripe in the faith, should prove like the preaching of Peter; or do no evils result from throwing thus the precious things of Christianity before swine? That this was not the custom of the early Church, is plain from Justin Martyr, quoted by Palmer, (Compendium of Ecclesiastical History, pp. 52—57;) and the very form of our Churches at home points out the same thing, which is, of course, more connected with our present practice."—P. 7.

Long as they may seem, we are obliged to give the following proposals verbatim, because they are the foundation of all the persecution which Mr. Humphrey has experienced, and from which even the bishop's arm has not been able to shield him. Thus, then, he writes for his lordship's approval or dissension—as principles to guide him in his labours.

1. "As a fundamental principle in intercourse with, and preaching to, heathen to be careful only gradually to bring before them the mysteries of the Christian scheme, pressing on them chiefly repentance and faith, in order to their right initiation into the Christian Church; this to include carefulness about the kind

Digitized by Google

and the measure, also, of doctrine contained in tracts; and to discourage a too lavish dispersion of the word of God, without a teacher at hand to explain it; and to exclude prayers, through Christ, from being taught in heathen schools, by heathen masters.

2. "To revert to the ancient divisions of the people into hearers, catechumens, and faithful, so as to admit the first mentioned only to preaching, appropriate, and prayers *for* them. The catechumens to be instructed separately, and to join in certain prayers for their fuller illumination; and the faithful, or *baptized alone*, to be admissible to the present Liturgy of the Anglican Church.

3. "With this view, I wish to build a Church, in the early English style, substantial as to material, with as much ornament as our funds may allow of;* and of such a form, as to combine under one roof distinct portions for each class, so as to hold out the portion of the faithful to be the holiest; and in this way to symbolize the inaccessibility of heaven without holiness, and cause men to see and feel that there is a privilege in becoming a Christian, of which heathen are not possessed, and thus, one would hope, lead them more to desire it. A portion should also be assigned for future penitents, who, in conformity with Church censures, should be inadmissible to full communion.

4. "To have, daily, matins and even-song for the faithful, with all the adjuncts available, viz. organ, chanting—which is much more agreeable to the Tamil rhythm, than is singing of Tamil hymns to English psalm tunes, which entirely changes the sound of words, and, also, all the ceremony allowed by the English Church.

5. "The body of catechists—native deacons, when practicable—to be centralised as much as possible, so as fully to carry out the above principles, by assisting at the prayers of the faithful, instructing catechumens, and arguing (under the immediate eye, or directions, of the missionary) with the heathen, who might be collected easily, by a little stir, and by the character for piety, which, by our attention to form, we should gain.

6. "The adoption by the missionary, and his assistants, of an ecclesiastical dress, such as should be appointed by the bishop—white, if possible—and of such manner of living, as would most strikingly convince the native of his being a teacher sent from God; for, until we ourselves act in such a way as will show to the Hindoos that we believe our religion to be divine, we may labour long enough before we shall make them reverence it; until they see us reverence our faith, they will cavil and jeer; but once boldly meet them on ground which they think sacred, and the captious exercise of their reason will be checked by their deeply rooted principles of faith."—P. 7.

To the letter from which we have made the above extracts, the bishop replied in a tone of encouragement, dictated by his sympathy with the zeal and candour of the writer; and having heard from the bishop, Mr. Humphrey thought himself justified in stating his plans to the Madras committee of the Church Missionary Society, which he accordingly did, in a letter, dated August 31, 1841, in the very same words (so far as all important matters are concerned) which he had already addressed to his bishop, and which we have quoted above; adding certain estimates of expenses, and details of plans, which are

* It would seem that anything like an adequate degree of attention to the size and beauty of the Lord's house, must come with all the suspicion of a novel experiment before the Church Missionary Society. Capt. Fitzroy, describing the state of the missions in New Zealand, where the missionaries have actually depopulated parts of the country, by purchasing out the poor inhabitants—sometimes under pretence of holding land for their benefit, complains of the mean aspect of the chapels, which are low, and little better than school-houses, while he found the mission-store a handsome building of stone, having its tower and clock.

Digitized by Google

nothing to the present purpose. What, then, will be the surprise of the reader to see that the gracious answer of the M. C. C. C. M. S. (for thus does the Madras Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society write itself) inclosed the following resolutions:—

"The M. C. Committee of the C. M. Society have received, with the deepest pain, the communication of the Rev. Mr. Humphrey's views, as explained in his letter of the 1st of September, 1841.

"They feel that, neither as members of the Church of England, nor, as representatives of the C. M. Society, can they in any manner sanction views which they believe to be entirely opposed both to the doctrines of that Church, and to the principles on which the Society is founded. And it is their deliberate judgment, that the maintenance of such principles as the Rev. Mr. Humphrey has now distinctly avowed, necessarily disqualifies any person from labouring in connexion with a Missionary Society of the Church of England.

"Resolved—That the Rev. Mr. Cotterill, Acting Clerical Secretary, be requested to communicate to the Rev. Mr. Humphrey, the Committee's sentiments upon this subject; and that copies of Mr. Humphrey's letter, and of the present resolution, be transmitted, by the next mail, to the Parent Committee.

"Resolved, further—That copies of the Rev. Mr. Humphrey's letter, and of this resolution, be also submitted, by the Acting Clerical Secretary, to the Right Rev. the Bishop."—P. 14.

This tardy mention of the bishop, is certainly not for direction of the Society's judgment and conduct,* which was already recorded, and carried out. If it was merely that the Society might find an instrument of tyranny in the use which they would make of the bishop's power, they found themselves mistaken.

The question of Mr. Humphrey's orthodoxy, is not that with which we are concerned. Even supposing, for argument's sake, that he was as unsound as the M. C. C. C. M. S. would make him, still the gross injustice, and want of all ecclesiastical propriety, in arraigning him for matters of doctrine before a lay tribunal, and of condemning him unheard, would be disgraceful to that committee: so that it is quite needless to refer to the long, and we must say, ignorant letter of the Acting Clerical Secretary of the M. C. C. C. M. S., which accompanied their extracts from the minutes; we may, however, state, that there is nothing in them which can weigh for an instant against Mr. Humphrey's protest, immediately sent to the bishop, and to the Society, against three of the inferences drawn from his letter.

1. "That the gospel of Jesus Christ is not to be preached to every creature.

2. "That God's word does not bear so manifest an impress of its divine character and commission as we poor sinful creatures may bear; that we can be holier, and better suited to the wants of God's creatures, than his own book.

---

* "I think it is right I should explain, that it is not to the bishop, but to the Parent Committee, that the recent correspondence has been referred; though, of course, the whole has been laid before the bishop."—Extract from Letter of the Secretary of the Madras Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, of 22d of Oct. 1841.

Digitized by Google

3. "The obscuration of the doctrine of the atonement, or of Christ crucified."—P. 15.

With wonderful forbearance, "the Madras Committee"—we use the words of the Church Missionary Society's own rehearsal of the matter:—

"The Madras Committee took no further step toward the dissolution of Mr. Humphrey's connexions with the society, till they received the resolutions of the Parent Committee of November 30, 1841.

"On the resolution of the Madras Committee, with its accompanying documents, being brought, in due course of business, before the Parent Committee, they, on the 30th of November, passed the following resolutions:—

"(I.) That the committee record their entire satisfaction at the promptitude with which the corresponding committee have acted, in the painful affair of the Rev. W. T. Humphrey's letter, of September 1, 1841.

"(II.) That the committee fully concur in opinion with the corresponding committee, that the maintenance of such principles as Mr. Humphrey has distinctly avowed, necessarily disqualifies him from labouring in connexion with this society.

"(III.) That the principles of action to which the committee more particularly refer, are:—

"1. The restriction which Mr. Humphrey would place upon the dispersion of the Holy Scriptures among the Heathen.

"2. The reserve which he would practise in declaring the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, in his preaching to the heathen.

"(IV.) That while the committee acknowledge the honesty and candour with which Mr. Humphrey avows his intention of adhering to these principles of action, in the discharge of his office as a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society,—and declares that the adoption of them has been the result of long deliberation;—they feel that they are precluded, by this very circumstance, from making any attempt to produce a change in Mr. Humphrey's views; and that they are therefore under the painful necessity of declaring their conviction, that it is impossible for a person to continue in connexion with the Society while he acts in direct opposition to the instructions which the Society has delivered to its Missionaries, and to the practice by which its operations have ever been characterised.

"(V) That the foregoing resolutions be communicated to the Right Reverend the Bishop of Madras; and that immediate steps be taken to supply the post at Myaveram, held by Mr. Humphrey."

With an announcement of the resolutions of the Omnipotent Parent Committee, Mr. Humphrey receives notice also that Mr. Taylor is written to, that he may be prepared to receive the charge of the mission, and its property. Surely it might have occurred that the mission, at least, was a spiritual trust, and could not so be resumed, and so transferred, by a lay-committee. Mr. Humphrey, at any rate, so judged, and we defy all the committees of all the societies in the world to gainsay his judgment: and we are sure that the voice of all England,—yea of all the whole Church, will be with him, when he says:

"I feel, however, that I should be disguising the truth, and sacrificing the interests of my brethren in the ministry, if I did not protest in the most explicit manner against the right of any such body as the committee, to censure and to proceed to deprive a Clergyman, on grounds unquestionably those of doctrine, without the recorded judgment, or at least, the consenting voice, of his diocesan.

Digitized by Google

"I conceive that until such sentence or such voice has been issued, the Committee proceed beyond their power, when they dismiss a Clergyman supported by them; and under this conviction I am bound, as well for the preservation of my clerical character, as for the interests of the missionary body at large, to appeal to my diocesan against the Committee's sentence.

"I have, however, according to your instructions, delivered over to Mr. Taylor, this day, the charge of the Mission."

Meanwhile the Lord Bishop of Madras lays the whole case before His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Parent Church Missionary Society; pleading the cause of Mr. Humphrey, in a way which would be triumphant against anything but most tyrannical prejudice, and his own cause also, as the ecclesiastical judge in such cases. It is with this latter branch of the subject only that we have to do. He asks them:

"Has any committee of a society, which claims to be considered as a society of the members of the Church of England, any power to pass a sentence which virtually amounts to a deprivation from his cure, on any clergyman, without reference to his diocesan?

"The sentence of a committee is a virtual deprivation, because if entitled to any consideration, it must subject the censured to the loss of his means of support which are disbursed by the committee.

"Are the opinions and views of the clergy, until they are declared heterodox by the diocesan, a fit subject of condemnation by a committee? and if any doubts are entertained by a committee as to the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of a clergyman, supported by the Parent Society, are not the committee bound, as members of the Church of England, to seek the interference of the diocesan, and an explanation of doubtful views through the same channels?

"The diocesan cannot now decide the question, because the pre-judgment of the M. C. C. C. M. S. prevents his doing so, with that unshackled liberty of judgment which he ought to possess;—the fact of the judgment of the M. C. C. C. M. S. being reiterated without hearkening to the wish expressed for time for explanation, and without listening to the disapproval of the committee's proceedings which the diocesan had conveyed, leaves the diocesan unable to act otherwise than to protest against the conduct of the committee, on the grounds of its having attempted to deprive the Rev. W. T. Humphrey of his diocesan's superintendence and protection. It appears to the diocesan, however unintentionally such a line of conduct has been taken, the consequence has been, the invasion of the episcopal office. The diocesan hopes that the M. C. C. C. M. S. could not have intended to neglect his office altogether, and freely acquits them of any intentional disrespect towards himself, but he believes that the M. C. C. C. M. S. acted under erroneous views of the duty of a committee; and the case is now submitted to superior judgment, not only with an anxious desire to see the character of a faithful clergyman re-established, but in the hope that the decision which may be given will prevent any irregularity in future."

Just in time, as it should seem, to have insured attention to the Bishop's appeal, and to have subjected the Society most absolutely to the definitive sentence of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the English Bishop, the C. M. S. had framed their Thirty-second Law.

XXXII. "That all questions relating to ecclesiastical order and discipline, respecting which a difference shall arise, between any Colonial Bishop, and any committee of the Society, shall be referred to the Archbishops and Bishops of the united Church of England and Ireland, whose decision thereupon shall be final."

Digitized by Google

But the next law of this Society is so cunningly framed, and in this case so shamelessly applied, that the public learns to doubt, whether it is possible that any case can occur, in which the judgment of the Archbishops and Bishops shall be accepted. The law is as follows:—

"XXXIII. That the object of the preceding law being only to provide a mode of settling questions relating to ecclesiastical order and discipline, as to which no provision has yet been made by the society, it is not to be so construed, as in any other respect, to alter the principles and practice of the society, as they are contained in its laws and regulations, and explained in Appendix ii. to the Thirty-ninth Report."

When, therefore, the parent committee are required by the Bishop of Madras, to refer the case of Mr. Humphrey to the Archbishops and Bishops, under Law XXXII, they feel themselves

"Called upon, by the terms of Law XXXIII., to inquire whether the points raised by the bishops in that statement fell within the scope of Law XXXII., as explained by Law XXXIII. And after careful consideration, they arrived at the conclusion, that they did not fall within the scope of that law, as thus explained, and that they could not, therefore, become matters of reference under those laws."

And so, forsooth, the judging of the doctrine and character of a minister licensed by a Bishop; and the withdrawing his salary on the issue of the judgment; and the sending another person to occupy his place; and the requiring him to give up the charge which the Bishop, that is the Church, had committed to him;—these are not matters of ecclesiastical order or discipline, such as may be committed to the Bishops! Shame to the Society that any law should be wanting except the law which is of paramount authority over all, to enforce the claim of the Church to judge in such matters! Not of ecclesiastical order or discipline?—Why, where they are not so, it is because they touch even higher matters, and such as are still farther removed from an irresponsible lay tribunal: theology and the determining and reverential handling of the truth! Do words mean anything? Do self-imposed laws bind at all? Does the Church lose all prior authority, because an interpretation of a law of the Church Missionary Society deprives it of power in a particular case? What! was Rule XXXII. so merely and absolutely a bait to catch Churchmen, that it is not allowed even the slightest hold on the Society itself? No, this is too much; and wonder indeed we must, that Henry Venn, Richard Davies, and Dandeson Coates, could be prevailed upon by any "order of the committee" to put forth such reasoning.

Whether the Society's apologetic writings are of more force than their laws we know not; but, however, let us compare Henry Venn and the Society in 1839, with Henry Venn and the Society in 1842. In 1839, "the Society recognised the uncontrolled discretion of the bishop to grant or withhold his license . . . . . so that a missionary cannot be removed from one district to another, without the sanction of the bishop."

In 1842 Mr. Taylor is sent to Myaveram, against the bishop's will, to supersede Mr. Humphrey, from whom the bishop will not withdraw his license.

Digitized by Google

In 1839 the committee and secretary stood "in the relation of lay patrons to the missionary."

In 1842 they condemn as a synod of ecclesiastics, and deprive as an ecclesiastical superior; to neither of which offices any patron, as such, is competent.

In 1839 it seemed "impossible to supersede the conventional understanding," by which the Society was pledged not to "act in an unreasonable or arbitrary manner, or withdraw the salary from a licensed missionary, without reason sufficient to prove to the licensing bishop the necessity of the proceeding."*

In 1842 the whole case is exactly reversed.

To be sure, all these statements of the Society's plans and principles would not bind them, for like Law XXXII. they were intended to serve a present purpose; and that purpose was to cover the bad principles and bad practices of the Society with a veil of promises and pretensions. Indeed, Law XXXII. with the Society's limitations, is an absolute nullity. We defy Mr. Venn, and the rest of the secretaries of the Society, to suppose a case, with the utmost license of hypothesis and the greatest stretch of their ingenuity, to which that law can be applied, if its bearing on the case of Mr. Humphrey be denied. An individual would be scouted for such double dealing; and if he got a horsewhipping into the bargain, he would have no better sympathy than that which Agamemnon afforded to the scoundrel Polymnestor.

Ἐπεὶ τὰ μὴ καλὰ
Πράσσειν ἐτόλμας, τλῆθι καὶ τὰ μὴ φίλα.†

With regard to Mr. Humphrey's case, it rests, we believe, thus. Satisfied with the integrity of Mr. H., in his explanation of his views, the Bishop of Madras refuses to withdraw his license; but Mr. Taylor has possession of the station of Myaveram, and is made the head (the blame is not with him) of a schism. Meanwhile the case is referred, not in pursuance of rules—no, who would make rules to bind themselves? not in obedience to apostolic order—no, the Church Missionary Society has always looked suspiciously on the maintainers of such a dangerous device—but of the exceeding humility and condescension of the Society, in the present instance, to the Archbishop of Canterbury and to the Bishop of London. Justice, we doubt not, will finally be done; for we will not believe, as it has been insinuated, that the Society is only prepared to listen to an award in its favour: but meanwhile, where are the securities which simple Churchmen thought they had, first, in the very name—and then, when they were mistaken, in the loud professions—and then, when once more deceived, in the express laws of the *Church* Missionary Society?

We do not fear that any who will seriously enter into the merits of the case, will accuse us of writing in terms of too strong reprobation of the conduct of the Church Missionary Society in this case. Other charges we feel obliged to notice, just to show that we do not

* See Appendix ii. of Report for 1839. Had we had space, the contrast might have been much extended.

† Hecuba, 1226.

Digitized by Google

hastily condemn, and on a few grounds; and also to prove that there really may be reasons for withholding support from the Society which do not involve an absence of all evangelical truth, and all vital religion. Let us then ask—Has the very serious charge of "land-sharking" in New Zealand, by its missionaries, to the cruel extent of depopulating portions of the country, been repudiated by the Society with sufficient indignation? And once more—Is it quite creditable that, as a member observes, it is a question whether so remarkable a disparity between income and expenditure could be discovered in the records of any similar institution?

Now, without the smallest wish to find fault with those who do support the Church Missionary Society, or to retaliate upon those who do not join the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the charge which Mr. Dallas makes against those who do not subscribe to the Church Missionary Society:—without any such aggressive applications of what we have advanced, we do think that we have abundantly excused those who are not very hasty to join the ranks of the Society which Mr. Dallas has declared to be sectarian in its whole principles and course; of the agents of which, in his violent attacks against Church principles, he is not an unfair specimen; and against the conduct of whose affairs there are very strong objections. We have followed the Society in many of its operations at home and abroad; and while we admit the glorious aim which it has in view, we cannot wonder that some Churchmen are afraid to join the Society, because of the very anomalous methods by which that aim is pursued. There are some, who are not generally accounted bigoted, or uncharitable, or foolish, who hesitate to enrol their names with a society which has from the beginning (if Mr. Dallas is right,) pertinaciously separated itself from and opposed a large and most excellent body of men within the Church; whom the Church herself has not repudiated, and whom the bishops do not think unworthy of the highest confidence. There are some who do not like to be called on to attend meetings, where, as friends of a society, they must appear enemies to their brethren; where, in search of the means to proclaim peace to the Heathen, they must sow the seeds of discord at home. There are some who will not willingly cast in their lot with a society whose expenditure is too great to be prudent, if not too lavish to be honest;—being scarcely calculated with a fair regard to the proportion of probable future income, and of engagements which cannot be broken off without some degree of injustice to many parties concerned.* There are some who would feel needlessly pained (and would therefore gladly avoid the pain) at hearing

* It is melancholy to see the loose way in which Mr. Close speaks of the debt of the Society, in a late speech at Bath; a speech in which bad taste and bad principles, earnestness and buffoonery, contend for the mastery. "Don't go away," says he, "with the idea that the Society happens to be 20,000*l.* in debt; because if those measures which have been recommended are not adopted, next year the Society will be 40,000*l.* in debt, and the next 80,000*l.*; because the very natural result, the necessary consequence, of missionary success is expense in geometrical progression."

Digitized by Google

such fearful charges against the servants of the Society to which their name is united, as are substantiated against the grasping missionaries of the Society in question in New Zealand. There are some who would be revolted by the system of extempore prayer, wrought into a system of education; with the one-sided course of doctrinal instruction which is pursued at the Missionary College at Islington. There are some who would rather hold aloof from a society which has been found so very frequently to oppose its influence to the canonical authority of bishops, and who, if they were for a moment amused by the additional laws lately made by the Church Missionary Society, will be repulsed again, and that most painfully, by the wonderful exhibition of injustice, and contempt of all law, whether antecedent to their own existence as a society, or framed by themselves, which has characterized the dealings of the Church Missionary Society with Mr. Humphrey, their own servant in India —with the Lord Bishop of Madras, the ruler of the Church in which he was placed—and with the venerable names to whose judgment the original question (which never ought to have been a question at all) was referred. In all this there is surely enough, without any suspicion of hostility to true evangelical religion, and to the spirit of true godliness, to deter consistent members of the Church from joining the Church Missionary Society.

Yet we would not press the consequences of our charge beyond due bounds. We do not ask those who are already members to withdraw their subscriptions and their influence. "Rather," we would say to them, "keep the place that you have, and exert your influence to improve the character, and alter the conduct, of the Society." We must look on this Society as an impersonation of divers great and good principles, working with energy towards a noble end. We see, indeed, unworthy by-ends intervening, and an alloy of bad principles, and, (we must say it,) wicked conduct. But what then? we say not, Cut off *the person*, but call him to repentance and holiness;—and so we say not, Cut off *the Society*, but call her to a consideration of her ways, that she may be wise in time.

It is not altogether foreign from the purpose of our remarks, if we here call attention to a matter which we cannot but consider full of very serious import to the cause of the missions of our Church. We will state the matter historically; and present our readers with the documents:

"I (said Mr. Close, at the anniversary meeting of the Cheltenham Society for Propagating the Gospel) have no wish to allude to topics likely to create discussion. In the large body of clergy belonging to this Society there will, of course, exist great variety of opinion: it is possible that many of them hold opinions which you or I utterly discard. The conduct of the missionaries of the Parent Society is spoken of as the most spiritual, most humble, and most devoted; and while they bear witness to the truth as it is in Jesus; so long as they show an anxious desire to preach the gospel to the Heathen and to the Christian; so long shall the Society have my support. (Hear.) That support, however, must inevitably be withdrawn if the governors and managers of the Society choose to pursue a different course. (Hear.) If they send out clergy-

Digitized by Google

men to disseminate the doctrine that oral tradition is superior to written tradition—that the writings of the Fathers are superior to the word of God—then must I beg to quit the Society. ("Hear, hear," and cordial cheering.) I accuse them of no such design; I believe them to be men who would prefer honesty and sincerity to casuistry and sophistry, and that their principles are the old-fashioned Church of England principles. (Hear.) *I shall be glad to hear the Society's Secretary on this vital point.*" (Loud cheers.) [*Report from the Cheltenham Journal.*]

Probably this report of what the Rev. Chairman said is not quite accurate. He must have said, we conceive, "If they send out clergymen to disseminate the doctrine that oral tradition is of *equal* authority with written tradition—that the writings of the Fathers are *equal* to the word of God—then must I beg to quit the Society;" for the sentiment, as we express it, is that only which is in harmony with Mr. Close's recorded judgment, while either Mr. Campbell or Dr. Wiseman might urgently deny the case, as put in the newspaper report, with the complete adherence to Puseyite or Popish principle and practice.

In answer to this appeal Mr. Campbell, the chief Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, expressed himself as follows, and we have ascertained, on competent authority, that his language was more explicit and pointed than is given in the following report, which we also extract from the *Cheltenham Journal:*

"With respect to the important inquiry of the Chairman as to the principles of the missionaries the Society sent out, he would first call the attention of the meeting to the Charge of the Bishop of Montreal, just published, and which he held in his hand; it is a most beautiful composition. In one part the Bishop urges his clergy *not to conceal the truth.* (Hear.) In another, he warns them against the danger of passing *the limits of truth*, and exhorts them to be good *Protestants.* (Cheers.) He (Mr. C.) was extremely glad to hear such opinions and sentiments from the Bishop of Montreal—he had known him many years previous to his appointment—and was now in constant correspondence with him. He was delighted to be favoured so opportunely with this charge, which seemed peculiarly adapted to the present occasion. He would go *further in his answer to the Chairman.* Not only were the directors uniformly careful in their appointments, but on a *recent important occasion*, when they were *called upon to fill up one of the most responsible offices*, they had rejected the *claims of a candidate*—against whom there was no other *earthly objection*—solely *because* it was known that he held *the opinions pointed at by the Chairman.* (Cheers.) That the Society had some belonging to them holding extreme opinions, he was not prepared to deny, but this he could affirm, that they never, with their eyes open, appointed a missionary to a foreign station, *who held those opinions;* to prevent this, they took double and anxious pains. (Cheers.)"—*From the Record, November*, 21, 1842.

The feelings of churchmen on this matter may be best gathered from the following extract from the Times, of November 17; the exact phrases of which we are not bound to defend, but its general bearing will sufficiently recommend it.

"We do not consider it of the slightest importance what Mr. Close may think on any one given subject. We dare say he is a very sincere man in his way. But we know him to be an ignorant, vain man—vulgar in his ordinary address, and offensively vulgar in his mode of handling the most awful and solemn topics of religion. Neither do we think Mr. Campbell's personal opinions of much moment. But then Mr. Campbell speaks, or assumes to speak, the sentiments of an old and venerable Institution, founded by Royalty, and still governed by the hierarchy of our Church. He may therefore be supposed to speak the language of a certain, although we believe a small, party in that Society. What says Mr. Campbell in reply to Mr. Close? How does he remove the scruples of the anxious Vicar? Why, he, the recognised agent of the Society, declares that its Governors had rejected the claims of a candidate against whom they had no other earthly objection, solely because it was known that he held the opinions

Digitized by Google

pointed at by the Chairman.' And he further added, that 'they never had appointed a missionary who held those opinions, and to prevent this they took *double and anxious pains.*'

"Now, what does all this mean? Are we really labouring with a religious surfeit in this country? Are we suffering from a plethora of missionary zeal, that any Society should 'take double and anxious pains' to prevent a worthy, pious, and devoted man from engaging in the noblest arena of human exertion? And all for what? His opinions—opinions neither repugnant to his ordination vow, else he would have been ungowned; nor at variance with the Articles of our Church, else they would have been condemned by its bishops; nor such as involve any moral turpitude, for the Society, through their mouth-piece, Mr. Campbell, aver that they had no other earthly objection against him.

"Talk of tyranny after this! We have heard of priestcraft, pious frauds, and profitable superstitions; but we are convinced that there is no tyranny so abominable as that which is exercised by an ignorant, meddling, clap-trap preacher over a weak and equally ignorant congregation; and that nowhere in England but at Cheltenham, and under the auspices of such a man as Mr. Close, would Mr. Campbell's protestation have been received with other feelings than those of scorn, loathing, and disgust."

To this we desire to add, and we speak authoritatively, that at the last board meeting of the Society, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding, the question was asked by one of the incorporated members, "whether the holding or not holding the theological opinions advocated in the Tracts for the Times had ever been made the ground of rejection for missionary or any other employment connected with the Society." The answer given by the Secretary present, (not Mr. Campbell,) was to the effect that "such had never been the case."

Now on this few words are the best: but we may remark that the case stands thus at present. Either Mr. Campbell suffered himself at Cheltenham, under the influence of Mr. Close, to state that which he knew to be untrue; or he did what amounts to the same thing, or is even worse; viz. he distorted facts and made falsehood pass for truth; for we quite accept the Record's statement about the meaning which he intended to convey: we rest nothing upon the exact phrases extracted from the Cheltenham Journal. And in either case we feel bound to state that Mr. Campbell's character is seriously compromised.

Or, the whole report of the Cheltenham meeting is false from first to last; and then Mr. Campbell is bound to take some steps to vindicate himself.

And here we leave this painful business: only congratulating the Society, that, at any rate, whatever becomes of the Secretary, its own character is safe; and it is important that the formal disclaimer on the part of the board, about which there can be no doubt, should be known; because many thought of withdrawing their subscriptions, which, had the Society committed itself to the principle of exclusion announced by Mr. Campbell, they would have been perfectly justified in doing.*

* And we would remark how forcible an argument may be drawn from this untoward event, against the employment in the Society's service of travelling deputations, and preachers, and platform oratory. Had this unfortunate anniversary never taken place, the chief Secretary would not have been entrapped into his present sad position, by the wily artifice of the Cheltenham chairman; nor would the best friends of the Society itself have to deplore that diminution of confidence in its integrity, under which it now labours.

Digitized by Google

A History of the Church of Russia. By A. N. MOURAVIEFF. *Translated by the Rev.* R. W. BLACKMORE, *Chaplain in Cronstadt to the Russia Company.* Oxford: J. H. Parker; Rivingtons, London.

OUR insular position, the cold and heartless system of religion which prevailed in the last century, the most deplorable ignorance of the true principles of the church, the secular spirit of most of the laity and many of the clergy, and, above all, the self-complacency with which such a state of things was regarded,—caused us to confine our sympathies, for the most part, to ourselves, and to care little about other branches of the Holy Catholic Church.

Happily that season of apathy and indifference has now passed away, and our branch of the Church is putting forth those symptoms of life which, during the last century, she was not imagined to possess, by sending forth to her colonies Bishops and Curates, by the more energetic and *more canonically directed* labours of the clergy at home, and by the cultivation of friendly relations with other branches of the Catholic body.

This last-mentioned proof of renewed life (which though dormant for a time, can never become extinct in any true branch of the Church), is remarkably observable in the christian intercourse which the British Church has recently cultivated and established with the American and Scotch branches of the body of Christ; and the blessed effects of that christian intercourse with these sister churches have already been felt and appreciated by many of us.

It is, however, to the benefits which *might arise* by the cultivation of Christian intercourse with the *most ancient*,—the Eastern branch of the Church Catholic,—to which it will be the more immediate object of these pages to direct the attention of Anglican Churchmen; and perhaps no work of modern date could be better selected for that purpose than that which stands at the head of this article.

It is, perhaps, impossible to compute the spiritual benefits which, by God's blessing, might accrue to *both parties*, by the diligent cultivation of such christian intercourse.

The benefits which might accrue to the Eastern Church by coming in contact with a portion of the Catholic body which has been restored to the purity of the early Church, might be seen in leading them to purify themselves from those superstitions and innovations which, in the course of ages, have crept in amongst them; and the benefits which might accrue *to ourselves* might be seen in the infusion into our church system of a larger portion of that apostolic life and energy, which that most ancient branch of the Church continues to possess, and in assisting, perhaps, more than anything else, in rendering the Anglican Church *in practice*, what she is already in theory and constitution.

Digitized by Google

In the preface of the Rev. R. W. Blackmore, the translator of the work now under review, will be found some very important remarks, well worthy of the most careful attention. From this preface we now proceed to make a few extracts.

After some observations upon the mutual ignorance of each other, which has long prevailed, both in the Oriental and British Churches, the translator thus proceeds :—

"Derived from the same high source, the Greek Patriarchates and the British Churches have, indeed, for centuries, ceased to hold intercourse with each other; but yet our Christian communion has never been formally broken off, by any open act of either party. It is only by long custom and mutual prejudice that it is assumed to have become impossible, neither party sufficiently considering that all the Churches of the world were not necessarily implicated in the temporary quarrels and reconciliations of the Archbishops of Rome and Constantinople.

"We certainly both profess to derive our faith from the same pure sources, the same canon of Scripture, primitive tradition, and the practice of apostolic times; they asserting that they have never swerved from these venerable guides, we, that we have returned to them, or sought at least to return, by a reformation, *i.e.* by *repentance*, and amendment in those points in which we found ourselves to have sinned against their authority.

"At the same time it must be confessed, that we do in fact now differ from one another (in our outward form of religion, and in popular opinions at least), in some important particulars; and it is much to be wished, that by a better knowledge of each other's divinity, history, and practice, we may gradually elicit the truth, so as mutually to correct each other's faults and deficiencies, and thus in due time attain to the greatest of the privileges of the apostolic age, 'unrestricted communion.'

"But under present circumstances, very many sources of prejudice conspire to give the members of both communions the most erroneous ideas of each other; the easterns supposing that they are justified by our language and habits in confounding us with Lutherans and Calvinists, and other 'non-espicopalians,' while the English, with at least equal injustice, confound them, as I before said, with the Papists.

"To remove, as far as it is possible, this ignorance, and thus promote the restoration of that inter-communion which is so much to be desired between two great branches of the Catholic Church, which is a duty prescribed by our Lord himself, the great Head of the Church, for which both churches continually pray, and which would prove a tower of strength to either party, against their common adversaries, must surely be an object well worthy the attention of every reflecting and well-disposed member of our Church."—Pp. vi. vii.

After giving his reasons for concluding that the Russian branch of the Oriental Church may justly claim to be considered as the most eminent and powerful portion of the whole Orthodox Communion of the Eastern or Greek rite, Mr. Blackmore proceeds to make the following observations on the *present condition* of the Russian Church, which will be found highly interesting and instructive to ourselves.

"There has lately arisen in Russia, a great disposition to cultivate and develop the energies and resources of the Church, as well as of the State; the beneficial consequences of which may be traced in the improved tone of feeling among the Clergy; in the recent augmentation of the number of Bishoprics, corresponding with the increasing numbers and spiritual wants of the

Digitized by Google

population; in the multiplication, as well as in the ameliorated state of the schools for secular and religious learning; in the better training of candidates for Holy Orders; and in the care taken to place only men of good morals, and suitable education, in the cure of souls.

"The same is also apparent in the growing efficiency and marked success of their missions in Siberia, and the Aleoutine Islands, in which last a new diocese has lately been founded, and the pious and zealous missionary Veniamineff, who has so long laboured among the natives, has been appointed their first bishop; also in the great and increasing number of converts to the national Church, which is stated, on good authority, to be upwards of 20,000 persons a year, principally drawn from those who have formerly been dissenters.

"A striking example of success in this pious work, is also to be found in the reconciliation of 1,600,000 Uniates to the Russian Church."—P. viii.

We now proceed to introduce our readers to the work itself, which it is our purpose to review.

It would appear from the history that Christianity did not generally prevail in Russia until the 10th century. The following remarkable event is assigned by the author to A. D. 965:—

"The widowed princess Olga, who governed Russia during the minority of her son Sviatoslaff, undertook a voyage to Constantinople, for no other end than to obtain a knowledge of the true God; and there she received baptism at the hands of the Patriarch Polyeuctes, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself, who admired her wisdom, being her godfather."—P. 9.

Although this pious princess did not succeed in bringing her son to the Christian faith, yet her influence over him was sufficient to restrain him from acts of cruelty and violence towards the Christians.

"Although in spite of all her entreaties, the fierce and warlike Prince Sviatoslaff persisted in refusing to humble his proud heart under the meek yoke of Christ, he had still so much affection for his mother, as not only not to persecute such as agreed with her in religion, but even to allow them freely to make open profession of their faith, under the protection of that princess."—P. 10.

In the time, however, of Vladimir, grandson of this pious princess, Christianity was generally embraced by the Russians. The interesting narrative of this most important event cannot be better stated than in the words of the historian himself.

"A certain philosopher, a monk, named Constantine, after having exposed the insufficiency of other religions, eloquently set before the prince those judgments of God which are in all the world, the redemption of the human race by the blood of Christ, and the retribution of the life to come; his discourse powerfully affected the heathen monarch, who was burdened with the heavy sins of a tumultuous youth; and this was particularly the case, when the monk pointed out to him on an ikon, which represented the last judgment, the different lot of the just and of the wicked. 'Good to these on the right hand, but woe to them on the left,' exclaimed Vladimir, deeply affected; but sensual nature still struggled in him against heavenly truth. Having dismissed the missionary, or ambassador, with presents, he still hesitated to decide, and wished first to examine further concerning the faith, in concert with the elders of his council, that all Russia might have a share in his conversion.

"The council of the prince decided to send chosen men to make their observations on each religion, on the spot where it was professed; and this public agreement explains, in some degree, the sudden and general acceptance of Christianity, which shortly after followed in Russia. It is probable that not only the chiefs, but the common people also, were expecting and ready for the change

Digitized by Google

"The Greek Emperors did not fail to profit by this favourable opportunity; and the Patriarch himself, in person, celebrated the Divine Liturgy, in the Church of St. Sophia, with the utmost possible magnificence, before the astonished ambassadors of Vladimir.

"The sublimity and splendour of the service forcibly struck them; but we may not ascribe to the mere external expression that softening of the heart of these heathens, on which depended the conversion of a whole nation. From the very earliest times of the church, extraordinary signs of God's power have constantly gone hand in hand with that apparent weakness of man, by which the Gospel was preached; and so also the Byzantine Chronicle relates of the Russian Ambassadors,—'That during the Divine Liturgy, at the time of carrying the Holy Gifts in procession to the throne or altar, and singing the cherubic hymn, the eyes of their spirits were opened, and they saw as in an ecstacy, glittering youths, who joined in singing the Hymn of the Thrice Holy. Being thus fully persuaded of the truth of the orthodox faith, they returned to their own country already Christians in heart; and without saying a word before the prince in favour of other religions, they declared thus concerning the Greek:—'When we stood in the temple we did not know where we were, for there is nothing else like it upon earth: there in truth God has his dwelling with men; and we can never forget the beauty we saw there. No one who has once tasted sweets, will afterwards take that which is bitter; nor can we now any longer abide in heathenism.'

"Then the Boyars said to Vladimir, 'If the religion of the Greeks had not been good, your grandmother Olga, who was the wisest of women, would not have embraced it.' The weight of the name of Olga decided her grandson, and he said no more in answer, than these words, 'Where shall we be baptized?'" Pp. 11—13.

Vladimir's marriage to Anna, a Greek princess, and his *previous* baptism at Cherson, where he went to meet her, are next recorded by the historian. After this follows a most interesting scene.

"After his return to Kieff, the great prince caused his twelve sons to be baptized, and proceeded to destroy the monuments of heathenism. He ordered Peroun to be thrown into the Dnieper. The people at first followed their idol, as it was borne down the stream, but were soon quieted when they saw that the statue had no power to help itself. And now Vladimir being surrounded and supported by believers in his own domestic circle, and encouraged by seeing that his boyars and suite were prepared and ready to embrace the faith, made a proclamation to the people, 'that whoever, on the morrow, should not repair to the river, whether rich or poor, he should hold him for his enemy.'

"At the call of their respected lord, all the multitude of the citizens in troops, with their wives and children, flocked to the Dnieper; and without any manner of opposition received holy baptism, as a nation, from the Greek bishops and priests.

"Nestor draws a touching picture of this baptism of a whole people at once. Some stood in the water up to their necks, others up to their breasts, holding their young children to their arms; the priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies by the same name. He who was the means of thus bringing them to salvation, filled with a transport of joy at the affecting sight, cried out to the Lord, offering and commending into his hands himself and his people; 'O great God! who hast made heaven and earth, look down upon these thy new people. Grant them, O Lord, to know thee, the true God, as thou hast been made known to Christian lands, and confirm in them a true and unfailing faith; and assist me, O Lord, against my enemy that opposes me, that, trusting in thee, and in thy power, I may overcome all his wiles.'"—Pp. 14, 15.

As it is necessary in a review of this kind to condense as much as

Digitized by Google

possible, we will endeavour to do so, by directing our readers to the following subjects, which we propose to illustrate by quotations from the work before us. 1. Effectual resistance of the Russian Church to Papal usurpation and anti-Ecclesiastical schism. 2. Translations of, and free access to the Holy Scriptures. 3. Education. 4. Attempted union of Russian and British Churches, under Peter the Great. 5. The Holy Governing Synod. 6. The Population tables.

1. Effectual resistance of the Russian Church to Papal usurpation, and Anti-Ecclesiastical schism.

(α) To Papal usurpation.

"The ambitious pope, Gregory the Seventh, offered military support to Isyaslaff, and stipulated that in return he should make his submission to the Roman See; and this was the first attempt of the western pontiffs upon Russia. But Isyaslaff having regained his throne without foreign assistance, disappointed the schemes of Gregory, and being confirmed in the faith of his fathers by Theodosius, the zealous and orthodox hegumen of Pechersky, persevered in it to the end of his troubled life."—Pp. 27, 28.

"And now that the attempts made to convert Russia by force of arms had proved fruitless, the pope, Innocent IV., began to employ other means.

"Seeing the distressed condition of the Eastern Church, the patriarchs of Constantinople living as exiles at Nice, and Russia having been now already ten years without a metropolitan, the Roman pontiff sent to David of Galich the present of a regal crown, together with a proposition for the union of the Churches, and a crusade against the Mongols. The papal legates visited also the court of Alexander, and addressed him with flattering speeches; but the saint of Neva refused, decidedly, either to receive their letters, or to listen to their solicitations."—Pp. 46.

"The idea of a general crusade against the Turks, together with the hope of uniting our country with Rome, through the instrumentality of Sophia, who had been bred up in the doctines of the council of Florence, induced Paul to deliver over to Russia this last relic of the ancient glories of Byzantium; and John gladly received this her last pledge in the person of Sophia.

"But the hopes of Rome were disappointed; the princess had no sooner crossed the frontier, and came within our own territory, than she shewed herself a zealous follower of the orthodox confession; and when Anthony, the papal legate who accompanied her, wished to make his public entry into Moscow, with the cross borne before him, after the Latin fashion, and John hesitated, from respect to his quality of ambassador, the metropolitan, Philip, stood up in defence of the supremacy of the Church of this country.

"'Whoever,' said he to John, 'praises and honours a foreign faith, that man degrades his own. If the legate enters with his cross at one gate of the city, I shall go out of it by the other.'"—Pp. 84, 85.

(β) Effectual resistance of the Russian Church to Anti-Ecclesiastical schism.

"But at the same time, with this improvement in learning, there shewed itself also in our country, a mischief which had come in secretly and had taken root. Travellers and foreigners had brought into Russia the anti-ecclesiastical doctrine of Luther and Calvin, which by its contempt of established rites and ceremonies, and discipline, by its principle of the right of private judgment in the mysteries of religion, favoured greatly irreverence, and individualism or self-will.

"The orthodox Eastern Church feared not the influence of the Western Church, for she had been used openly to contend with her on the borders of Poland; and the violences of the Unia had embittered the hearts of all Russians so much against Rome, that there was no danger from that quarter. But we

Digitized by Google

had never up to this time, had any actual conflict with the German innovators: the accession of the Baltic provinces, and the useful labours of foreigners whom Peter had invited into Russia, involuntarily brought us in friendly contact with them. Their superiority in worldly civilization, and the very fact of their being seen on state occasions to attend at the ceremonies of our Church, conciliated towards them many of the inexperienced, who knew not how to distinguish where the bounds of secular acquirements end, and that spiritual wisdom begins, which, according to the words of Christ, is hid from the wise and prudent, but revealed to the simple and to babes.

"It was in the neighbourhood of the northern capital, where the confluence of strangers was greatest, that these opinions began to be diffused, though they were vigorously opposed by the virtuous Job, metropolitan of Novogorod."—Pp. 271, 272.

2. Translations of, and free access to, the Holy Scriptures.

"Superstitious arguments against printing, which had excited the opposition of the hand writers, prevented its making any further progress after the death of its patron, Macarius; and though there was an edition of the Gospel printed afterwards, by order of the Tzar, still he left to the illustrious Prince Constantine of Ostrog, deputy governor of Kieff, the opportunity and the glory of printing there, for the first time, the entire Bible in Slavonic."—P. 111.

"Born in the district of Nijgorod, of parents who were simple villagers, Nikon learned to read the holy Scriptures, and secretly left his home to commence his noviciate, in order to become a monk in the Jeltovodsky convent. At the urgent entreaty of his father he returned to enter into the state of matrimony, was ordained a parish priest, and removed to Moscow."—Pp. 193, 194.

In the above short extract we are reminded of two very important and instructive particulars of the practice of the eastern branch of the Catholic Church. The first is, that simple villagers are allowed to read the holy Scriptures in their own language; and the second is, that their priests are allowed to marry.

"This same Paul also was still alive, and employed the latter years of his life, in conjunction with Epiphanius Slavenetsky, and other learned men, in correcting the translation of the Bible from the Greek into the Slavonic language; but his labours remained unfinished in consequence of his premature decease."—P. 242.

"Sophronius, the younger of the two, was sent to Moscow after a printing press, and was detained there by the guardian of the patriarchal throne, for the purpose of regulating the academy; and to him, in conjunction with its learned Rector, Theophylact Lopatinsky, who was to suffer for the truth, was committed the task of continuing that revision and correction of the Slavonic Bible, which had been commenced by Epiphanius."—P. 271.

3. Education.

"By his orders the Nomocanon was translated from the Greek, that our native bishops, now beginning to succeed into the places of those who had come at first from Constantinople, might be able to guide themselves by its rules.

"He, himself, gave much time and pains to the study and translation of a variety of church books which he had collected into a library, on the spot where the metropolitan resided; and he set up schools in Kieff and Novogorod for the education of those of the children of clergy or laity, who might be preparing themselves for holy orders."—P. 20.

"The metropolitan, Cyrill, as a true Russian, wished that the canons of the holy fathers, the foundation of all ecclesiastical discipline, should not be, to use his own expression, 'veiled to us, as by a cloud, under the wisdom of the

Digitized by Google

Greek tongue, but that they should shine clear and enlighten all with rational light;' accordingly he assiduously employed himself in their translation, and his useful labour has come down to our own times."—Pp. 48, 49.

"Being zealous for the promotion of learning among the clergy, Theophanes established, in the name of the patriarch of Constantinople, the Brotherhood of the Epiphany as a Stauropegia, that is, to depend immediately upon the Œcumenical Lord, and gave them his benediction for the institution of a school in it for the Greeko-Slavonic and the Latin-Polish languages, and united to it the Brotherhood of Mercy, a house for the reception of strangers, which was converted into an academical inn for poor scholars."—P. 177.

"Peter being zealous for the promotion of learning among the clergy, united the school which he had established in the Lavra, with that of the Brotherhood in Podolia, which had been begun with the blessing of the patriarch of Jerusalem; he erected new buildings, an inn for poor scholars, at his own expense, and a preparatory school; he established a library and a printing press."—P.188.

"The metropolitan, Stephen, co-operated zealously with the Tzar for the promotion of learning, and took upon himself the title of Protector of the Academy of Moscow, which he enlarged and regulated, after the model of that of Kieff.

"Demetrius also continued to be a shining light, till the time of his blessed decease, in the diocese of Rostoff, where he founded, and himself superintended a seminary.

"By degrees, after his example, schools were instituted at all the episcopal residences for the education of those who were to minister in holy things, which were afterwards converted into seminaries. Job, metropolitan of Novogorod, a man full of Christian piety, besides other charitable foundations, established in his diocese as many as fourteen spiritual schools."—P. 271.

4. Attempted union of the Russian and British Churches, under Peter the Great.

When we consider that those great impediments which the tyranny of the popish system has put in the way of a union with Rome, do not exist in the Eastern Church, we shall not wonder to learn that the union of the Anglican with the Russian Church appears to have been nearly effected in the time of Peter the Great, and might probably have been entirely so but for the death of that monarch.

When it is considered that we agree with this most ancient branch of the Catholic Church, in having both the Holy Scriptures and the Liturgy in a known tongue, in maintaining the independence of our respective churches of the usurping claims of the pope, in permitting the marriage of our priests, and in maintaining the *Divine appointment* of an apostolic succession of bishops, priests, and deacons; the only wonder is, that these two great branches of the Catholic Church, the Oriental and the British, have so long kept aloof from each other.

The following extracts will shew the measures proposed to be taken, to promote the union of the two churches, in the time of Peter the Great:—

"On the suggestion of Peter the Great, the Russian Synod had written to the British Bishops, to request them to send two of their brethren to Russia, 'to have a friendly conference, in the name and spirit of Christ, with two that are to be chosen out of our brethren.'

"'Hereby' (such are the words of the synodal letter, taken from an English

Digitized by Google

translation, made apparently by Dr. Brett), 'the opinions, arguments, and persuasions of each party may be more sincerely produced, and more clearly understood, and it may be more easily known what may be yielded and given up by one to the other; what, on the other hand, may, and ought, for conscience sake, to be absolutely denied. In the mean time, no prejudice will befal either your communion or ours from such a private conference, nor the hopes of union be altogether lost thereby. This is the opinion of our monarch, concerning the most holy negotiation, which seems indeed to us the best. We desire that as soon as may be, you will let us know how it appears to you. In the mean time God is seriously to be entreated by each of us, to be merciful to us and you.' "—P. 409.

The messenger who was to be the bearer of this letter was delayed for a year, at the expiration of which time the Holy Synod wrote an additional letter, which thus concludes:

"In the mean time we desire your charity to know that if, according to the advice of our sovereign, you will send two of your brethren to a conference, *which we again entreat you to do*, we may hope to bring our wishes to a more easy conclusion, which that at length he, the lawgiver of love, the God of peace, the Father of mercies, may prosper, is our hearty prayer and desire, &c." —P. 410.

The death of Peter the Great, which took place shortly after this letter, put an end to all further proceedings in this important business.

5. The Holy Governing Synod.

This synod was established to take the place of the patriarch, in the regulation and government of the Church, when there ceased to be a patriarch of Russia.

"The œcumenical primates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, acknowledged the synod as their brother in Christ, possessing the same authority and the same rights with themselves, and entered into the same relations and communion with it, as they had formerly entertained with the patriarchs of Moscow and all Russia. Thus the establishment of the synod by no means weakened the bond of union between the Russian and other branches of the Eastern Catholic Church; and no change took place in the constitution of our hierarchy.

"In the mean time the general government of the church was greatly improved."—P. 414.

Perhaps there is nothing of which the Anglican Church more severely feels the want than that of a synod for the general government of the Church; especially as, according to her apostolical constitution, she ought never to be destitute of such a governing body. This want has been so well expressed in an admirable paper in the British Magazine for November, that the reviewer will take the liberty of making a quotation from it:—

"We appear to have come to a point now, in which, unless the clergy can hear the church speak in intelligible language, by an accredited organ, very serious evils are likely to ensue. We pray for the restoration of a godly discipline, but we see the very symbols of it escaping from our hold. No discretion is allowed the minister as to reading the burial service, which assumes the relics he inters to be those of a Christian.

"The only tribunal he could appeal to, when one to whom he dared not present the consecrated elements applied at the altar, has been threatened with dissolution.

"The right to distribute afresh ecclesiastical funds without the Church's

Digitized by Google

consent, is assumed and exercised; while in the publication of books relating to religion, the most unbridled license is assumed by the clergy themselves. Thus within the last few months the doctrine of baptismal regeneration has been repudiated in the strongest and most shameless manner, by one clergyman; while another accounts for our repugnance to worship the Virgin Mary, because we have not the spirit of St. Bonaventure, and declares we must retrace our steps if we would arrive at Catholic unity, and abandon the principle, 'that the temporal sovereign of this realm of England is the supreme judge of the conditions under which the spiritual powers of ecclesiastical persons shall be exercised.'

"Now, there is no authority, no, not all the bishops on the bench assembled, able or willing to suspend the authors of these positions. Yet it will require something more than such ebullitions as these, to convince any observant person, that the definitive sentence of an authorized assembly of the Church would be set at nought by any but the least pious, sedate, and intelligent of the clergy. Although every solicitude should be exercised, not to exclude any who could agree in a common formulary from the benefits of churchmanship, it would surely be the better for the Church that her members should be prevented from circulating, with her apparent sanction, express abandonments of her first principles of doctrine and discipline."—Pp. 575 576, *Brit. Mag. Nov.* 1842.

6. The Population tables.

"Exclusive of Georgia, there were, in 1839, 42,445 edifices for divine worship; of which 32,879 were Sobors or Parish Churches. 29,819,8 persons received the Sacrament of the Lord's supper."—P. 428.

The reviewer wishes to call the attention of his readers to a *very important fact*, which, whilst it reads a most humiliating lesson to ourselves, speaks most favourably for the *piety* of the Russian Church. It appears from the following tables, that at the present time there are 47,810,525 members of the Russian Church; and from the above extract it would appear that 29,819,218 persons received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in 1839; considerably *more than half* the whole number of members. Have we any thing like this proportion in the Anglican Church?

"The present population of Russia, reckoning the increase since 1838, may be safely set down in round numbers, at 64,000,000. Of these there are,

Heathens (of whom 113,772 Buddhists, and 75,000 others).	189,323
Mahometans	1,826,761
Jews	1,400,000
Dissenters of Russian origin	3,000,000
Calvinists and Lutherans of the German provinces . . .	3,000,000
Armenians in Georgia and the Caucasus	260,000
Poles and others of the Latin rite, with 13,391 Latin Armenians	6,513,391
Members of the Russian Church	47,810,525
	64,000,000"

—P. 429.

It would be easy to proceed to give extracts from the interesting volume before us, testifying to the blessed practical effects of the Catholic system, in taming to obedience the fierce spirits of Russia; to the high standard of piety, devotion, and energy of her clergy; to their soothing and conciliating measures in times of political strife and dismemberment; and to the formation of some of the noblest ecclesiastical characters, making due allowance for human infirmity, as are,

Digitized by Google

perhaps, to be met with in any histories. But for all these interesting particulars, and many more which might be enumerated, we must refer our readers to the work itself.

There is one very important and instructive lesson, which we of the British Church should learn from the perusal of this volume, to which no allusion has yet been made; we allude to the reverence which the Russians entertain for *the apostolical succession* of bishops, priests, and deacons.

And here we must again quote Mr. Blackmore's Preface :—

"The firm persuasion in the minds of the people of their divine commission and authority, from the apostles and from Christ, has counterbalanced all the evil consequences of any partial deficiencies in the men themselves, whenever and in whatever degree they have existed, or may still exist. May not we Clergy of the Church of England, learn something from this example?

"If in anything our teaching of those entrusted to our care has been defective; if on any point we have failed to declare the whole counsel of God, it has been this. Hence it has naturally followed, that we have been too often looked upon merely as the teachers of an Act-of-Parliament Religion, or as ministers of the most wealthy and influential of those sects or persuasions with which our country abounds.

"Our ministry has, therefore, been esteemed and respected for our learning, eloquence, or piety, or been despised for our want of them; and we have been either preferred or postponed to the sectarian preacher, who has intruded into our charge, from our superiority or inferiority to him in these qualifications; whilst our apostolical descent, the true point of difference between us, and to which he does not even make any pretensions, has been ridiculed by our enemies, and too often but coldly and doubtfully defended by our friends."—Pp. xv. xvi.

We will conclude this review with a few words upon the Liturgy of the Eastern Church; using the word *Liturgy*, in its more strict signification, to denote the service for the Holy Communion.

St. Basil composed a Liturgy from the great Oriental Liturgy prevalent in his time, which cannot be of much later date, if any, than the time of the apostles.

There are three different forms of St. Basil's Liturgy, the Constantinopolitan, the Alexandrian, and the Coptic, between which forms, to use the words of Mr. Palmer, "although there is *circumstantial variety*, there exists *substantial identity*." It is the Constantinopolitan form of St. Basil's Liturgy, which is used by the Russian Church. A Benedictine edition of St. Basil, which the reviewer has now before him, contains the Alexandrian and Coptic versions of St. Basil's Liturgy, but not that of Constantinople. As, however, the three are identical in substance, this is the less important. The author of these pages has compared the two with our own venerable Liturgy, and he has had great pleasure in discovering the very many points of substantial agreement, between our own rite and that of this most ancient and orthodox branch of the Catholic Church.

To feel every time we celebrate the holy Eucharist, how completely we are one in so many points of substantial agreement with this most ancient branch of the Catholic body; to know that our rite accords in the main with a rite which probably owes its origin to the

Digitized by Google

apostles themselves; to employ words of devotion in this most solemn act of our religion, which we know to have been always employed by the Churches of Constantinople and Russia,—surely this to every true Catholic heart amongst us, must be a source of holy joy and delight. And will not such a feeling, if duly cherished, lead to the *most blessed practical results?* Will it not tend to foster sentiments of unfeigned charity towards men of different nations; to cause us to long for, and strive for, the apostolical blessedness of unrestricted communion; to soften down national prejudices, and to promote harmony and peace amongst mankind; and to fulfil more exactly than we have hitherto done His heavenly will, that "His Church might be one, even as He and the Father are one."

The Ecclesiologist: published by the Cambridge Camden Society. Nos. XIV. XV. October, 1842.

Our recent article on styles of church architecture, has produced a reply from the Ecclesiologist, which devotes considerable space in its October number to the question between us. Our antagonist's tone is altogether courteous, and his remarks are so deserving of consideration, that, not to vindicate ourselves from them—not to defend our ground if we can find materials for doing so, would be treating them with blameworthy disrespect, and depriving them of their due. To this cause, and to no wish for keeping up a controversy with the Camden Society, in many of whose desires we so warmly sympathize, whose past services we cheerfully acknowledge, and from the future exertions and extension of which we hope for so much good, must be attributed our present rejoinder.

The aim of our article was, as our readers may remember, to dissuade them from the prevalent bigotry, as we deem it, in favour of Gothic as the only Christian architecture, and from a servile imitation of it in its past forms. The one of these tendencies appeared to us to have the effect of shutting men's eyes to much that is impressive and religious in existing architecture, from which they might profitably learn; the latter at once to deaden the creative spirit of art, and seriously to impede the due celebration of our holiest rite. Besides which, we expressed doubts whether, even under the auspices of the Camden Society, it were possible, at present, to build generally in what we could recognise as perfect or consistent Gothic.

At the outset, however, we made this concession, "that pointed Gothic is the Christian architecture in this sense, that it is the birth of the Christian mind, and the only architecture, according to the highest use of the word, that is so." In granting thus much, the Ecclesiologist considers us as having surrendered every thing, catches at our words, and straightway hangs on them the following syllogism:

Digitized by Google

"Gothic is the only Christian architecture;
But St. Peter's and St. Paul's" (against anathematising which as Pagan we the Christian Remembrancer had protested) "are not Gothic;
Therefore the architecture of St. Peter's and St. Paul's is not Christian."

Now, does this fairly follow from any thing we had said? Let our readers judge. We had excluded, and given our reasons for excluding, every European style except pure Grecian and pointed Gothic from the dignity of architecture in its highest sense; we had said that all others wanted that absolute harmony and consistency which the art must have in any full manifestation; and then we proceeded as follows:—"Now this harmony and consistency we have in pointed Gothic, just as we have it in pure Grecian; and, therefore, the one is the Christian and the other the Pagan architecture. Our exclusion of Roman, Romanesque, and Italian classical, from this dignity proceeds, it will be seen, *from reasons different from those of Mr. Pugin and the Camden Society.* With us they are tried, *not on the question of Christian or Pagan*, but of architecture in the highest sense, and no architecture. *And in this sense* we give it against them." Is it not plain that we have never conceded, that the architecture either of St. Peter's or St. Paul's is Pagan, and therefore, that the syllogism of the Ecclesiologist ties us down to nothing? We have surrendered no one circumstance connected with the architecture of either church, except its harmony and consistency,* and these we never ascribed to it.

However, we did concede to the Ecclesiologist, that pointed Gothic is the only complete Christian architecture, and then proceeded to consider whether we ought to go along with its writers in their deduction, that it is the only one we ought at present to employ; which we answered in the negative. They continue to reply in the affirmative, and confront us with another syllogism, as follows:—

---

* The interior of St. Peter's is a far more perfect composition than that of St. Paul's,—nor are we able to understand the feelings of a man in whose eyes it is otherwise than religious and Christian. It is true that the classical orders are employed in its details; but, even if the mere fact of their having been invented and employed by Pagans, is to make every building Pagan, in which they occupy a conspicuous place, such a consideration does not apply to St. Peter's, in which they are altogether accidental and surbordinate. They are there but the conventional form of the decoration. The real architecture, to which we are persuaded other forms of decoration would be found more congruous, consists in the piers, roundheaded arches, waggon-vaulted roof, and that "focus of glory," the dome.

A gentleman, who on such subjects is no common authority, has privately controverted our statement, that pointed Gothic is the only *developed* Christian architecture. This forms no part of our controversy with the Ecclesiologist, as the fact he alleges that there are forms of Romanesque as consistent and harmonious as Gothic, will, if true, strengthen our case against that periodical. We own, however, that all the Romanesque we have seen, is in our eyes but a transition; and though we feel far from qualified to enter the lists with such a combatant, we may say thus much, that a few individual specimens, however free from rude traces of the classical idea, and however true to one of their own, can hardly constitute an *architecture.* Before we can recognise a style as formed, we must have seen it in whole classes of buildings, and in all varieties of size, situation, and circumstances.

Digitized by Google

"We ought to build Christian Churches in the only Christian architecture the world has yet seen.
But Gothic is the only, &c.
Therefore our Churches ought to be Gothic."

We meet this reasoning, as the Ecclesiologist truly observes, by denying the major. We do not know that the second of the two arguments he puts in our mouth represents our meaning quite fairly. However that may be, it is with the first that we shall mainly concern ourselves just now. "We cannot execute it," (pointed Gothic) "satisfactorily."

After stating the question, the Ecclesiologist goes on to say:—"Now the first allegation (that just quoted) is of so grave and weighty a nature, that one would think the writer must have many good arguments by which to support it. Will our readers believe that he only names *one?*" Before proceeding either to contest the question, whether we did indeed bring forward only one, or to consider that one, we may observe that in trying to establish any point, "a miss is as good as a mile," and so but one valid argument against it hinders the point from being established. Thus if our argument respecting the necessity of vaulted roofs was really a good one, it remains still to be shewn that we can at present "execute pointed Gothic" satisfactorily.

The Ecclesiologist replies to it thus:—

"This great argument then, which has to bear up the writer's theory that Gothic is impracticable, consists, when examined, of two assumptions—1. That vaulted roofs are necessary; 2. That they cannot be had. And both these we deny. Granting them to be necessary, if church-founders and church-builders determine to have them, they will have them. We wished, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, for a vaulted roof of large span to St. Sepulchre's; and there it is."

Now in spite of all this we remain of our old way of thinking on both these points. The mere fact advanced by the reviewer, of many country churches being built at one period, and consequently free from mixture of style, will not prove them perfect specimens of that style. That our country churches are true types of Gothic, we said *required proof*, being open to conviction, if such proof were brought forward. The Ecclesiologist deigns to offer none besides the invalid one to which we have just referred: it merely prescribes humility, and tells us to believe that the architects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries must have been right in every instance, whether or not we can see that they were so. But this seems to us a mere perversion of humility,—a humility founded on a habit which we hesitate not to denounce as pernicious, wherever and in whatever department of human pursuit it may display itself—the habit of setting up *oracles*. We see one great leading principle of Gothic to consist in the uninterrupted course of vertical lines,*—we see that

* The Ecclesiologist, which is fond of going by mere precedent, may remind us that our country Churches seldom possess vertical lines, and that in consequence

Digitized by Google

from the development of this principle arises much of the peculiar beauty of the style,—and we also see that whereas vaulting accommodates itself to this law, wooden roofs of necessity disobey it. We see all this, and are we to speak and act as if we saw it not? are we to shut our eyes to the deduction that follows, viz., that churches with wooden roofs, however successfully combining many of the beauties, do not exhibit the consistent character of pointed Gothic,—in short, are not strictly and harmoniously architectural?

The Ecclesiologist is in favour of judging everything in architecture by precedent and past decision. We contend for æsthetic criticism; and therefore, we are little moved even when cathedrals and minsters are cited against us. We knew perfectly well, though the Ecclesiologist seems to fancy we did not, that there are a few even of them with wooden roofs; but we also knew perfectly well, that even they could not attain the perfection to which they approximated. Generally they have vaulted roofs, and have them not as accidental but integral features in their design. The exceptions, therefore, are but exceptions, and on our principles imperfections.

But to return to the point of difference between ourselves and the Camdenians, in our way of deducing general principles. They go merely by the facts they find,—we by an ideal to which we think those facts never bore any other relation than that of approximations more or less close. In proportion almost to the sublimity and complexity of that ideal, must be the rarity with which we find it fulfilled even in the finest buildings. Thus the predominance of the vertical line is generally acknowledged to be one of the paramount principles of pointed Gothic; and the architectural connexion of the highest point of the roof with the floor, one of the most necessary and beautiful developments of that principle. Yet it is absent in the beautiful naves of Salisbury and Wells, and in the choir of Carlisle. Again, Amiens and the French Cathedrals, though in most respects singularly ripened in their Gothic very generally retain the square abacus, a feature more inconsistent with the idea of vertical extension than would at first be imagined, and the abandonment of which, in this country, forms almost the point of transition between semi-Norman and early English. And if we thus refuse to take even cathedrals as oracular authorities, much more may we set aside village churches. We must repeat our great maxim. The very merit of pointed Gothic architecture demands that we apply to it a loftier criticism than that to which it is commonly subjected;—we must use that which we now apply to poetry and the other fine arts. We must cite buildings, not because of their date, but because of the extent to which they bring out the great principles of the style which they follow; we must ever keep the Gothic ideal before our minds, and then whilst we admire the close approximation of certain structures

---

their wooden roofs cannot cut such. The fact is certain, but it supplies us with one argument more against regarding them as types of pointed Gothic.

Digitized by Google

to that ideal, we shall be saved the confusion of thought and the deadening results incident to those who put them in the place of the ideal, and then quote them as infallible.*

But if vaulted roofs be necessary, as we contend, the Ecclesiologist engages to supply us with them; and appeals to what the Society of which it is the instrument has done in this way, "under circumstances of peculiar difficulty," at St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge. Now, we fully grant that whatever skill and spirit can do, that the Camden Society will do. But be it remembered, that its leading principle is to imitate our old churches—to copy them not more in particular details than in general outline—to avoid and eschew modern invention. Well, then, how many models shall we find for *parish churches* with vaulted roofs? Surely the Temple Church and one or two college chapels will hardly be enough for our guidance all over the country, and in every variety of situation and circumstance. For the mere addition of a vaulted roof to a building, copied in all its proportions from one or from a class in which such a thing was never contemplated, will be any thing but satisfactory. The whole beauty of Gothic vaulting depends on the connexion between the roof and the very lowest part of the interior which it keeps up and consummates; and if we mean to vault we must have shafts running up to our roof, and arches in harmony with it. But we are far from saying that this cannot be. In our former article we disclaimed the rashness involved in pronouncing a new form of Gothic to be impossible. But it has not yet appeared, though assuredly only under a new form can parish churches with vaulted roofs become general. Cathedrals will not help us: one great source of mischief already has been the inability of architects to distinguish between the mother church and its dependencies, and their trying to bestow on the latter features which, even were they executed successfully, are appropriate only to the former.

If a new style of genuine pointed Gothic be struck out and

* This really seems to follow from the principles of the Ecclesiologist; their rebuke to us on the subject of certain country specimens, p. 8. At this rate we must feel bound to admire the gigantic geometrical tracery, or whatever it is to be called, in the intersections of the cross at Wells,—window tracery below the imposts wherever it is of authentic date, and many other defects. This is carrying the principle of veneration very far; but may not the mark be overshot? If people may ask no questions, they will certainly lose their eye for faults; but is there no risk of their perception of beauty getting deadened also? On the other hand, if it be conceded that any monument of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be out of taste, then there is granted, *ipso facto*, a liberty of inquiring into them all; and if we cannot see any good proportion in short piers and arches of unequal width, we have a right to wait till the Ecclesiologist has rectified our perceptions before we admit that there is such proportion. One of the noblest churches in a neighbouring county, has side aisles wider than the nave. Must we believe this to be right? or will the fact of the church in question being perpendicular, (a style which we think is most unjustly made to bear the blame of its later corruptions,) get us out of the difficulty?

Digitized by Google

adopted, we shall be delighted to see it. But, manifestly, we must wait for its appearance before we believe in it. And even should we feel certain of its approach, we see no reason for doing injustice to other forms of beauty and excellence—for denying that to be "national" which, as we shall by and by see, is instinctive to the whole European family—to be "magnificent," in which are to be found some of the most gorgeous temples in Christendom—to be "well suited for the House of God," in which shrines have been reared to his glory by the piety of ages—to "afford any possibility of great ornament," to which the spoils of the world have been applied. Still less should we call that *Moorish* which is as Christian as extensive usage and development in the Christian Church can make it.

But the necessity for vaulted roofs was not our only argument against tying ourselves down to pointed Gothic, though, perhaps, it was the only one we formally advanced. In point of fact, our whole complaint against long chancels constituted another. We said, and say now, and shall be supported by the Camden Society in the assertion, that the proportions of our old churches require their chancels. Therefore, if we are right in our estimate of the practical evils at present resulting from those chancels, we have another argument against that mere imitation of the past which the Camden Society would prescribe to us.

On this point—the evil of at present adopting the long chancels of our old churches—as on others, we must retain our old opinion, even as the writers in the Ecclesiologist have retained theirs. But how have they *maintained* it? In the first instance, by calling in the law of the land. "The chancels shall remain as in times past," says the Rubric, of which we suppose the Camden Gloss is as follows:—Churches are carefully to be built with chancels in the same proportion to their nave as formerly. We suspect a common law court would not show very great respect to such a construction of the statute. The origin of the Rubric in question is as follows: Bucer and his party had taken offence at the chancel being partitioned off by the Rood screen, an arrangement tending, as they thought, to an over-exaltation of the priesthood. In consideration of their prejudices the legislature so far gave way as to permit the altar's being placed, during the celebration of the Eucharist, in the body of the church, but refused, notwithstanding, to do away with a separate chancel—refused to incorporate that part with the rest of the building. The Rubric, therefore, refers solely to the Rood screen—the altar rails, as the Ecclesiologist tells us, of the period. Now, as we too approve of cancelli, and as it is a mere straining of the law to apply it to the proportions of the chancel, to which its framers had no eye what-

Digitized by Google

ever—the only point at present in question—we cannot see any thing gained on either side by the citation of this Rubric. The altar, with its altar-rails, is, we suppose, in a legal point of view, a sufficient compliance with it,* at least, long usage must have rendered it so. We are not defending such poor chancels in point of taste or propriety; we admit that they are not more than within the mark of what is ecclesiastically necessary. But we repeat it, that we can see nothing in the law now before us, its original intention being considered, binding us down to any particular length of chancel, or any particular height of cancelli. It is enough that Bucer and his followers have not been allowed their way, and that our churches must each possess, as an integral feature, a separate *Bema*, sanctuary, or chancel —the especial place of the priesthood, and scene of the holiest and most distinctive rite of the Gospel. We fully admit that we have made such as mean and stinted in every respect as we well could.

If then, it be open to us to make our chancels in what proportions we think best, by what considerations ought we to be guided? We had appealed in our former article to the precedents afforded by ancient basilicæ; and in so doing had considered the chancel of those days as limited to the apse. In this we freely admit that we were wrong, and thank the Ecclesiologist for having called our attention to the truth of the matter. The apse certainly was but a part of the Bema, which came down into the church as far as, and at times beyond, the transept. Nay, more, if we look merely at proportions, and shut our eyes to circumstances, we must admit, with the Ecclesiologist, that the church in those days bore a larger proportion to the place occupied by the *Fideles*, i.e. the modern congregation, than that for which they contend. But they forget that the real question is, not the relative space occupied by a chancel, but the comparative nearness to, or distance from, the altar, at which the lay worshippers are placed, and their facility or difficulty in seeing the consecration of the Eucharist. Now, in the Western church, which never adopted what we cannot but consider the unevangelic arrangements of the Eastern, we think the worshippers must have enjoyed a great advantage in this respect. Though they might not enter, they probably could surround much of, the Bema; nor, though that part came lower down than we thought when writing our former article, were they therefore any great way from the altar. But, in truth, the Ecclesiologist wishes for a different sort of chancel altogether from that of the early church—a

* Of course, a rubric like this must not be confounded with one directory to the priest in the performance of the service. To the latter he expressly engages himself. The former is indeed part of the same statute, but relates to a point that is very frequently beyond his control.

Digitized by Google

chancel into which the laity are to enter, and whither communicants are to betake themselves.* They propose to get over our difficulty, as to how the communicants are, in long chancels, to see the consecration of the Eucharist, by having them placed in the chancel at the beginning of the service. We doubt the practicability of such an arrangement, for reasons which we are about to bring forward. But before taking leave of basilicæ, we will say thus much, that if the Ecclesiologist will procure altars to be placed like theirs in the middle of the chancel, or near the cancelli, against doing which we see no reason, there need be little controversy between us.

But, in truth, can the Camden Society, or any one else, change what must now be considered the custom, and what cannot be called disobedience to the law, of the Church in this respect? We call the practice of coming up to the altar-rails and occupying them in successive rows during holy communion; the custom of the Church of England, for it is all but universal; and we deny that it is opposed to any of her laws for surely the Rubric appealed to by the Ecclesiologist, (at the time of the celebration of the communion, &c.) whatever usage its framers may have contemplated, is too general to condemn that in question. Such custom is, in fact, a piece of common law—that *lex non scripta* which is one of the mightiest ele-

* This circumstance makes all discussion on the subject of early chancels irrelevant. For into them the laity were not to enter,—not even for the purpose of communion. They were entirely what the space within the altar rails is now, which, therefore, we have once or twice in the course of this article boldly called the chancel. The only exception that we have found in the ancient Church to this rule was in the case of the Emperor, who seems, in the time at least of the younger Theodosius, to have been allowed to make his offering in the chancel, but *not to communicate there.* What was done in the case of Constantine can, of course, be regarded only as a flagrant departure from rule.

In still earlier times, however, a different practice seems to have prevailed, as must be inferred from the expression of Dionysius of Alexandria, in his letter to Xystus: "*Τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα,*" and from similar language in his Epistle to Basilides (Bingham, viii. 7.) From these we gather, either that in the time of Dionysius the laity were admitted into the chancel for the purpose of communion, or else, which seems more probable, that the chancel itself was but small—so small as made it natural to speak of standing at the rails as *standing by the table.* On this latter supposition, the practice, at least of the Alexandrian Church, in early times, must, except as regards the attitude of reception, have been very like that which usage has made general in England.

In Gaul, however, we find a third variation of practice. By a canon of the Council of Tours, (Bingham, viii. 7.) the laity are interdicted from the chancel *as well during vigils as mass,* but allowed to enter it for the purpose of prayer and communion. Bishop Gibson also quotes this canon, as illustrating our own ecclesiastical law before the Reformation.

The subject of chancels, and the variation of sentiment and practice regarding them, is a very interesting one, which we shall be glad if the Ecclesiologist or any other competent persons will investigate. Our own remarks make no pretension to a discussion upon it. Their only purpose has been to show that there seems no Catholic consent on such important points as the persons to whom the chancel shall be open, and whether or not the laity are to communicate within it; and if so, its proportions can hardly involve Catholic taste or propriety one way or the other.

Digitized by Google

ments in English society, and which in ecclesiastical still more than in secular matters, a wise man will not readily seek to alter, even though his own judgment should pronounce for the change. In the present case it is not easy to see how the alteration could be made by any authority; for unless we are prepared to pull down nearly every church in London, and nearly all the new ones that have been built over the whole country, which have short chancels or none at all in our contemporaries' sense, there must be a large proportion of congregations obliged to stay in the body of the church during the ante and post communion service. The fittings up of such churches may present an insuperable obstacle to the clergy leaving the altar to administer to them in their places, and a want of uniformity in such a matter would, we are sure, be regarded by most as a worse evil than any advantage of the kind proposed which could be secured to certain churches and their members. Granting, however, that some arrangements might be made whereby in our London churches, and others like them, the clergy could leave the altar, and by coming down into the nave, administer the blessed elements in a way as nearly as possible resembling that which the Ecclesiologist prescribes for churches that have chancels, it surely deserves serious consideration whether by such a change we may not be disturbing a host of pious associations that have gathered round the existing practice—whether the awed, yet rejoicing, approach to the altar, may not have become to many an important subordinate feature of their communions—whether the words "draw near with faith" may not lose a gracious and comforting import wherewith they have hitherto been charged.

But we have a third difficulty on the subject of pointed Gothic—a difficulty which we will state without attempting to settle. We will ask the Ecclesiologist a question; and, as the question involves a case of conscience, we are sure he will not treat it with disrespect. Galleries, as is known to the merest tyro in architecture, can hardly, if ever, be harmonised with pointed Gothic, except in one form, the triforium,—a feature appropriate, as we think the Ecclesiologist will agree with us, only to cathedrals and minsters. Now, supposing we have to build a church for some of our neglected populous neighbourhoods, where all who know the district tell us a gallery is requisite, what are we to do? Build two or three churches instead, the Ecclesiologist will perhaps say. But we cannot carry this point; and the question that remains is, whether, for the sake of our architectural taste, and of a preference for the whole congregation worshipping on one level, which we cheerfully grant is something more than a taste, we are to throw any obstruction in the way of building the one church for this

Digitized by Google

neglected neighbourhood? and then, if we get an answer in the negative to this question, whether it be not wiser to take a style which galleries will not so utterly disfigure as pointed Gothic? That they can gracefully adjust themselves to such Romanesque as is now recommended, may be seen at Streatham. That a similar adjustment to pointed Gothic is impossible, we neither assert nor believe; but then it must be brought about by what the Ecclesiologist deprecates, a departure from our old models.

We have but one or two more remarks to make, on none of which can we dwell long.

We have made large concessions to the Ecclesiologist on the subject of pointed Gothic, and we can assure him they have been most ungrudging ones. The beauties of that style have been the object of our passionate admiration even from childhood. But we cannot think it right, as a matter of intellectual culture to become bigots to it, or to assert, in opposition to truth, that it is capable of combining all the beauty which the Christian mind can originate in architecture. On the contrary, there is one sublime feature beyond its reach—the dome. Surely the Ecclesiologist will not call this Pagan, merely because the Pantheon is domical, and because of *the words* of Michael Angelo's boast. His rhetoric compared his great task to the Pantheon; but his aspirations and his heart were filled with that far sublimer dome on which his infant eyes had rested in his native Florence. And, however widely different we may consider his own from Brunelleschi's, it is far more so from the Pantheon. Yes, the dome of Michael Angelo is a Christian feature, if there be such a thing in architecture; nor will the fact that out of Italy it has been used for secular buildings, convince us that it is fit for any but "gorgeous temples."

As to the question of nationality, we confess that the Ecclesiologist meets us ably, and we thank him for his discussion on the difference between mere eclectic adoption and real naturalization. But we must join issue with him on the fact as to whether we have really naturalized any style since Gothic. Wren and his disciples seem to us to have done so. Their Italian was beautifully developed by themselves—became instinctive to them—was an expression of their minds—a style in which they were natural and graceful. We are far, indeed, from recommending their churches as models in every particular; but we are glad to see that our contemporary allows their merit, which, after every preference for something different, and after every deduction, we cannot but feel to be very great.

And is Romanesque, we venture to ask, something so very foreign to us as the Ecclesiologist imagines? Surely one of its forms was as prevalent among our ancestors as ever was any of

Digitized by Google

the styles of pointed Gothic:* and however different that of the south of Europe may often be in general effect, its ground-work and principle are the same with Norman. In truth, Roman architecture, like Roman jurisprudence, is more or less the common property of Christendom; something in regard to which none of the European family is altogether alien. It has a deep rational basis. Discarding the Grecian orders, which it was a weakness to attempt using along with it, it is but the natural result of acquaintance with the arch. In various ways were the nations of Europe led to make their decoration in harmony with that great feature of their construction; nor shall we ever be out of our element, strained, or artificial, if we be really doing the same. Such work, under the guidance of reverential thought and purpose, and of a careful sense of proportion and significance, must be honest, wholesome, and manly, and must, we think, lead to satisfactory and impressive results.

One word more—the Ecclesiologist seems almost to faint at being in any way reminded of the nineteenth century. We beg leave, in all friendliness, to warn its writers of a great principle, not confined in its bearings to the present question,—that no man ever amended the character of his own time by living in a past one; that one of the most necessary qualifications for elevating the age in which we are placed is deeply to sympathize with it; and that there is hardly a more unwholesome and paralyzing habit of mind than that prevalent one of comparing different periods, pronouncing some to be Catholic and holy, and others the reverse; as though we could understand "the mighty stream of tendency"—or the great guidance of the Ark of salvation down its mysterious course.†

Since the most of our article was written, we have heard of the formation of another Architectural Society in Cambridge. We dislike disunion every where, and most of all in the retreats of a great university. We beg both societies to consider what

---

* The style called James I.'s Gothic is a purely national style.

† We have not entered on some points whereon the Ecclesiologist has misconceived our meaning, as at p. 13. and again p. 15. On the question alluded to in the former it seems enough to say, that though basilicæ have side aisles, the early ones had columns, not piers; so that a separate vista, well adjusted to a separate shrine, could not be produced in them as in pointed Gothic. We never said, as our contemporary seems to think we meant, that the congruity of mediæval architecture with what was corrupt in mediæval worship, was the result of deliberate design, either in this particular or any other. The two aided each other not the less powerfully, because unconsciously, because each took possession of minds that were too earnest and living not to be *wholes*—to have either tastes or practices that had *separate* places and existences within them.

On the latter point, a glance at what we have written will suffice to show how hastily the Ecclesiologist must have taken us up; and therefore we say nothing further about it, than that we were not aware of Dissenting meetings having altars, which seems to follow from our contemporary's words.

Digitized by Google

they are about, and whether, by meeting each other in a frank and temperate spirit, and by mutual concession, they may not be able to join forces. The Camden Society has the advantage of having preoccupied much ground, of having many operations in progress, and of being in connexion and correspondence with other societies. On the other hand, we warn its members that persons anxious for information in Architecture, will be much tempted to prefer betaking themselves to a society which numbers the Master of Trinity and Professor Willis among its adherents. Surely this may warn the Camdenians not to go too fast a-head: even when men think they are right, they must be content, on subordinate points, to wait till they can carry others along with them. Where such high authorities as those we have referred to cannot follow them, others may well be excused for hesitating; and so their exertions, failing to win her confidence, fail also of benefiting the Church.

A Song of Faith, Devout Exercises, and Sonnets. By Sir Aubrey de Vere, Bart. London: William Pickering. 1842.

The Waldenses, or the Fall of Rora: a Lyrical Sketch. With other Poems. By Aubrey de Vere. Oxford: J. H. Parker. London: Rivingtons. 1842.

Genoveva. A Poem. By Richard Chevenix Trench. London: E. Moxon. 1842.

The Styrian Lake, and other Poems. By the Rev. William Faber, M.A., *Fellow of University College, Oxford.* London: Rivingtons. Oxford: J. H. Parker. 1842.

Nature a Parable: a Poem, in Seven Books. By the Rev. John Brande Morris, M.A., *Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.* London: Rivingtons. 1842.

How short a time is it since we last called attention to a supply of sacred poetry,—new, abundant, and genuine! Yet, short as the time is, we find ourselves again in arrears on this subject,—find that there are fresh poems and fresh poets of this kind, with whom and with which it behoves us to make our readers acquainted. They well know that few tasks are more delightful to us, when the poets are such as we can recognise,—the poems such as we can read and love.

In these days of teeming authorship, both in prose and verse, it may at first sight seem not a little alarming for a critic to have to discourse so frequently on poetry as we are compelled to do. Repetition and monotony may appear almost inevitable. But happily there is always some novelty, great or small, on each occasion of the

Digitized by Google

sort, on which something can be said. On the present, we have the rather uncommon circumstance of volumes of poems appearing by a father and his son, within a few days of each other, which suggests, among other reflections, a comparison between the characters of the two present generations.

"Our fathers have nearly ruined us, and we must repair their error," said a friend to us once, when the conversation had turned on this very subject; and though the proposition may seem disrespectful, we can assure our readers that he who announced it was and is full of filial as of all other veneration, and with reason good; though it may be startling, we would venture to ask if it be not partly true. The generation of our fathers had and has a very different class of feelings and thoughts from those which occupy their sons. Usually one supposes a son impetuous, and his father cautious; a son revolutionary, and his father attached to usage and prescription; a son self-confident and self-sufficing, his father self-distrustful and reverent. The two generations now alive, however, have changed places in this respect. From the particular combination of circumstances in which they stand, it has come to pass that the elder is revolutionary, the younger Tory; the elder confident in modern, the younger appealing to ancient wisdom; the elder low, the younger high church. The elder generation passed the Reform Bill, the younger disliked it at the time, and has been endeavouring to counteract its expected results ever since; the elder tried to lay hands on the Church, the younger drew up in her defence; the elder would have introduced all manner of innovations in our Universities, that they might meet the spirit of the age, the younger maintained that they should be allowed to remain untouched, in order that they might the better resist that spirit.

All this sounds wonderfully in favour of young men as compared with elderly. It would seem as if the latter must be very unsafe companions, unless they be careful to take counsel of the former; that an old man will plunge into all manner of dangers, from impetuosity and reliance on his first impressions, unless he give heed to the advice and experience of a young one; that hoary heads must look up with due reverence to brown, black, or red ones, in order to gain wisdom and secure guidance. But is the case really so? In sober earnest we say it *seems* so,—seems as if all the rash, revolutionary, irreverent, modern state of mind were with the elder,—the reverence for authority, antiquity, and tried wisdom with the younger, generation. But is it more than seeming? Alas! we suspect that if we give not due heed, we may be just as rash and self-conceited as ever those who went before us could have been; that our imaginary veneration for the past, our supposed awe for authority, our professed self-distrust, may all turn out no better than the particular form of the revolutionary principle within us,—that the true humility, veneration, ay, even the true churchmanship, may now and then be with those who seem to be putting reins on ours.

Digitized by Google

The great laws of Nature are seldom really altered; and while we freely admit that young men are tired of the Whiggism, Liberalism, and low Churchmanship of their immediate predecessors, we would put it to them, as a subject for serious self-examination, whether they are so from anything different in their hearts or characters, than that which made their fathers tired of the antiquated notions which *they* set aside. It is still well to take counsel of the hoary head, and not too readily to differ from the wisdom of age. There may be as much of the revolutionary spirit in insisting on rushing back to the past, as there is in resolving to plunge into the as yet untried and unknown.

Nevertheless, it is matter of thankfulness that the idols of our fathers have been cast down; that we are now at least professing to reverence authority and prescription; that we profess to think we have need of something more than our own notions, manners, and customs. By no merit of ours, but in the providential course of things, we believe that the rising generation has further insight into most subjects than the one that preceded it; has a higher standard of learning, sounds greater depths of thought, is more anxious after truth, severer in its logic, more imaginative in its research. In our intellectual developement, at least, we are more alive to the presence of what is heavenly and divine; God grant we may be proportionably so in our practical! Our profession is better; let us see that our doings be so also.

These remarks, however, are only suggested by the fact that two of the poets before us belong to the two existing generations, not from any thing in the writers themselves: or if suggested at all by them, suggested in the way of contrast. For Aubrey de Vere has no need to set himself about cultivating a different habit of mind from his father's. Sir Aubrey de Vere has not only a fine accomplished mind, but he has been spared that stoppage which comes upon too many after they have passed the *mezzo cammin;* he has been spared becoming stationary; has gone on with the younger generation, entered into their feelings, felt their wants; and, like them, looked to the Catholic Church as the full satisfaction of those feelings, the perfect supply of those wants.

His volume is directed nearly exclusively to sacred subjects; and the lights under which the author has approached them, as well as the peculiar value of his testimony to those lights, may be seen from his preface, which concludes as follows:—

"It is proper that the author should state that his opinions have been formed on the study, however late and imperfect, of the early writers of our Church, these catholic fathers whose language was equal to the argument, remaining to the present day models in composition unapproached.

"With divines of a later date (the controversial writers, for example, of our own day) the author is little acquainted. This fact he feels himself bound in honesty, though with shame, to avow. The confession may however lend some interest, otherwise little desorved, to this publication, inasmuch as it

Digitized by Google

marks the influence upon a mind altogether unprejudiced, which the teaching of the *founders* (?) of our Church is calculated to exercise."—*Preface to Song of Faith.*

Such testimony to the principles which we should learn from our great old standard divines, even if we had never seen a single Tract for the Times, or if not a single one had ever been written, although relating to a fact about which there can be no controversy, is always important. We think it will often be found advisable, in populous neighbourhoods where a clergyman's words are so apt to get wind, and then to be misquoted, to refer inquirers to old approved writers, without naming or alluding to a single publication of the present day. Miserable as such precautions are, they are sometimes necessary, and due to the very truth for which we desire to contend.

To return to Sir Aubrey de Vere. Announcing, as we do now, that his volume is a very pleasing one, we may be permitted to make a few complaints. We cannot like the plan of the Song of Faith. It is a dissertation in verse on each article of the Creed, an undertaking, we think, than which none can be more difficult,—none less likely to lead to satisfactory results. The author tells us in his preface that he writes in metre, as thinking it unbecoming in a layman to adopt a more direct mode of discussion. However that may be, we see no reason why verse should be pressed into a service altogether repugnant to its nature. We cannot take kindly to what is called Didactic Poetry, in spite of the great masters, who have at times written such, and the beauties which they have introduced into it. Poetry can be almost everything, but it cannot be scientific. It can take advantage of nearly every received mode of expression, but it is forced to eschew the logical. Let not the "Excursion" be alleged against us: for, although its aim be philosophical, yet is it not a Didactic Poem in the proper sense. The instruction, though obvious and copious, comes indirectly. It is not a digest of definitions and rules, requiring the aid of episodes, not only to relieve it, but to bring it within the compass of poetry at all; and although it be full of sentences, almost technical, and shaped in somewhat of a logical mould,—its vast scope, and the sweep of its diction, and the voluminous harmony of its numbers, must be considered as rendering such like the discords in an elaborate piece of music contributing to the magnificence of the whole. But the plan of the "Song of Faith" is far too limited, its several divisions are much too short for such a result. The articles of the Creed cannot be directly contemplated and discoursed on otherwise than logically; and there is no expansive grandeur, no full magnificence, carrying off the logic, which forms the staple, not the accidents, of the composition; therefore, for the most part, it is prosaic,—a circumtance which we the more regret, inasmuch as the author always writes poetically, except in his didactic verses, and in them does so very often, as the reader may judge from the following extract from the "Song of Faith" on the Ascension:—

Digitized by Google

"And thus,
Without abating His Humanity,
Or aught from Godhead derogating, passed
Even from the midst of those He loved and taught,
Their blessed Lord; by Power divine to heaven
Ascending; there to sit at God's right hand;
Clothed in the splendour of the Deity
On that ethereal throne not made by hands,
Nor reached by mortal eye, whose shadow is
The purple firmament which bends above
The stars, and doth encompass the great earth,
He sate transfigured; calm and beautiful,
With lofty brows benign, and eyes that beamed
Dominion: while above, below, around,
Archangels glorious in organic light,
A Beatific Vision, compassed Him,
Even as a living Halo! There—and ever—
At the right hand of Power supreme He dwells;
Around whose footstool, constant as the tide
Of ocean swelling 'neath the orb of night,
The awful sea of souls perpetually
Surge with imploring voice and suppliant eyes!"

Song of Faith, pp. 44, 45.

The following, on the commission of the Ministry, is very pleasing:—

"With full power endued
For pastoral functions, and command to lead
The Flocks of God through pastures ever green;
Where holiness is as the scent of flowers,
And joy innumerous as leaves on trees,
And sorrow gentle as dispersing showers,
And hope reviving as was Elim's well,
And memory soothing as the hum of bees,
Or murmuring fall remote, or chiming bells,
And consciousness of life a keen delight,
Pure, fresh, and glowing, as the spousal Spring!"

Song of Faith, p. 62.

Accordingly, while we are forced to condemn his didactic poems on the whole, we find Sir Aubrey de Vere nearly always poetical when engaged with anything else. All of his volume that does not consist of didactic matter, is made up of Sonnets, powerful, compact, and sonnet-like. They are not, however, quite so regular as we could wish; often ending with a couplet, and not seldom with a still greater incongruity—an Alexandrine. Still they are very good, as we think our readers will be inclined to say on being presented with the following specimens:—

"There is no remedy for time misspent;
No healing for the waste of idleness
Whose very languor is a punishment
Heavier than active souls can feel or guess.
O hours of indolence and discontent,
Not now to be redeemed! ye sting not less
Because I know this span of life was lent
For lofty duties, not for selfishness.

Digitized by Google

Not to be wiled away in aimless dreams,
  But to improve ourselves, and serve mankind,
    Life, and its choicest faculties were given.
Man should be ever better than he seems:
  And shape his acts, and discipline his mind,
    To walk adorning earth, with hope of heaven."

"Oft have I thought they err, who, having lost
  That love-gift of our youth, an infant child,
  Yield the faint heart to those emotions wild
With which, too oft, strong memory is crost;
Shrinking with sudden gasp, as if a ghost
  Frowned in their path. Not thus the precepts mild
  Of Jesus teach; which never yet beguiled
Man with vain promises. God loves us most
When chastening us: and He who conquered Death
  Permits not that we still deem death a curse.
  The font is Man's true tomb; the grave his nurse
For heaven, and feeder with immortal breath.
O grieve not for the Dead! none pass from earth
Too soon: God then fulfils His purpose in our birth!"

THE PASSION-FLOWER.

"Art thou a type of beauty, or of power,
  Of sweet enjoyment, or disastrous sin?
For each thy name denoteth, Passion-flower.
  O no! thy pure corolla's depth within
  We trace a holier symbol; yea, a sign
'Twixt God and man: a record of that hour
  When the expiatory Act divine
Cancelled the curse that was our mortal dower.
It is the Cross! never hath Psalmist's tongue
Fitlier of hope to human frailty sung,
  Than this mute Teacher in a floret's breast—
A star of guidance the wild woods among;
  A page, with more than lettered lore imprest;
  A beacon to the havens of the Blest!"

CASTLECONNEL.

"Broad, but not deep, along his rock-chafed bed,
  In many a sparkling eddy winds the flood,
  Clasped by a margin of green underwood:
A castled crag, with ivy garlanded,
Sheer o'er the torrent frowns: above the mead
  De Burgho's towers, crumbling o'er many a rood,
  Stands gauntly out, in airy solitude,
Backed by yon furrowed mountain's tinted head.
Sound of far people, mingling with the fall
  Of waters, and the busy hum of bees,
  And larks in air, and throstles in the trees,
Thrill the moist air with murmurs musical:
  While cottage smoke goes drifting on the breeze;
And sunny clouds are floating over all."

Song of Faith, &c., pp. 143, 147, 153, 190.

We imagine Sir Aubrey de Vere will be the last to quarrel with us for saying that his son is a poet of greater range and power than himself. Indeed, among all our young poets, we do not know one

Digitized by Google

who has given a richer promise than Mr. Aubrey de Vere in this his first essay. One thing we particularly rejoice to see,—he has tried something considerable. For some time back our poets have feared to venture on a poem eight pages long. If they have undertaken a tale at all, it has been one so soon and so easily told, that their usual lyrical movements have quite sufficed to bring it out: their lungs would seem to have been too weak for any continuous harmony, any rolling stream of song. Now we are very far from holding that in poetry greatness is synonymous with magnitude. The mighty poet, the poet of the very first class, is recognisable in a few words; and were we acquainted with nothing of Milton's but the "Hymn to the Nativity," or of Wordsworth's but "Three years she grew in sun and shower," we might, notwithstanding, feel quite warranted in placing both bards among the immortals. Still, great faculties court great undertakings. Those who have much power over the heart, are naturally led to exert it in the way of creating a sustained interest, and a prolonged excitement of feeling. And, on the part of ourselves,—the receivers, whether as readers or listeners,—while we cheerfully own that a Sonnet may be a greater work than a volume, we cannot but think that a volume, as good as a sonnet, has a claim on our gratitude greater in the proportion of its greater size. Now Mr. de Vere, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Talfourd, are the only recent poets who have attempted any considerable work. Of the two latter we need say nothing at present, the business in hand being to give our readers some account of "The Waldenses, or the Fall of Rora," a lyrical sketch.

We have expressed our gratitude to Mr. de Vere for attempting something considerable, and we think the attempt deserves it. But we cannot say that he has altogether succeeded. His "Lyrical Sketch" we should naturally call a drama, and proceed to criticise as such; but he tries to hinder us, by saying in the Introduction that "the present poem, although a large part of it is cast in the form of dialogue, has no pretensions whatever to be considered a drama." But what is that to the purpose? It ought to have such pretensions. The great principles of art owe their authority surely not to the writer's purpose of obeying them, but to his having, whether intentionally or not, come within their jurisdiction. Now Mr. de Vere has done so. His performance, we maintain, is a drama, whether he likes to call it so or not; and we blame it for being a defective one. He has told us a tale in the dramatic form, and he ought to have given that tale a certain unity and proportion, which there was nothing in its nature, or in any of the circumstances of the case, to hinder him from doing. The reader, therefore, has some right to complain on finding himself reading a modern drama, in two acts, varied by a song or two, and some dialogues, which, though rarely beautiful, are spoken by persons who play no further part in the tale; and when he comes to the third, discovering himself in the midst of a Greek play, with a regular chorus.

Digitized by Google

Mr. de Vere, however, is a young man: and he has already done more, we think, than his contemporaries. If he has not put all his materials gracefully together, they are nevertheless excavated from a noble quarry. The true poet appears in every page; and we cannot but think his faults are more the embarrassment of riches, which he has hardly learnt to use, than indicative of any defect in his mind or powers.

His subject is a very interesting one: one of those many deeds of darkness which lie at the door of the Romish church,—the persecution of the Waldenses in the year 1655,—which awoke that thunder-peal from Milton, the sonnet commencing, "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints." In his Introduction, Mr. de Vere gives a short account of the incidents which form the basis of his poem, and finishes with the following temperate and pleasing remarks on the character and position of the Waldenses.

"It is hardly worth observing that the Waldenses of Piedmont, whose origin is lost in the gloom of antiquity, are not to be confounded with the reformers of the same name, so called from their master Peter Valdo—much less with those heretical Albigenses and Cathari who seem to have revived some of the most fanatical errors of the East. The Waldenses, it is true, appear to have been defective, at least at a late period, in matters relating to Church government. Such defects it would be but a very false charity to make little of or to overlook. On the other hand it would be at once presumptuous and unjust to attribute to the Waldenses as a fault that which may have been, however great a misfortune, still a misfortune only. For the early Waldenses, occupying a few secluded valleys among the mountains, and surrounded from generation to generation by pitiless foes, may be urged that excuse which our great Divines used to make for the reformed religious bodies of Germany, viz., that if they had not Bishops it was because they could not have them. No generous and truly Catholic heart will forget, because a certain gift was withheld from the Waldenses, the religious and heroic fidelity with which they preserved and vindicated the gifts committed to their charge; no man with the ordinary feelings of humanity can ever cease to sympathize with the brave defenders of their ancestral Faith, and immemorial Freedom."—*Introduction*, pp. vi. vii.

The lyrical parts of the poem occupy so large a part, and are so characteristic of it, that we will give our extracts from them before approaching the dialogue. It opens with the following beautiful "Morning Hymn."

"The sun is rising, though from us,
His orb the mountain cliffs are veiling;
Quick lights shoots forward tremulous;
Long gleams athwart the dark are sailing.

"The clouds are thrilled, the clouds are filled,
The clouds with light are overflowing—
The pinesteeps now, their murmurs stilled,
From ridge to ridge high up are glowing.

"Now dim no more, the mountain slopes
With carved and trelliced huts are spangled;
While up from every vapoury copse
Rises its cloudwreath disentangled.

Digitized by Google

"O heavenly uncreated Light!
Thus greet us from thy loftier station;
Till we are bright, and wholly bright,
In act and will, as Aspiration!"—*The Waldenses*, p. 3.

FIRST SHEPHERDESS SINGS.

I.

"Breath divine of morning odours!
Breath of blossoms, breath of buds;
Onward borne in winged chorus,
Through the alleys and old woods;
And thou stream, that, lightly flowing,
Dost thy pretty mirth enforce;
Flash, and laugh, and crystal ripple,
Hurrying in perpetual course!
O the joy to walk, low-singing,
Through those blooming vales, and say
Another morn hath dropp'd from heaven
With our aged earth to play!"

SECOND SHEPHERDESS SINGS.

II.

"Phosphor, through my casement peeping,
On my folded eyelids shone;
'Wake,' he sang, 'no more of sleeping,
'Shadows melt, the night is gone!'
A bird that with the year is ripening,
One brief moment wakes to pour
Through the boughs wild jets of music,
Then sinks in sleep once more!
O the joy to walk, low-singing,
Through those blooming woods, and say
Another spring has stooped from heaven
With our aged earth to play!"—*The Waldenses*, pp. 36, 37.

When Agnes, the young martyr, is placed amid the faggots, "the soldiers are driven back by a supernatural brightness which surrounds the pyre. Celestial voices sound in the air . . ." and we have the following Chorus of Angels and Agnes:—

Chorus of Angels and Agnes sing.

ANGELS.

"Bearing lilies in our bosom,
Holy Agnes, we have flown,
Missioned from the Heaven of Heavens
Unto thee, and thee alone.
We are coming, we are flying,
To behold thy happy dying.

ANGELS.

"Unto us the boon was given;
One glad message, holy maid,
On the lips of two blest spirits,
Like an incense-grain was laid;
As it bears us on like lightning
Cloudy skies are round us bright'ning.

AGNES.

"Bearing lilies far before you,
Whose fresh odours backward blown
Light those smiles upon your faces,
Mingling sweet breath with your own.
Ye are coming; smoothly, slowly,
To the lowliest of the lowly.

AGNES.

"I am here, a mortal maiden;
If our Father aught hath said,
Let me hear His words and do them—
Ought I not to feel afraid,
As ye come your shadows flinging
O'er a breast to meet them springing?

Digitized by Google

ANGELS.

"Agnes, there is joy in Heaven!
Gladness like the day is flung
O'er the spaces never measured;
And from every angel tongue
Swell those songs of impulse vernal,
All whose echoes are eternal.

"Agnes, from the depth of Heaven
Joy is rising like a spring,
Borne over its grassy margin,
Borne in many a crystal ring;
Each o'er beds of wild flowers gliding,
Over each low murmurs sliding.

"When a Christian lies expiring,
Angel choirs, with plumes outspread,
Bend above his death-bed singing,
That when Death's mild sleep is fled
There may be no harsh transition
While he greets the heavenly vision.

AGNES.

"Am I dreaming, blessed angels?
Late ye floated two in one;
Now a thousand radiant spirits
Round me weave a glistening zone!
Lilies as they wind, extending;
Roses with those lilies blending.

"See! the horizon's ring they circle!
Now they gird the zenith blue;
And now o'er every brake and billow
Float like mist, and flash like dew.
All the earth with life o'erflowing,
Into heavenly shapes is growing!

"They are rising: they are rising:
As they rise, the veil is riven!
They are rising: I am rising:
Rising with them into heaven:—
Rising with those shining legions
Into Life's eternal regions."

The Waldenses, pp. 63—65.

Of the dialogue our readers must take the following specimens:—

"HERMIA. How clear, how fresh,
How sweet this mountain air, the earth's glad breath,
Hovering o'er her wild palpitating bosom!
The lark springs, singing from our feet to heaven;
A bird as happy sings within my breast.
Mark! not one rainbow, but a thousand there,
Blown by the smooth wind past yon forest cliff;
The lustres of all rainbows under heaven
Woven together!

"ANGELA. Cousin, these are the spirits
Of unborn flowers still blind beneath the sod,
Brought down to them from Paradise! Of all
Fair heavenly angels, I would choose to be
Such as make flowers on earth. What is it, think you,
Endears to us so much our happy valleys?
Lovely they are not; they are harsh and rugged:
Nor are they grand, since here there is no sea.
And yet we love these valleys.

"HERMIA. Mountains then,—
Are they not grand?

"ANGELA. Perhaps, but not these Alps.
In England, I have heard, and Sicily,
There are great mountains, fifty miles and more
Above the clouds.

"HERMIA. These mountains are the shields
Of freedom; this, perchance, endears them to us.

"ANGELA. But children love them, who know nought of freedom:
When I was still a child I loved them well;
As well as now.

"HERMIA. Heroes have trod these mountains.

"ANGELA. But there are women, that abhor the gleam
Of sunshine on far swords, that faint at war songs,
Yet love these vales.

Digitized by Google

"HERMIA. These mountains are our country!
It is the privilege of the mountain children
To see their country all around—below them—
For miles below through pine-girt, grey ravines,
Whose pines look small as stubble, crushed like stubble,
By raging of the storms—to see it high
Above their heads, as we behold it now,
Bright apparition, from night-clouds emerging;
Cliff rising over cliff, forest o'er forest,
Cloud over cloud, and snow above bright snow!
A vale whose depths are night; whose barrier rocks
Are crowned with one vast sun-gilt diadem;
Whose girth might sphere the host of heaven, yet give
Each glorious spirit a region to himself:
A vale that cannot hold the rushing soul
Of Liberty, from these her eagle nests
Forth issuing daily o'er a world in bondage!
Yes, we behold our country; we do dwell
In it, not on it merely!"—*The Waldenses*, pp. 38, 39.

* * * * * *

"HERMIA. Run on across the bridge.*
"ANGELA. But tell me, Hermia,
Why have they placed within its wooden roof
Those beautiful old pictures? every arch
Hath one—twelve stations of our Saviour's passion.
Dewy and dim they look and weather wasted,
'Tis pity there to hang them in the darkness!
"HERMIA. I know not, Angela—ah! yes—I know—
It is a warning unto every heart
That beats too high in gladness, or too low
Descends in grief; it is a gentle warning,
That life is such a bridge as we are treading;
A narrow bridge, a rugged bridge—unsteady—
Irksome; yet leading to the longed-for bourne.
And those still pictures from their airy shadows,
Look down on us, and say with tenderness,
'Why gaze ye on the fluctuating stream?
'If any sorrow, here was the true sorrow!
'If one be gladsome, here is the true joy!'
"ANGELA. How sweetly on our faces falls the sunshine,
Now we are past! What stand you gazing at?
Your eyes are full of tears."—*The Waldenses*, p. 42.

Next to the Waldenses, the two most important poems in the volume are, "The Infant Bridal," and "A Tale of the Modern Time." Of these, the former is the more purely beautiful; the latter, the more powerful and imaginative. It has somewhat the same moral as Mr. Tennyson's "Palace of Art," but better brought out, and with a more distinct reference to the Cross of Jesus Christ. It opens thus:—

"An old man once I knew whose aged hair
A summer brilliance evermore retained:
Youthful his voice and full, not rough or spare;
His cheek all smooth, and like a child's engrained,

* Our untravelled readers must consider that in Switzerland, and the adjacent countries, bridges are roofed.

Digitized by Google

Or marble altar innocently stained
With roses mirrored in its tablet white—
Like May his eye: his foot-fall slow but light.

"Yet no one marvelled at him: of his ways
Rarely men spake, as of the buried dead;
And dropped him from their lips with trivial phrase.
'Gentle he was, and kind,' the neighbours said,
'Albeit an idle life and vain he led.'
Odours he loved from flowers at twilight dim;
And breath and song of morn: children loved him.

"I have beheld him on a wintry plant
An eye delighted bending full an hour!
As though the Spring o'er every tendril scant
Crept on beneath his ken, from flower to flower:
Low shed and brake to him were hall and bower!
O'er a leaf's margin he would pore and gaze
As on some problem of the starry maze!

"Over a rose his palm he loved to curve
As though it brought him warmth from out the ground.
Instinctively his soundless step would swerve
To where lone runnels dropped through cave profound;
His body there he bent above the sound,
And seemed to fold it up in his embrace,
With heaving breast, and gently smiling face!

"I wondered at him long: but youth and awe
Restrained me from demanding of his story.
At last, it chanced one day, this man I saw
Reclining 'neath an oak rifted and hoary,
Last tree of a wild, woodland promontory.
Far round below the forest deep and warm
Was waving in the light of an illumined storm.

"I placed me at his feet: his eyes were closed—
Celestial brightness hung upon his mien,
And all his features tranquilly composed:
I gazed on him, and cried, 'Where hast thou been
'In youth? What done, what read, what heard, what seen?'
At my own voice I trembled; but the man
Looked on me with a smile and calmly thus began.

"'The Tale, true told, of every Human Being
Were awful—yet upon each new-born child,
O star divine! the eye of the All-seeing
Rested in glory! Heaven looked down and smiled:
And choirs of joyful Angels undefiled
Around the cradle sang, and evermore
In youth walked near him, after, and before.

"'Yea, and their shadowy wings in mercy hide
The marvels round us, and the peril. Say,
'Mid the lone forest, on the mountain side,
What miles of mazes hast thou tracked to-day?
Had some black chasm girt visibly thy way,
Couldst thou secure have wandered thus? Not so—
The danger is not ours while danger none we know.

"'My life hath been a marvel. Thine no less.
If thou that marvel hast not yet discerned,
Lament not therefore. Unto wretchedness

Digitized by Google

That knowledge grew for which our parents yearned.
The best and happiest ofttime least have learned
Of Man's dread elements—what dust—what spirit—
That which we are, what have, what make, and what inherit.' "
The Waldenses, &c. pp.193—195.

The old man gives the following account of his youth:—

"Happy my childhood was; devout and gay:
My youth was full of glory, joy, and might,
Like the swift morning of a stormy day
In summer, when from out the gulfs of night
Day leaps at once to the empyreal height.
Strength without bound in spirit, body, and soul,
I felt: and in my gladness mocked control.

"In the rapture of that strength I went abroad
Where'er Ambition called, or passion led:
Full many a deep my ploughing bark hath scored;
Full many a plain hath echoed to my tread:
All enterprize I sought: all books I read:
All thoughts I pondered, murmuring in my mirth
That text, 'Be thou, O Man, the Lord of Earth.'

"Deeply I studied, in all tomes and tongues,
The Historic legend, Philosophic page:
More deeply yet those earlier mythic songs
Built up by Bards for legislative Sage,
Himself a builder up, from age to age,
Of States—true poems each—yea songs divine,
Where souls in concord rest, balanced as line with line.

"All Art and Science at the Gentile feast
Of Western pride advanced, I knew right well:
And laughed to mark the great Book of the East
Push on through all, as through a garden dell
Bright with frail flowers, and paved with glittering shell,
Some Asian Elephant. Thereon I gazed
Indifferent half, indignant half, and praised.

"Not one of all my instincts I denied:
Whate'er I saw I sought, and seeking gained;
And rolled against the palate of my pride:
That which the eye desired the hand attained:
Each bar I dashed aside, each pleasure drained;
And then flung proudly from me. I had sworn
All triumphs to achieve, and then to scorn.

"Was I then wicked? Friend! applauding nations,
Such question asked, had called me great and good.
I loved my kind—but more their acclamations:
My thoughts were birds of prey, and snatched that food
From weak and strong to gorge their infant brood,
And make them fierce for battle—but the hour
Was come that tried at last my fancied power.

"One day a mountain summit I was pacing:
Through cloudy chasms the sunbeams fell thereon;
Over its plain the mighty winds were racing,
Quiring Eolian anthems in loud tone.
Long time I walked in pride, and walked alone:
And what I was revolved—and turned again,
To mark the far off towns and visible main.

Digitized by Google

"Man I considered then: and I looked forth
Upon the works and wonders of his hand,
The deep his beaten road, his palace earth;
Commanding all things; yet beneath command
Of Mind, and him who wields its magic wand.
Then said I, 'Haply in my spirit lies
Some germ of Power's great tree that filleth earth and skies!'

"All treasures of my Knowledge, straight I spread
Unrolled as in a map before my eyes;
And walked among them with a conqueror's tread,
That moves o'er fields of hard-won victories,
Dreaming of mightier yet. A long disguise
Fell from me in a moment; and I trod
A worshipper no longer, but a God!

"Towards me a throne descended through the air—
When lo! the crown of my demoniac Pride
Updrawn, raised up my horror-stricken hair!
For, wheresoe'er I wandered, by my side
Another step appeared to tread and glide;
No mortal form was near! and in the abyss
Of heaven, the mountain floors are echoless.

"I stopped; it stopped; I walked; it walked; I turned:
My fears I mocked, unworthy of a man.
Then a cold poison from that heart self-spurned
Welled forth, a bitter flood: and I began
Once more my life and inmost heart to scan:
Till suddenly what shape in soul I was
Before me I beheld plainly as in a glass.

"Then my disease I knew; but not the cure.
Lightning, sent flaming from the breast of heaven,
Revealed my sins long-hid, from lure to lure.
Beams from the eyes of God, like shafts were driven
Against me: to her depth my soul was riven,
Whereof each portion, conscious and amazed,
In stupor of despair upon the other gazed.

"Thus on my throne, that marble mountain height,
My Soul I saw! I went I know not whither.
Down like a tempest fell from heaven the night:
I heard the sea, and rushed in panic thither;
By ghost-like clouds, and woods my step made wither,
And rock, and chasm that seemed to gape and sever,
I rushed, and thought I rushed for ever and for ever."

The Waldenses, &c. pp. 197—200.

The time of cure arrives:—

"On peaks eclipsing to its rim the ocean
Hath been my dwelling: rivers I have seen
Whose sound alone dispersed a gradual motion
O'er cloud-like woods, their deep primeval screen!
Lone sands my feet have trod beneath the sheen
Of spheres unnamed. From zone to zone I fled,
As though each land in turn grew fire below my tread.

"But Heaven had ended now my time of sorrow,
When most I seemed in penal horror bound:
Dreamless one night I slept, and on the morrow
Strange tears now first amid the dew I found
Wherewith my heavy hair and cheeks were drowned.

Digitized by Google

And in my heart, fanned by that morning air,
There lay, as I walked on, my childhood's long-lost prayer.

"I lay me down upon a sunny bank,
Ridged o'er a plain yet white with virgin snows,
Though now each balmy noon, and midnight dank
Lightened the burden of the vernal rose;
My eyes (their wont it was till daylight's close)
Fixed on my own still shadow—in that light
Intense—keenly defined, and dark as night.

"I pored upon it: sudden, by that shade
Another shadow rested; faint and dim:
At first I thought my tears the phantom made,
Then cried, 'I do but dream it, form and limb.'
In horror then abroad I seemed to swim:
Then my great agony grew calm and dumb,
For now I knew indeed my destined hour was come.

"My spirit's foe was now the spoil to claim—
My heart's chill seemed his hand upon my heart:
O marvel! clearer while that shade became,
No mocking fiend, I saw, no lifted dart;
But a dejected Mourner; down apart
His head declined: one hand in grief he pressed
Upon the heaving shadow of a sorrowing breast.

"The other round my neck was thrown, so fair,
So kind, so gentle, none thereon might gaze,
Nor feel that love alone had placed it there!
There dropped the cloud of my dejected days.
He who for years had tracked my wandering ways
Had followed me in love! O Virgin-born,
Thy shadow was the light of my eternal morn!

* * * * *

"Then looked I up; and drank from Heaven that light
Which makes the world within, and world around
Alone intelligible, pure, and bright:
My forehead then, but not by me, was crowned:
Then my lost youth, no longer sought, was found:
My penance then complete; or turned to pain
So sweet, the enamoured heart embraced it like a gain.

"My kind, new-vested in the eternal glory
Of God made Man, glorious to me became.
Henceforth those crowns that shine in mortal story
I deemed it grief to bear, madness to claim.
To be a man seemed now man's loftiest aim.
His noblest joy, to wait on one the least
Of those who fight God's fight or join His kingly feast."

The Waldenses, &c. pp. 202—205.

The end is very solemn and beautiful.

"'Stranger, farewell! Far off a bell is tolling:
A bridal or a funeral bell—whate'er
It chaunts, in harmony the tones are rolling.
All bells alike summon mankind to prayer!
Yea, and for me those twain one day shall pair
Their blended chimes to one. When I am dead
Stain not with tears my grave—it is a bridal bed.'

Digitized by Google

"He ceased. The inmost sense of that I heard
I know not: yet, because the man was wise,
His legend I have written word for word.
All things hold meaning—to unclouded eyes
Feathers, and humblest flowers have auguries.
It may be then this weed some balm doth bear;
Some cure for sight long dim—some charm against despair."
The Waldenses, &c. p. 206.

We wish we had room to quote a "Hymn for the Feast of the Annunciation," which we consider Mr. de Vere's most perfect work, but must content ourselves with two shorter ones.

LAW AND GRACE.

"It is not true, that unto us, enrolled
Within Christ's band, the Law exists no longer:
But this is true; that we, who sank of old,
Oppressed beneath that armory of gold,
Sustain it now in glory, being stronger!

"The Form remains: but is a form no more
To eyes inspired, that see
Through bondage Liberty;
And, in His earthly shape, their God adore.
To Love all things are Love:
To Grace all things are Grace:
And humble Faith can never move
In an unholy place!

"Within, but not beneath the Law we dwell
That wall, of old our prison's circuit, now
(Girding the city mountain's sov'reign brow)
Is but the bulwark of man's citadel.
Large views beyond are given:
Safe views of all the earth; and healing airs of Heaven.

"Within the Temple of the Law we stand;
As once without it stood
That awe-struck multitude;
And on the marble Tables lay our hand.
There, like the vested Priest, our God we meet:
And stand up boldly by the Mercy-Seat."
The Waldenses, &c. pp. 128, 129.

DEATH.

"The cold is in my heart:
To earth declines my head:
Death points thereat his dart.
But Life, O Christ, Thou art
To quick and dead.

"I will not ask delay.
I will not shrink or sigh.
Be Thou alone my stay.
Come Thou: Thou know'st the way:
Thou too didst die.

"The Dark became as Light
When Christ in Hades trod.
The throne below of Night
Thy brow that hour made bright:
Death owned Thee God.

"Death trembled. Death and Hell
Gave up with awe their prey.
Thy ransom'd knew Thee well.
On earth though yet I dwell
I am as they.

"With them my watch I keep:
I feel my Saviour there.
With Adam now I leap
Forth from the penal Deep
Of my despair.

"With patriarch Saints I gaze
Upon Thy light afar.
Lift up my hands in praise:
Yea, wash me in the rays
Of thy bright star.

Digitized by Google

"My chains fall off; I rise:
Th' eternal night is riven.
With Christ to earth I rise;
And on into the skies:
And up to Heaven."—*The Waldenses, &c.* pp. 136, 137.

Of Mr. Trench's "Genoveva," what need we say more than that it has gushed full from its author's heart,—that heart which is a fountain of solemn and touching music? We feel that there is some injury in merely quoting a part of what flows on so continuously. We cannot, however, refrain from giving our readers some little specimens of this exquisite poem: therefore, they must listen to two of its divisions,—one narrating how Count Siegfrid, after recovering the treasure, from whom a lie too readily believed had severed him, is made to find that the long years of suffering and want, to which his rash anger had exposed Genoveva, must work their due effect; the other, telling how he spent his days after the second sad bereavement.

x.

"Joy is in Count Siegfried's bowers,
Joy upon those ancient towers.
Festal gladness in the room
Of that weight of brooding gloom;
Nor doth she, whose presence bright
Chased the darkness of that night,
Bringing back return of light,
In this joy refuse her share:—
Yet there doth another care
Fill her heart—how best to keep
Those heights difficult and steep,
Which her spirit did attain
In its years of desert pain—
Him her pattern still to own,
Wearer of the thorny crown.
To the Count, as more he knows,
Ever loftier wonder grows
At her saintly virtues high—
Aye a sadder certainty,
That he will not long retain
His new-won and glorious gain.
She doth meekly undertake
All life's tasks for his dear sake;
Yet she evermore doth seem
Like one moving in a dream,
Or as one called back from death,
Strangely drawing vital breath;
All so wondrous doth the stir
Of our life appear to her;
All so little to her mind,
Doth she now its pageants find.
And not many months have been,
Ere of every eye 'tis seen
That the hour is nearly come,
When the weary one will home;
Ere too plain the work appears
Of those cruel wasting years.
Every day her pale, pale face,
Wears a more unearthly grace:
Angel wings are o'er her head,
Angel feet about her bed:
She doth catch in trances high
Heaven's transcending melody;
Enters by heaven's golden doors,
Treads upon its sapphire floors,
And clear voices do not cease
Warning her of near release—
Sounds she may interpret well,
Wherefore sent, and what they tell;
Yet to him will not impart,
That she may not rend his heart:
For what anguish had they brought
To his soul, who well had thought
To atone that mighty wrong
By a life of service long,
By long years of service true
And devotion ever new—
But must now seem torn and scattered,
By this stroke for ever shattered,
That fond vision, by whose art
He had many times in part
Spoken peace unto his heart."

xii.

"Once again thou art alone,
From that other sorrow thrown
All too quickly upon this:
Oh, few days of fleeting bliss!
Where shall they who fain would speak
Comfort now, the mourner seek?
'Mid his old ancestral towers,
His twice-desolated bowers?
On the battle-fields of Spain,
Where the hardy Goths maintain
Their Asturian mountains well,
Thrusting back the infidel?

Digitized by Google

Rather in the deep recess
Of a pathless wilderness,
Out of knowledge, out of sight,
Seek a lonely eremite.
Him has good Hidulphus blest,
Praised his purpose, and his quest
(Even before this life shall close)
Of a place of sure repose.
So a Church in that wild wood
Rises, where that cross had stood:
Underneath the altar high
Genoveva's relics lie:
And that cross, of Angel hands
Wrought, above the altar stands.
He, within a rugged grot,
In the very self-same spot
Where she saw those cruel years,
Where she wept those many tears,
Dwells—where Genoveva dwelt,
Kneels—where Genoveva knelt;
From the self-same spring doth take
Water for his thirst to slake,
Often knows no other food
Than the wild roots of the wood;
Well content to undergo
Some small portion of the woe
Which so long he made her know.
There he waits for his release,
There in God finds perfect peace:—
Till the long years end at last,
And he too at length has past
From the sorrow and the fears,
From the anguish and the tears,
From the desolate distress
Of this world's great loneliness,
From its withering and its blight,
From the shadow of its night,
Into God's pure sunshine bright."

Genoveva, pp. 49—52, 56—58.

But, reader, thou must thyself master the whole of this sweet and touching poem.

Mr. Faber's merits are so generally known, that his "Styrian Lake and other Poems" can stand in little need of our recommendation. If he be not a very original, he is nearly always a lively and pleasing poet. Perhaps a little intermission, publication somewhat less rapid than his, would bring out in him a voice of his own, and a concentration of purpose which at present we desiderate.

The Styrian Lake is a poem in style, metre, and general pitch, very much resembling, though, of course, far from equalling, the White Doe of Rylstone. It contains much pleasing matter, though, not knowing the peculiar circumstances of the locality, (for Mr. Faber has not given us any notes,) we are rather puzzled at finding his favourite epithet of endearment for his Styrian Lake to be *green*. It is

"A most beautiful *green* lake.
Lizard's back is not so green
As its soft and tremulous sheen."

Elsewhere we read of its "green and glossy deep"—its "green depths," &c. Now we own that when we are called on to admire a lake as *green*, our imaginations are embarrassed by recollections of horse-ponds and such like embellishments of home scenery.

We think our readers will be pleased with both thoughts and language in the following verses on

ENGLISH HEDGES.

"Not without deep memorial truth are ye,
Partitions of sweet thorn! which intersect
Our blythest counties, bidding us reflect
Full oft upon our rural ancestry,
The unambitious thanes of Saxon days;
Who with their modest manors well content,
Of corn and mead and fragrant bean-field blent
And woody pasture, lived in simple ways

Digitized by Google

And patriarchal virtues, ere the hand
Of Norman rule was felt; or feudal right,
Baneful exotic! settled like a blight
On the free customs of the pastoral land.

"Behold—a length of hundred leagues displayed—
That web of old historic tapestry
With its green patterns, broidered to the eye,
Is with domestic mysteries inlaid!
Here hath a nameless sire in some past age
In quaint uneven stripe or curious nook,
Clipped by the wanderings of a snaky brook,
Carved for a younger son an heritage.
There set apart, an island in a bower,
With right of road among the oakwoods round,
Are some few fields within a ring-fence bound,
Perchance a daughter's patrimonial dower.

"So may we dream, while to our fancy come
Kind incidents and sweet biographies
Scarce fanciful, as flowing from the ties
And blissful bonds which consecrate our home
To be an earthly heaven. From shore to shore
That ample, wind-stirred net-work doth ensnare
Within its delicate meshes many a rare
And rustic legend, which may yield good store
Of touching thought unto the passenger:
Domestic changes, families decayed,
And love or hate, in testaments displayed
By dying men, still in the hedgerows stir.

"When Rome her British Eagles did recall,
Time saw the ages weave that web of green
Assiduously upon the rural scene,
Ere yet the lowly-raftered Saxon hall
Was watched from Norman fortalice. The fields
Escutcheons were, borne by those equal thanes,
While herald spring went wandering up the lanes,
Blazoning with green and white the yeomen's shields.
And as the Church grew there, beneath her eyes,
The breadth of hedgerows grew with her, not loth
To be, as freedom is, an undergrowth
Of that true mother of all liberties.

"The Saxon hedgerows stand, though twice assailed;
Once greedy barons in their pride of birth
For hunting grounds imparked the fertile earth,
Till peasant joys and pastoral ditties failed:
Now upstart wealth absorbs both far and nigh
The small ancestral farms: woe worth the day,
When fortunes overgrown shall eat away
The heart of our old English yeomanry!
The hedges still survive, shelters for flowers,
An habitation for the singing birds,
Cool banks of shadow grateful to the herds,
A charm unknown in any land but ours.

"Ye modest relics of a simple past,
Most frail and most enduring monument,
Ye still are here, when Norman Keep is rent
And cruel chace disparked into a waste

Digitized by Google

Of cheerful tillage: ye uninjured rise,
To nature and to human wants allied,
Therefore outliving works of lordly pride;—
How rightly dear for what ye symbolize!
Long may the Saxon hieroglyphic stand
A precious trophy in the yeoman's eye,
The wisdom of our ancient polity
Written in leafy cypher o'er the land!"

Faber's Styrian Lake, &c. pp. 244—248.

And now we must say a few words on a production which we have not yet had time to master, but which both deserves and demands some notice. "Nature a Parable," by the Rev. J. B. Morris, is a metrical series of analogies in the natural world to the spiritual, taken very mainly from the writings of the Fathers, in whose minds we need not say that such analogies occupied a considerable space. That they did so, was natural and right under their circumstances; though by an excess, which we need neither palliate nor harshly condemn, they were betrayed into interpretations of the written Word neither reverent nor safe. This Mr. Morris will not allow, as we find from his Preface, in which he speaks as follows:—

"The present work was originally undertaken as a relief from engagements of a more laborious kind. It struck me that in all writers not of the very driest class, there are some things of an imaginative hue, and that I might therefore not disadvantageously employ my leisure hours in correcting and chastening whatever amount of imaginative tendencies I had myself, by noticing things of the kind in the works of the Fathers. I went to them in this as in other respects with a desire to consult them as oracles, not to judge of them as authors. As for a *blind* reverence for them, I cannot believe that such a thing exists, or was ever even talked of, except by such as were either ignorant of their writings, or, with some knowledge of these, made no effort to follow their stern holiness and patient gentleness. The graciousness of our Lord's promise reaches even to the effort to do His Father's will.

"I hope that whatever defects of style, or judgment, or doctrine, there may be in this work, I have throughout it expressed a conviction that stern living is the way to understand the subjects of which it makes a feeble attempt to treat. If in expressing that conviction I have any where seemed deficient in gentleness, I have little doubt myself that it is to be attributed to my own want of sternness to myself. Still any one may make an effort to attain the two, though he succeed but ill in attaining them.

"Of the seeming childishness, then, of some of the interpretations of Scripture, or other things contained in this book, (if they are taken from the Fathers,) we have no right to form opinions until we live the strict lives of the Fathers."
—*Preface to Nature, a Parable*, pp. v. vi.

On this extract we cannot at present say all that we feel, but we must say something, for the case is serious. In all friendliness, therefore, we would warn Mr. Morris of the evil, the *sinfulness* (we write it advisedly) of the sentiments he has uttered. What right had he to approach the Fathers, or any besides the sacred writers, as *oracles?* The general controversy now going on as to the use and value of Christian antiquity and Catholic consent has no place here. Were the Fathers mortal men, struggling with sin and imperfection to the

Digitized by Google

very last? If so, they must have been individually fallible, unless we know of some express provision, as in the case of the original apostles, against their being so: and if fallible, a Christian man must not make them oracles, at whatever deduction he may arrive from the phenomenon of their doctrinal agreement. Of the monstrous evil—the vast danger of taking certain centuries and personages of the church for *ideals*, we have spoken before now; and we see no cause to re-open the question: though the interests both of faith and holiness require that we should refer to it. We must also call Mr. Morris's notice to the gross violation of charity he is guilty of, in saying that none ever spoke of a *blind* reverence for the Fathers, but such as were either ignorant of their writings, or not aspiring after their holiness. There are names which forthwith rise almost into our lips—living ornaments to our church—in whom we believe that an acquaintance with patristic theology, though great, is yet not greater than their personal holiness, against whom this rash judgment is directed, and by shutting up his sympathy from whom, Mr. Morris will be no gainer.

The Preface strikes us as labouring under an intellectual as well as a moral deficiency. Mr. Morris seems to us to confound imagination and fancy; and till a man carefully distinguishes these two very different faculties, his views of art must be clouded and defective.

We have to thank him for a very learned, and so far a valuable volume. The principle he wishes to develope is, we think, a true one in itself, though it requires to be restrained in practice by other elements as sound and more immediately important. We cannot think the design a happy one for a poem, nor can we praise Mr. Morris for careful and successful execution. He gives us lines more horribly discordant than any we have lately encountered, and passages thoroughly prosaic. Yet he possesses poetical power, his thoughts are often pleasing, and always reverent; and as the full merit of such a work as his is not likely to appear at first, we think it very likely to grow upon us. It contains beautiful passages, many much better than that we are about to quote from the Introduction; which, however, we prefer, because while it is itself pleasing, it is characteristic of the book, and of the way in which it is woven out of patristic materials.

"Here then we pause: and willing would we learn
The voice of Wisdom, howsoe'er reveal'd,
Though chiefly seeking in the Christian sage
What she unto Tradition hath consign'd,
Whether from earliest time it have surviv'd,
Or by the counterworking of the Church
In Heaven on that in Earth hath been reveal'd
More clearly, as her present storms required;
Whether it find a sanction in the page
Of holy Writ, or be for humbler hearts
In oral doctrine's lively treasury stored.
Should Heaven's blessing rest upon my work,
Then might a mind not undistinguishing
'Twixt truth and falsehood's colourings, be mine.

Digitized by Google

Meantime, amid the time which Heaven bestows
For self-denying toil, (and other cast
Of study cannot prosper,) like the bee
In industry from childhood taught to live,
It may be that I also, through my toil,
May gather sweets, to store for time to come,
Upon the Hills of sweetness: from the Hills
I look for help, from Doctors of the Church,
That House which is on seven pillars built,
Or Angels seven, by whom are marshall'd still
The Hosts that sway the powers which David saw
And call'd upon in sacred melody."

Nature, a Parable, pp. 38, 39.

---

1. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of London at the Visitation, in October*, 1842, *by* CHARLES JAMES, LORD BISHOP OF LONDON. London: Fellowes, 1842.
2. "*The Record*" *Newspaper, October, November, December*, 1842.
3. *The Reply. Baptismal Regeneration and Sacramental Justification not the Doctrine of the English Church, in a Letter addressed to the Lord Bishop of London, containing Exceptions against certain Strictures made in his Charge, &c.* By the REV. JAMES THOMAS HOLLOWAY, D.D., Minister of Fitzroy Chapel, London-street, Fitzroy-square. London: Hatchard, 1842.
4. *A Respectful Address to the Lord Bishop of London, concerning some prevailing Notions apparently countenanced in his Lordship's late Charge.* By the REV. C. J. YORKE, M.A., Rector of Shenfield, Essex. London: Nisbet, 1842.
5. *The Charge of the Bishop of London examined, and its unscriptural Tendency set forth.* By ONE OF THE LAITY. London: Nisbet, 1842.
6. *Some Remarks addressed to the Lord Bishop of London, on his late Charge to the Clergy.* By WILLIAM COCKBURN, D.D., Dean of York. London: Hatchard, &c. 1842.
7. *Letter to the Very Rev. William Cockburn, Dean of York, occasioned by his late Remarks upon the Charge of the Lord Bishop of London.* London: Rivingtons, 1842.
8. *The Churchman's Monthly Review, &c., November*, 1842. London: Seeley and Burnside.
9. *Address to the Parishioners of St. Edmund the King, &c.* By THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D., Rector.
10. *Address to the Congregation of Woburn Episcopal Chapel.* By the REV. THOMAS BAGNAL-BAKER, Minister, &c.
11. *Letter in the Record Newspaper, Monday, November* 11. By the REV. WILLIAM CARUS WILSON, of Casterton, &c.

Digitized by Google

12. *Obedience to the Church in Things Ritual. Two Sermons preached in St. James's Church, Enfield Highway.* By the Rev. J. F. Russell, B.C.L., Incumbent, and the Rev. T. J. Burton, B.A., Curate. London: Burns, 1842.

13. *A Stricter Adherence to the Rubric, in the Public Worship of the Church. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Nottingham, November* 13, 1842. By Archdeacon Wilkins, D.D., the Vicar. London: Rivingtons, 1842.

14. *The Pleasures of God's House and Daily Prayer. A Sermon preached in Coggeshall Church, Essex, on Advent Sunday,* 1842, *(after notice of Daily Service.)* By the Rev. William James Dampier, Vicar of Coggeshall. London: Burns, 1842.

We have more than once disclaimed any intention to review the memorable Charge lately delivered by the Bishop of London. To such resolution we intend strictly to adhere. We have expressed our dutiful thanks for the kind and thoughtful, and, above all, most practical encouragement, which it holds out to those who, through ill rather than good report, have attempted either to continue or to revive some adequate measure of obedience to the plain requirements of the Church. It would demand no very vivid imagination to picture those of our clerical brethren,

> "—fallen on evil days, and evil tongues,
> In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
> And *solitude*;"

yet manfully bearing up against the rushing tide of obloquy, misrepresentation, clamour, violence, all but persecution, which a few months ago set in, with the steady sweep of a resolved will, resolved, even to extermination, against catholic truth. They alone can measure the sharp personal sorrows and difficulties of a consistent course, especially in a diocese like that of London, who have had some personal experience of its trials. The vulgar and brutal stare, half wonderment half sneer, with which principle is greeted by "the general,"—the cold faint wavering assent of the mere literary advocate of what is right, the man, we mean, who stands by and approves, of course, of all your practices, but takes especial and most prudent care never to commit himself to anything beyond the shallowest mediocrity of teaching alike and practice,—the slow yet certain falling away of the mere worldling, or the adherent of a debased and indulgent, however popular, school in religion,—the *fact* that you are surrounded by dozens of your brethren, who, as they do not adopt your observances, so they practically discountenance, disavow, and even condemn them,—the difficult task of supporting even the most faithful among the flock in their own private trials,—those sore sharp trials of disunion and difference

Digitized by Google

between friends and in families, when a man's foes are they of his own household,—the cloud of anonymous letters,—the remonstrances of the wayward and conceited,—the patronizing indifference of the many, and the determined malice of the few, —the newspaper paragraph, with its ordinary train of lies and abuse,—and, above all, the vague apprehension of some impending blow and discouragement from the highest quarters, which *now* turns out to be a not very ingenious fable, got up and inculcated designedly for a purpose, and that purpose the discreditable one of disheartening and overawing the faithful few;—these are only among the difficulties and even dangers to which such of the Clergy as thought obedience to the Rubric other than an old-world relic of forgotten superstition were so long exposed.

Nor is it to be left out of the account that the Clergy of London see less, and know less, of each other, than the incumbents of a large county. All sorts of reasons, into which we are not now careful to inquire, may account for this fact; some connected with their press of duties; some, perhaps, arising from the miserable system of pew-renting, and its attendant jealousies, to which we dare only to allude; and some, again, from an earnest and honest desire to avoid anything, however distantly, tending to party unions. Yet, so it is; the London clergy, for the most part, as a body, know little, and seek to know little, of each other. It is not so much disunion, for that seems to imply contrariety of faith, as lack of union which is needful; and this the rather, since "our unhappy divisions" might have been less painfully glaring, with a little more brother-like "taking sweet counsel together, and walking in the house of God as friends."

Add to which another class of difficulties peculiar to large cities—the shifting nature of all the congregations. A foundation upon the desert's changeful sands is not more hopeless than is the attempt to rear a stable edifice upon such impalpable elements as those which are to be found in most London parishes. The toughest iron may be moulded and fashioned into what shape the artist will, if he keeps it long enough in the fire, and plies his hammer manfully. Sinews, and anvil, and *time*, will do anything; but it is with difficulty that you can get a man warmed in this our Babylon; he is never at a white heat; for the plain reason, that he is seldom with you long enough. The upper classes of society spend their two or three months in London; and of the lower classes, one half of them, or more, change their habitations two or three times a twelvemonth. Supposing, even, that you find a church-going poor man, (the rarest case,) he is lost almost before he is won; he goes to a different part of the town, and, of course, to a different church, where the order of things is the very reverse of that to which he had been becoming habituated. Hence, in cities, the more

Digitized by Google

than needfulness of uniformity in the public services of the Church. What is *done* in a church, everybody can understand; though, in some cases, very happily, the world is not so retentive of what is *said*. Nor is this all; the poor are quick enough at observation; and what a very unreal system that must seem to plain people, which is susceptible of varieties, even in visible ministrations, which are scarcely short of contradictions; and, not knowing which was right, or which wrong, measuring truth only by the majority, what wonder were it that unlettered people, especially under the subtle suggestions of dissenting tracts, teachers, and the gossip of the wash-tub, and the chandler's shop, suspected, that what, in point of fact, was nothing more than compliance with the rubric, was some dark machination of Popery and Methodism combined, which defied detection only by its subtle and mysterious nature?

This, then, was the condition of those clergymen who made some count of their oaths, and thought the directions of the Prayer-Book binding personally on them; and so sought to fulfil such their obligations plainly and honestly. Laughed at and disparaged by all that was base and unmanly; uncheered, nay, almost discouraged by ominous silence in quarters where they might, but did not, *claim* and *demand* recognition and support; posted, paragraphed, and abused; stared at, sneered at, scoffed at; deserted by those who can back a cause, only just as long as the sun shines, and the trim ship sails over summer seas; from the nature of their teaching, and from their scorn of common artifices, unpopular; reduced by one unmanly trick or other to the very scantiest minority; without union, without mutual counsel among themselves; with scarce a friendly greeting from those above, with few sympathetic welcomes from those around, and with few consolations from the faithful obedience of those below them, (alienated, as such too often were, by treachery and misreport from those who should have known, and did know, better); there was, we believe, but the most insignificant minority in the diocese of London, who followed the rule of the Church. Besides the cathedrals, there might have been six or eight churches in London, and some more in a few rural parishes, where the daily office was read; and in three or four, the offertory and prayer for the Church Militant; and this was all. Of course, we mention no names; but a by-stander could see what, and how sharp, a trial this must have been for men's constancy, honesty, and consistency. It is well that none gave way, they have now their reward; they stood out like black isolated rocks, wave-beaten and alone, none helping his neighbour, but each having more than enough to do singly to hold his own, and to beat back each his own crest of threatening billows; their very places seemed to be known but by the seething and troubled breakers

Digitized by Google

surrounding them; it might be too much to claim for them a share in any thing like an Apostle's cross, but there were not only "perils by the heathen," but "perils in the city—perils among false brethren," which they had silently to endure.

We suppose that this was much the state of things throughout the country; we know what it was in the diocese of London; indeed, from causes which we have hinted, it was worse there than elsewhere. Neglect was more general: obedience, therefore, more marked and noticeable; and, thanks to the "Record," the "Morning Herald," the "Standard," and other disreputable newspapers, more noticed and vilified. But a minority, very insignificant in numbers, may be very formidable either in resolution, or by the intrinsic merits of their cause: and so it was in this case. If the thing were to be judged by its merits, and not by factious clamour and ignorant popular tumult, there no longer remained a doubt which way it *must* be decided. It is not a question of *ought*, but of *fact*. Does the Prayer-Book say that such and such things are to be done? Because if so, it is entirely wide of the mark to go into the reason of all this; the only question is, is it there? A fact is not a questionable thing; we may lay aside the whole discussion; "eyes or no eyes," is the only dilemma. It is not whether the Prayer-Book is or is not, as people say, Popish. What does it say? The question of *obedience* to the Prayer-Book was an after-thought, and so is all the dishonest talk of tacit relinquishment of forms and services being equal, *in foro conscientiæ*, to a legal abrogation; at first the dispute ranged on a much shorter base-line. It was subsequently that some ingenious person discovered that "clerical consent not to do a thing, with the general assent of congregations, and the tacit permission of diocesans given to such omissions," justified the principle of omitting—of course, anything, even the three Creeds; for, in common fairness, no limitation could narrow a principle so broad and sweeping. But, before it came to this, it took some time to discover what the Prayer-Book contained—what it really said and ordered—how it was to be read—and here it was that the bishops spoke out; and they could do so only in one way, especially the Bishop of London.

Many causes combined to render his Lordship's Charge one of surpassing interest, not only to his own clergy and laity, but to the whole English Church. And this not so much on account of the importance necessarily to be attached to the opinion of one so valued for his own sake—for his learning—for his almost intuitive speed of thought—for his singular power in disentangling all questions from foreign and extraneous matter—for, we say it with all respect, that almost perfection of common sense which so significantly distinguishes this, in many ways, most remarkable prelate; but, from another series of facts, this particular

Digitized by Google

Charge was waited for with no common feelings throughout the country. More or less the tone of the Metropolitan Church must be communicated to almost every village; the beatings of "that mighty heart" are felt through every dependency of the empire; and the St. Laurence and the Ganges are not without sympathy with those few, yet weighty, words, which were first heard on October 10, 1842, in the choir of St. Paul's. The scene itself was very striking; the attendance of the laity was unusually large; and we shall never forget that solemn thrill which passed over every face, and, we doubt not, through every heart, when, in the very first sentence the Bishop of London, himself not unconscious of deep feeling, at once entered into those great questions, of importance unparalleled since the days of Luther. We thought that even the bishop's clear and beautiful voice shook as the momentous subject at the very last moment seemed, it may be, to rise in all its difficulty and vastness even before his unshrinking mind.

We are not about to enter into a review of what his Lordship said on that occasion; but it was eminently characteristic of the place in which it was delivered. We could not help tracing—or fancying that we traced—a close analogy between St. Paul's and its Bishop's charge. Both are thoroughly and essentially Anglican: every thing is clear, light, lofty, plain, intelligible, decisive; we know all about it, its history, its purpose, its design to meet certain exigencies, with not enough of ornament and splendour to detract from the effect of the whole, but with sufficient vastness to be deeply impressive. From the consummate skill of the artist is seen the complete result of one mind, with the one end, and all the means subordinate, distinctly mapped and planned; the conception and execution are essentially uniform; if nothing of symmetry seems wanting, nothing unessential, as we say, is lavished; it holds well together; it is compact, firm, well-built, and groups well; it is the perfection of the post-Reformation principle, as generally understood. Of course we fail to meet, either in the cathedral or in the charge, the old mysteries of our more ancient fanes,—the gradual evolvement of different ages of the church,—the transition from rudeness to elaborate art,—the graceful charms of what seems, and perhaps *only seems*, to be constructed rather to display the lavish and prodigal resources of that life-giving and kindling skill which adapts every rich variety of the material world to the *one* great, and all comprehending, and expanding purpose of the one heavenly kingdom; the "awful perspective" of clustering shafts,—the hoar antiquity of silent chapels,—the dim holy splendours, half viewed and half concealed, lost, as it were, in the distance of time, we know not how ancient,—the shrines of saints remembered but in the courts of heaven,—the memories of those everlasting truths which realize rather the great Catholic com-

Digitized by Google

munion of saints, of every age and every clime,—the reverence which is of the past, and universal, rather than of the present, and local and national: these are the things which as we fail to meet in the modern cathedral of St. Paul's, so we were not to expect them in that which the church seems so aptly to symbolize—the Bishop's Charge of 1842.

Everybody knows that the Bishop of London's Charge consists of two parts; and this division we must, in our remarks, follow:—opinions on things doctrinal, and directions on things ritual. We say *opinions*, because it seems certain that his Lordship would be the very last person in the world to maintain the "*ex cathedrâ*" and decisive nature of the doctrinal views propounded by any single bishop. And the time must now have arrived for meeting this question fairly: the true resolution of which seems to be, that an individual bishop's decisions on points of faith are authoritative only in so far as they harmonize with the teaching of the Church Catholic. In this, as in all other theological questions, the single doctor must yield to the universal Voice: when in accord with the harmony of "the faith once delivered to the saints," his statements of doctrine go to swell the everlasting testimony of the witnesses; when in opposition to the received faith, he is of no authority whatever. So that episcopal charges, and the authority of which they are possessed, present themselves to a Catholic mind, and to the mere shallow Protestantism of the day, under very different aspects; yet, as far as their respective principles go, neither party gains much by the expressed opinions of single bishops. To the Catholic the recorded opinion of any one Bishop is superfluous as authority; it is comforting, of course, and a matter of thankfulness, to find individuals, and especially Bishops, one with the Catholic body; but any independent testimony is of value rather from the light which each reflects as derived *from* the Church than by reason of the illumination thrown by it *on* the Church; in a word the Bishop is of the Church, under it, and from it; not the Church of the Bishop, and from him. And so also with the Psilo-Protestant; the poor pretence of extraordinary submission and deference to the individual Bishop which a certain party among us is *now* making, must go for nothing on their own principles. When men adopt unlimited private judgment and supposed personal illumination as the sole measure of doctrinal truth, which they do, and then reject the testimony of primitive antiquity or of an œcumenical council, what shallow hypocrisy is it to talk of submitting to their Bishop—reverencing their Bishop—listening to their Bishop?* Yes; they listen to him as long as he is with

* An egregious instance of this occurs in an advertisement now before us:—"'*The Voice of the Anglican Church*'—declarations of the Bishops on Oxford Tract doctrines. With an introduction, by the Rev. H. Hughes." It is not because it is the Voice of the Anglican Church—supposing that all the Bishops had *uno ore* con-

Digitized by Google

them; and then claim great credit for it: but did we ever happen to remember the Record recommending—Dr. Hampden say—to reverence the Bishop of Oxford, because that prelate had pointedly condemned the Professor's heresy?

No; either way the individual Bishop's sentence is not considered final *on matters of doctrine:* the Catholic requires something more; *i. e.* the concordant Voice of the Church; and therefore to him it is simply deficient, though it must be acknowledged a step towards a final decision, the Bishop being one at least of the court of appeal; and, in this sense, could the opinions of *all* Christian Bishops be gathered even singly, taken in the aggregate they would go towards making up the ultimate sense of the Church, though they could not then amount to this, being deficient in the formal "*gathering together* in His name," and consequently being deprived of deliberation before the Holy Spirit: and the Protestant, again, is, from his principle of individual judgment, precluded from summoning a Bishop into court at all, or resting anything on his testimony. It is out of all keeping—nay, it is hypocrisy—for men to quote this or that Bishop as settling a question, when, unless it suits them, they would not yield a hair's breadth to the authority of every branch of Christ's Church in every age and every country under heaven; much less to a single name. On the other hand, we maintain that the injunction of a single Bishop on points of order and discipline, and in ritual observances, does stand on much higher ground. Not that even here *proprio vigore* his recommendations can supersede the Prayer-Book—the Bishop is, as of the Church, so of its ritual, and not the ritual of the Bishop. On disputed questions, and matters of interpretation, the Ordinary seems to have the privilege of explaining, though not of dispensation, in any case. Yet, on the whole, we frankly admit, that an individual Bishop's authority in ritual things is much higher than on doctrinal.

And here let us mark the noticeable and flagrant ignorance of Church principles which some among us have displayed with respect to the late Episcopal charges. Where they happen to suit low views they are lauded beyond the skies; they are claimed as decisive; as settling the question; as pronouncing what is "*the* doctrine of the Church;" but this, as we have already said, only when it suits a certain purpose; and just at the very point upon which these documents are, singly, worth only that value which we attach to the speculations and published opinions of any other learned and holy Doctor: but, on the

demned "Tractarianism"—that Mr. Hughes gets up his collection, but because it is supposed to countenance his own notions. If we could prove that "the Voice" were the other way, what would Mr. Hughes care for it then? Would he obey? Nay, would he, upon his own principles yield to a *general council?* Because, if not, it is dishonest to make a merit of obeying the Bishops: dishonest in such as Mr. Hughes.

Digitized by Google

other hand, where they settle the sense of Rubrics, and command observances and forms, i. e. just when they do *not* suit low views, and just at the very point upon which they *are* authoritative, then the disobedience and insolent disregard of Episcopal commands is most marked. We wish to expose this inconsistency by examples from the publications before us.*

Does Dr. Holloway persuade himself that he can construe any sentence, or half-sentence of the Bishop of London's Charge into a correspondence, however limited or distant, with the Calvinistic view of imputed righteousness? His lordship is then condescendingly informed,

"Your remarks upon it are lucid and clear:—you state most scripturally:—you fill us with admiration and delight:—the following paragraph is beautiful:—you afford us a clear view," &c.—*Holloway (The Reply,)* pp. 29, 30.

The Rector of Shenfield cautiously inclines to think, that—

"His Lordship's connecting regeneration with justification is correct,"—*Yorke (Respectful Address, &c.)* p. 11;—

though he instantly joins issue with his Diocesan on the *how* and *where* of such justification.

Nay, even the tolerably free-spoken gentleman, "One of the Laity," pronounces, very dogmatically,—

"There is *much* in the Charge recently delivered by the Bishop of London to afford satisfaction to every true member of our Protestant Church. He decidedly maintains the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, &c. He also plainly condemns the jesuitical attempt, lately made by a band of dishonest Churchmen, to evade the plain, literal, and grammatical sense of the Articles," &c.—*One of the Laity (The Charge Examined, &c.)* p. 4.

As we have hinted, these are the very matters on which a Bishop's decision might, by some who are good Churchmen, be deemed questionable; though we are very far from saying that it should be questioned in this way; that his charge should be handled in pamphlets;—still less that a Bishop should be criticised by such vulgar people as Dr. Holloway; or addressed by the insolent familiarity of "My dear Lord," from Mr. C. Yorke;† especially when these presbyters dare to overhaul and

* Our readers will observe that we shall cautiously refrain from noticing the "Examination of the Bishop of London's Charge, extracted from the Record Newspaper;" the contempt and scorn with which it is to be treated, has been, and must be, silent. We only regret that a respectable clergyman, Mr. Dakeyne, has thought it worth while to waste his time on refuting it, which we find, by an advertisement, to be his intention; and this, too, in an octavo volume.

† The following strikes us as language indecorous as it is unique, considering the writer and the sacred office of the prelate addressed:

"We [*i. e.* the Bishop and his own presbyter], may still exhibit to the world no unseemly spectacle; a country clergyman writing to his Bishop freely, should be admitted to be an event indicative of some health, soundness, and vigour, in that institution to which WE BOTH [*Ego et Rex meus*] belong."—*Yorke*, p. 5.

Digitized by Google

contradict *their own Bishop:* still less do we admit the yet more insolent assumption of dictation in spiritual things on the part of an ignorant layman, whose sole vocation is "to obey him who has the rule over him in the Lord, and submit himself." But it is quite clear, that the Doctor, the Priest, and the Layman are in raptures with their Bishop, not because his authority is with them the weight of a feather, but solely because they fancy that he agrees with them.

For hear them directly that his Lordship does speak on other matters, and this, as we have shown, *with all authority,*—then their reverence and respect is seen to be mere moonshine:

"Hence rubrics, long obsolete and antiquated customs, are dragged forth from their dust, and outward forms and ceremonies are called in to supersede the weightier matters of the gospel law. With these may be conjoined the broad hems and phylacteries of matins and vespers for every day, of popish cast, and pharisaical notoriety; vestments, and forms of prayer for every change; and, O solemn mockery! motions and attitudes; bowing obeisance at the altar; and turning to and from the people, as though the God of the East were not the God of the West, and not to be found in every point of the compass."—*Holloway*, p. 95.

So Mr. Yorke:—

"The fifth notion ['adverse to Christianity, and dangerous to the Church, p. 4] is, *that the externals of religion are in themselves invariably beneficial.* It appears to me, my Lord, that a knowledge of both the principle and effects of multiplied services in such religious communities as that of Rome, should make us pause before we admit this notion. The reference made by Bishop Butler to those services was not happy."—*Yorke*, pp. 16-17.

"The sixth notion is, *that it is obligatory upon the Clergy to act out the Rubric in every particular.* If ministers, after receiving their Bishop's personal injunction to comply with the Rubric, should conscientiously withdraw from the Church in consequence of such injunction, I cannot say they would withdraw with *a high sense of his* [i.e. *the Bishop's,*] *judgment.*"—*Ibid.* pp. 20—24.

And so also that desperate theological Drawcansir, "one of the Laity:"—

"It is but too evident that his Lordship has formed the mistaken conclusion, that the energy of the Church's operations is to be chiefly promoted by multiplying the services of the Liturgy, by a careful observance of Saints' days and of the appointed festivals, and by a minute attention to the rubric and canons."—*The Charge Examined*, p. 6.

"There is another painful feature in the Bishop of London's Charge:—He seems to attach almost an equal importance to the observance of the rubrics and canons, as to the holding sound and scriptural opinions on points of doctrine."—*Ibid.* p. 14.

"With regard to daily services in our churches, it appears that the reasons which once rendered them desirable no longer exist. Instead of true spiritual religion being promoted by such a practice, in our day, the *tendency of the measure would be highly prejudicial.*"—*Ibid.* p. 18.

"There is one sentiment of the Bishop's, which is perhaps more painful than any other I have noticed. It is quite at variance with the charitable spirit of our Church, and entirely opposed to the mind of Christ. We find these words in reference to the ministers of the various dissenting denominations. 'In this country the Clergy of the National Church are *alone* entitled to the respect and obedience of the people.' Those ministers who

Digitized by Google

are 'the habitation of God through the Spirit,' (Eph. ii. 22,) are alone entitled to the respect and obedience of the people.'"—*Ibid.* pp. 21, 22.

Such being the flimsy nature of the great respect which the parties in question pretend that they entertain for a Bishop's judgment, pronounced in the most formal way, we desire to contrast with it the respectful silence, and submissive reverence, with which doctrinal views, bearing the other way, are received by those of the opposite school, whose sentiments the Bishop designs, in some degree, perhaps, to condemn and reprove. There are many, we presume, who consider the Bishop of London's opinions on the priesthood and sacrifice of the Gospel deficient; who desiderate, perhaps, more explicit statements on the doctrine of justification; who have been accustomed to speak of the Church in somewhat higher language; or who assign a more prominent office to catholic tradition;—but have *they* pestered their Bishop with intrusive letters in the common newspapers? have they thought themselves privileged to scrutinize and pare away their diocesan's most weighty words? anonymously, or otherwise, have they reviewed the solemn charge of their spiritual father? have they thought it consistent with reverence and humility—nay, with common decency,—publicly to rebuke and to reprove him who, under Christ, is their head, and by whose authority, and in whose place, they discharge every function of their ministry?

We are not now saying that we personally share in all the sympathies of those whose opinions, in some matters of detail, the Bishop of London condemns—we mean the Oxford writers; our own views may be gathered from our own pages: we repeat, therefore, that we are not going offensively to place them, whatever they may be, in contra-position to those of the Bishop of London; such conduct would be highly indecorous in us, and utterly inconsistent with the practice of this Review. We do not constitute ourselves judges of the Bishop in whose diocese these pages are written and published; it is, therefore, quite out of our province to acknowledge how far, if at all, our own views come under his Lordship's reprobation: most certainly we should not think of ranking ourselves, towards that most distinguished prelate, in the position of critics and reviewers; and we acknowledge, most dutifully, that our views, as such, cannot, to set them at the highest, stand as a superior authority to, or even, *as mere views*, in competition with, those of a Bishop. Another standard, as we have already hinted, must be appealed to, if the decision is to be made between the Bishop's views and those opposed to them, supposing even that our own are, which we do not say, included in the latter. Such standard the *Christian Remembrancer* is not, nor does it claim to be. The only value of a review is the strength of the case it makes out in the way of appeal to something above and beyond itself: in itself it is nothing.

Digitized by Google

Disclaiming then all contrariety to the Bishop's Charge,—indeed pronouncing no opinion either way,—we wish it also to be distinctly understood that we do not desire to be his Lordship's apologists: to assume such an office would be in us extremely intrusive and offensive; we desire to express all heartfelt acknowledgments for the countenance and support which the Bishop of London's Charge has afforded to those who did their duty and fulfilled their vows, even without such aid: to them it is a solace and a protection, the value of which words can feebly express; but our present business is with the reviewers and repliers to, and critics of the Bishop, not with his Lordship, and to them as we owe neither sympathy nor respect, they who can publish trumpery tracts against their own diocesan have no right to complain of severity on our part. With all seemly indignation we solemly rebuke those clergymen who venture thus publicly to "speak evil of dignities," and to write pamphlets against their own fathers in the Church; of laymen who do the same we do not stoop to pronounce an opinion or censure.

I. We must allude to the objections raised against the doctrinal views propounded in the Bishop of London's Charge. Some persons—we own that we are not of these—deemed or perhaps affected to deem that this document was intended altogether as a direct condemnation of Catholic teaching; but this veil was rather too slight to wear long. Certainly on the very evening of the day on which it was delivered, that most mendacious print, "the Record," in two or three lines, as a triumphant second edition, with all the pomp of "glorious news," (as from Hong Kong, so from St. Paul's,) announced "the truly Protestant character" of "the Charge just delivered:" and again, our contemporary the "Christian Observer," expressed its satisfaction, just as poor Pistol whimpered on a certain occasion, "Thou dost see I eat!" The satisfaction, to be sure, was not clumsily assumed; it was worn bravely for a time, but it did not last: the true character of the Charge, if any one doubts about it, may be gathered, we opine, with tolerable accuracy from the publications before us: when the abuse is all on one side it does not take much skill to find where the shoe pinches. But the low party has considerable astuteness in meeting unpleasant emergencies; for example, soon after general consent had settled that the charge was just that which it seems to be, viz., a great boon to those clergymen who had done their duty, came out the following sly suggestion:—

"We hear that the Bishop of London *expresses very unreservedly his disappointment* and displeasure at the reception given to his Charge. *He intended, and imagined that he had succeeded in his intention,* to give judgment strongly and decidedly against Tractarianism. *He is much surprised* to find the whole document often spoken of as if it were a triumph to the Tractarian party." —*The Record, Nov.* 10.

Digitized by Google

And now we hear it "currently reported," that the Bishop of London is still quite horrified at the sense which all the world has put on his Charge; perfectly startled when any of his suggestions are carried into effect; and that he at length begins to wish that the charge had never been delivered!

Now we at once characterize all these whispers about the Bishop of London's "disappointment, and surprise, and regret," as a very clever after-thought; only, like other very clever things, it has one little fault; it is too clever: it just overshoots the mark and defeats its own purpose. They know very little indeed about the manly and most straight-forward character of that active and keen-sighted Prelate, who can so far throw dust in their own eyes, as to delude themselves into the soothing belief that the Bishop of London—of all men, and more especially of all *writers* in the world,—could write, deliver, and publish, an elaborate and formal document, like that of the Charge of 1842, and this without the slightest suspicion of the sense which that "bellua centiceps," the public, in all its parties would obstinately persist in fixing on it. No, let these crafty suggesters of some deep esoteric meaning make themselves quite certain that common consent goes very far towards settling the sense of all writings; and that the Bishop of London is not quite the man who would write anything, still less a deliberate Charge, without the very clearest and well-weighed consideration of what he wrote—and of what he meant when he wrote—and of its probable results. And if the world requires any more stringent proof which way the Charge tells, we summon Dr. Holloway before us.—Dr. Holloway candidly owns, which does not seem to us a great effort of logical precision, that if the Bishop of London is right in his theology, he, Doctor Holloway, is wrong; and with a very remarkable unanimity of sentiment, the Dean of York's surmises tend the same way:

"If the opinion laid down as your own, of the doctrine of the English Church, and the gospel of the grace of God, be correct, then—and it is but honest to declare it—the whole tenor of my public ministrations for the last thirty years has been nothing but one tissue of fraud and falsehood. And the people among whom I now labour have a right to charge me with having poisoned their minds with noxious error, instead of feeding them with truth."—*Holloway*, pp. 1—2.

"For the first time, the person who now presumes to address your Lordship, is led by the perusal of your Charge, to doubt whether he has ever understood the doctrine which the Church of England inculcates."—*Cockburn*, p. 3.

"I may probably have been mistaken all my life."—*Ibid.* p. 10.

Now really this does not strike us with half the horror which Drs. Holloway and Cockburn intend by enunciating it with such dismal solemnity; the dilemma is not so very formidable; the hypothesis is by no means suicidal; we could with some gentle reluctance bring ourselves to believe even this, that Dr. Holloway

Digitized by Google

had actually "been preaching one tissue of fraud and falsehood for thirty years;" and perhaps our slumbers would be quite as light even though we went to bed with the conviction that Dean Cockburn really never did "understand the doctrine of that Church of England." It may be very terrible, all this, yet it may be true. But the gravity of these learned doctors, their reverend age!—surely on this score they must claim some superiority over a divine so youthful and immature as the Bishop of London. Dr. Holloway's "thirty years' war" on the faith, we suppose to be about equal to his diocesan's faithful ministry in the Church; anyhow he does not make much boast of being the Bishop's superior in gray hairs: but hear that "most potent, grave, and Reverend *Senior*, William Cockburn, D.D."

"He who now presumes to remonstrate against your Charge, is an *older minister of the Church* than your Lordship, and one whose life has been spent in admiration of her incomparable Liturgy—in full belief of her Articles—and in dutiful submission to her Canons."—*Cockburn*, p. 3.

To which we can only suggest, that there may be even a theological ripeness which tends to rottenness. *Medlars* are a fruit in which the limits between one and the other are frequently faint; and if the Dean of York can make out the apologue, he is welcome even to suspect that we mean to insinuate, by choosing this particular illustration, that he might have found quite enough to do at his own deanery, and in reviewing his own career, without interfering in the concerns of another diocese in another province.

"A life spent in *admiration* of the Church's *Liturgy*—full belief in the Articles—dutiful submission to the Canons!" a constellation of ecclesiastical graces, to which we should prefer the testimony of others less likely to be deceived than the party thus boastful. "Admiration of her incomparable Liturgy!" This is the very happiest phrase we ever met with; it is so significant, because a person may *admire* a thing which he never thinks of using; he may stand at a distance, *admire* and talk about it, and yet religiously keep his hands off; in the case of the Services of the Church we want something more real and practical than a negative *admiration*.

But to crown all, "dutiful submission to the Canons of the Church!" What strange tricks our memories play us! We remember once reading—it must have been in some dark chronicle of Popish days—of a certain Visitation of some Metropolitical Cathedral, in which, on the very front, occurred,—

"1. Whether divine service is duly and reverentially performed in your church without alteration, addition, or diminution, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, and *according to the canons of the Church*, and the rubric of the *Book of Common Prayer*; and if not, who is in fault?"—*Articles of Inquiry in the Visitation of the Cathedral Church of York*, 1841.

And this man affects to "admire our incomparable Liturgy, and to submit to the canons." It is generally held, that

Digitized by Google

the Dean is responsible for the due conduct of all public services in his Church. What was the injunction issued on that head of inquiry already produced?

"Injunctions made and given the 22d day of February, in the year of our Lord God 1841, by us, Edward, by God's Providence Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan, unto the Dean and Chapter and Canons of your Cathedral and metropolitan church of St. Peter's.

"Imprimis, we ordain and enjoin that the Holy Communion be celebrated in the cathedral and metropolitan church of York, on all the great festivals of the church, for which proper prefaces are appointed, and on every Sunday, in compliance with the directions set forth in the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer."—*British Magazine*, vol. vi. p. 574,

which document sufficiently proves the Dean's neglect of rubric and canons alike.

We have called attention to the case of Dean Cockburn, one of the most painful pages in our recent ecclesiastical annals, not to revive sad recollections, but to show how needful it is for a self-constituted censor of a Bishop of the Church, to come himself into court with clean hands. *Civiliter mortuus*, as this person is, we desire to add nothing to that estimate which the world must long since have formed of him.

The chief point dwelt on by the various critics of the Bishop, is of course his Lordship's well-known declaration on Baptismal regeneration; and in examining the attacks made upon it, we shall allow the objectors each to state his case in his own way; and if it shall be found that their various arguments answer each other, we shall be saved the trouble of a reply to the several details, at least on this head; for it is a fair presumption for the truth of any position that its antagonists mutually ruin each other's cause. This is signally the case in the instance before us:

"By the ceremony of Infant Baptism we obtain a solemn promise from qualified persons that they will teach, as soon as the faculties of the young person are sufficient to learn, the doctrines of salvation through Jesus Christ. If the sponsors do not perform that promise, it would be contrary to the experience of all mankind, to say that the grace given in Baptism will lead any one to Jesus Christ. The full benefit of baptism comes to the young person only, when he has sufficient intelligence to estimate the proofs of Christ's heavenly mission, and when, through real faith in his Saviour, he can challenge to himself that justification, or remission of sins, which is the consequence of faith, but never can precede it."—*Cockburn*, p. 5.

Now without stopping to notice the stigmatizing as a mere "ceremony" what the Church calls a "sacrament," and without pointing out the Dean's inconsistency in speaking of any "grace given in baptism," when in the previous page he had asked "What are we to understand by 'grace is also given?' p. 4."—without wasting our time on the monstrous figment that salvation is contingent on the due discharge of the sponsorial office: — Dr. Cockburn's views seem to come to this, that any man may save himself, may "challenge to himself justification,"

Digitized by Google

when "he has estimated the proofs of Christ's heavenly mission," or, in other words, mastered Paley's Evidences; and then, naturally enough, the Dean tells us that "all his life he had considered the religion of Jesus Christ as one of great simplicity, and easy to be understood and practised," p. 10. Simple and easy indeed if this were all, for man has it all his own way; he can claim heaven, by an act of faith, and this act no more than acquiescence in the proofs of Christ's mission. It is almost shocking to say so, but the Saviour of the Gospel is as completely shut out from this scheme, which entirely denies the *gift* of grace, as are the gods of Epicurus from the affairs of men. This is not only flat Pelagianism, but Socinianism.*

On the other hand, we learn that—

"In the new birth, God the Holy Spirit gives unto all believers, 'the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him,'—*not a mere intellectual knowledge by which they subscribe the evidences of Christianity*—many have this who are not born again; but that gracious knowledge," &c. —*Holloway*, p. 25.

"All who are in the faith of Christ Jesus, then, are in a state of justification, and, justified once, must be justified for ever; if once a man is counted righteous before God, through the righteousness of Christ imputed by faith, which constitutes his justification, his acquittal before the tribunal of God, what shall after that drag him into condemnation?"—*Ibid.* p. 31.

And then, in p. 58, &c., after announcing that he holds the doctrine of election, Dr. H. proceeds to comment on the Seventeenth Article, after the usual Calvinistic fashion.

Dr. Cockburn, then, by denying sacramental grace, comes to the conclusion that we can "*challenge to ourselves* justification or remission of sins," and therefore that "justification by faith means only a freedom from the penalty of former sins, *without any reference to future advantages*," p. 8; and he cannot at all understand "how man can be accounted righteous by an omniscient God without being so," p. 6: while Dr. Holloway, also by denying sacramental grace, comes to the conclusion that "justification is *entirely the gift of God*," which is true enough; but that this justification "when imparted, is finished, and complete, and final; nothing can add to or diminish from it, and is made over to us by faith," p. 28, and that "*it must abide*," p. 31. It seems, then, fair to conclude, that, if from the denial of a proposition two contradictory consequences are made by

* Another, and a more appalling instance of the bias of this unhappy person's mind may be found in the following:—"These articles seem to me to be in exact conformity with the passages quoted from St. Paul and St James; and, *which is of ten times more importance*, they seem to be in conformity to the revelation made to the Immortal Son of God."—p. 9. This assumption of possible discrepancy, or of degrees in obligation, between the Gospels and Epistles, seems little short of an open denial of the faith. The Answerer with some point observes, "Surely *no Christian* can think, as did a Socinian unbeliever a few years ago, that our religion would have been better understood had St. Paul's Epistles never been written."—*Letter to Dean Cockburn*, p. 7.

Digitized by Google

two independent opponents to flow, therefore the original position is sound. This has been, since the days of Aristotle, held a legitimate rule; and the Churchman wants no more convincing proof of the doctrine of baptismal justification than the irreconcilable variance of those who deny it. And next of the doctrine of Holy Baptism.

The Bishop of London, with his customary clearness, teaches

"Lest we should fall into the error of supposing that justification is applied to himself by each individual believer, by a simple internal act of faith, without the intervention of the sacraments ordained by Christ—the doctrine of the Church is this: justification begins in baptism, when the children of wrath are regenerated by water and the Holy Ghost, and are made children of God. Remission of sins is expressly declared to be *then* given, grace is also then given, &c."—*Charge*, pp. 24, 25.

This the objectors consentiently deny:

"I have thought that by a real confident faith in my Redeemer, I have been so far justified as entirely to escape the penalty of Adam's transgression."—*Cockburn*, p. 10.

(Though with striking inconsistency this writer had already admitted that

"A child is freed from the contamination of parental sin,"—P. 4;

unless he is prepared to draw some distinction between sins inherited from our immediate parents and sins inherited from Adam, which, to say the least, is a portentous novelty in theology.)

Infant Baptism, Dr. Holloway holds to be "a sign, and a memorial, and a pledge on the part of the parents to train up their children in the nurture of the Lord," pp. 39, 40. The Church teaches that Baptism, without distinguishing between adult and infant baptism, "is not only a sign and mark of difference, but by it, as by an instrument, they that receive it rightly are grafted into the Church, faith is confirmed and grace increased, and by it God doth work in us and quicken us.' —Articles XXVII. XXV.

"It is AFTER and *upon* the profession of an adult, made by *himself*, that our church speaks of him as 'regenerate,' and 'born again.' It is AFTER and *upon* the profession of a child, made *through its sponsors*, that it uses similar terms. In each case will the blessing be given *as soon as it is asked for*."—*Yorke*, p. 14.

(The capitals and italics are the author's.) And yet in the office for Private Baptism, without any sponsors whatever, the Church declares the infant "regenerate, received by adoption and incorporated into the holy Church," and declares "that being *baptized* and dying it is undoubtedly *saved*."

The Layman openly declares that as "faith is a pre-requisite to baptism, the Twenty-seventh Article cannot apply to infants," p. 12; and if these writers could maintain a consistent scheme of theology, it is clear that they ought to join the antipædo-

Digitized by Google

baptist heresy: we call it heresy, because it is a plain denial of an article of the Creed,—"one baptism for the remission of sins."

We have now arrived at a position from which we may estimate the value of the Bishop's forcible limitation of what he said in his late Charge, when he reminded his critics that

"To say that my statements respecting the effects of Baptism are unscriptural is altogether beside the purpose. Are they, or are they not, in accordance with the teaching of the Church?"—*Charge, Appendix,* [Note A.] p. 68.

This question Dr. Holloway affects to meet, and through many a weary page does he try all his special pleading to bring his views into harmony with our service-book; but, at length, he is forced to admit—(after coolly assuming that "Your Lordship will allow, with me, that there is nothing in Scripture to justify the Prayer-book form of thanksgiving in Baptism," p. 69,)—that the "phraseology in the beginning of the Catechism is objectionable," *ibid.*—and, also, the term "regenerate,"* in the Baptismal office. "Nay, it is not according to

* We are sorry to hide in a note one or two instances of the most startling ignorance on the plainest matters of fact which ever fell in our way: "If the next collect (after baptism) were a thanksgiving to Almighty God for His goodness and mercy, and a prayer that it *might please Him* also to regenerate this infant by His Holy Spirit, the difficulty would be removed," p. 72. To be sure it would; but unfortunately Dr. H. cannot turn the past tense into the future, and cannot gloss "that it *hath pleased* Thee to regenerate" into "that it *may* please Thee to regenerate." But then Dr. H. has this consolatory suggestion, "the form is the same as that used for persons baptized in riper years, *and was most likely transcribed from it,* the word *regenerate* being *then* used in an equivocal sense." We are sorry to dispel this great critic's delusion: but as it happens that the date of the service for infant baptism, *including the objectionable prayer and thanksgiving,* is 1552 (in substance indeed 1549,) and the date of the service for adult baptism is 1662, it is not very likely that the objectionable phrases were transcribed from an office just 110 years before it was written.

"Lo! fancy's fairy frost-work melts away."

Dr. Holloway is so proud of the crotchet, that he repeats it in another place.

"The article respecting Baptism, while it recommends the rite to be administered to infants, was framed generally and principally for those who should come to be baptized in riper years," p. 52; and, in a note, he subjoins, "The ordinance of Infant Baptism was administered very differently from the present formulary in the reign of Edward VI., and Elizabeth. Considerable alterations were introduced into that service in the reign of James; and, perhaps, also in the last review of the Liturgy, in 1661." By which he means to insinuate that all the objectionable phrases which recognise baptismal regeneration, are as modern as James I., or, perhaps; Charles II. The veriest tyro in liturgical criticism knows that the office of Infant Baptism of the present day differs only in the most trifling verbal particulars from that of 1552; and that at the conferences both of Hampton Court and the Savoy, not the slightest doctrinal change was introduced. It would have been well if Dr. H. had condescended to communicate these "considerable alterations," and to have pointed out in what respects "the *ordinance* was administered very differently from the present formulary in the reigns of Edward VI., and of Queen Elizabeth." There certainly is a difference between *our* service, and *one* which was used in Edward VI.'s *first* book of 1549; when the rites of exorcism, obsignation on the breast, the delivery of the white vesture, and chrism, were retained; and if this con-

Digitized by Google

truth—it is a spot and defect; it was conceded to the exigencies of the times in which the compilers lived, in compliance with the prejudices of a divided population just emerging from the darkness of Popery."—Pp. 72, 73.

Mr. Yorke does not say much, but he confesses that the "Liturgy is somewhat indefinite as a formal expression of a creed," p. 15; and "lest there should be any Papal sentiment retained in the Liturgy, the articles were made definitive," *ibid.* This gentleman's bias, however, may be gathered from another of his publications, "The Ordinances of Christ."

"Before however, we pass further, we would venture to suggest, that it might be found in the baptism of infants, more according to our Lord's mind, and more generally beneficial, were it solemnized in some such way as this; let the child be brought by the *friends* and *parents* into the midst of the public congregation; let the first part of the service express, that the child is there dedicated to God in *virtue of the covenant of mercy;* let the minister then proclaim some of the promises of that covenant; let the child be thereon baptized, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; let, after this, minister, parents, friends, and congregation, as Hannah of old, praise the Lord for his goodness, declaring their joyful gratitude for such a covenant, by which such a welcome is given to a descendant of Adam on his entrance into such a world, protesting also their fixed assurance that, the child being offered in faith, the Lord will seal the covenant in its heart, and earnestly supplicating not only that this may be so with it, but that their own abuse of this and all other spiritual privileges may not provoke God to make them the 'savour of death unto death' instead of 'the savour of life unto life."—*The Ordinances of Christ*, pp. 55, 56.

The Layman is a little more explicit:—

"It must indeed be acknowledged with deep regret that the wording of the baptismal service is liable to misinterpretation, and it would be well if this cause of offence was removed."—P. 12.

The Dean of York is curt, and carefully avoids all reference to the Prayer-Book. His "admiration," perhaps, has not yet gone up to the reading point; but lest our tetralogy of testimonies should be on this point defective, we present our readers to another witness of the insuperable barrier which the offices of the Church afford to any other view than that of baptismal regeneration in its plain obvious sense, at least, to a candid and intelligent mind; and if Dr. Holloway, Mr. Yorke, and the Layman, fall under the imputation of dishonesty in their shallow attempts to explain away such sense, the fault is their own.

"In the office of Baptism the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is taught and enforced," p. 4. "How can we deny that our Book of Common Prayer contains offices which teach, that children are regenerated by Baptism?" p. 6. "But such a doctrine is productive of evils most injurious to the wel-

---

siderable variation in Edward VI.'s time will help him, we make Dr. H. a present of the fact.

Dr. H., p. 53, Note, adopts the Archbishop of Dublin's fiction, that the Latin was the original form of the articles (see Christian Remembrancer, vol. iii. p. 102), and founds an absurd argument on it; but since it is not a fact that the Latin was the original, this disposes of all that might be founded upon the supposition.

Digitized by Google

fare of the Church, and of vital godliness. It deprives the Prayer-book of scriptural consistency; it grieves and perplexes tender consciences, &c. &c. Are these things to remain in this state? Are these glaring and obnoxious errors to continue to exercise their withering influence, and to be handed down to posterity? I am persuaded that it only requires prompt efforts to accomplish the desired alterations in our liturgic services, and offices," pp. 13, 14, &c."—No. 1. *Tracts on Church Reform. Is Baptismal Regeneration a Doctrine of the Church of England? By a Clergyman* [?] *Second edition.* Ward, and Nisbet: London. 1841.

Now this is not only more single-hearted, but much more honest; with opponents like these, we know what we are about, but to the Bishop's critics we can but say, "How long will ye halt between two opinions?" Either take the Church, and obey her, receive her teaching, as common honesty must receive it, or, "If there be any direction for the public service of the Church with which a clergyman cannot conscientiously comply, he is at liberty to withdraw from his ministry."—*Charge*, p. 31. Indeed the great puzzle to us is, how many, whom we could name, whose reputation stands high for moral worth, and in other respects deservedly so, can conscientiously remain ministering at the altars of the Church, whose solemn sacramental forms they either acknowledge to be unscriptural and false, or explain away, in a manner that must strike all thinking men as discreditable and dishonest.

Let us now test the qualifications of these gentlemen to dictate to a Bishop,—*their own Bishop*,—in points of faith by another standard, viz. their general soundness in Church principles and Ecclesiastical knowledge.

"Take the office for the visitation of the sick: the standard-bearer will here be cumbered with his colours, and the Church made to assume a character, neither designed by the Articles, nor pourtrayed in the Liturgy; for by this the minister is sent with power to absolve the people from their sins. The form of absolution runs thus,—'And by his authority committed *to me, I absolve* thee from all thy sins.' Suppose the sick man, in the fear of approaching dissolution, were to ask—'And by what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?' This would be rather an awkward situation! What is his apology or defence? Will he find his answer in the word of God? or in the Articles? or in the Liturgical Service for morning and evening prayer? In vain would he look. Here then is a predicament; here we are, *all of us*, my Lord, one with another—If this office is to be the standard of the Church, *here we are, one and all, high-church, low-church, all floored together.* But where is the sober-minded Protestant minister, who believes that such power *ex-officio* belongs to him?"—*Holloway*, pp. 78, 79.

"It is true, also, that Christ said unto his disciples, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained:' allowing this, though there is not one instance upon record to show that any one of the apostles took upon himself to absolve a sinner of his sins;* however this may be, is the Church in the present day invested with any such supernatural gifts?"—*Ibid.* p. 80.

"Yet if the Rubric is to be his rule, 'and which he cannot alter or muti-

* What then becomes of the case of the incestuous Corinthian?

Digitized by Google

late without a breach of good faith,' the visiting minister must read the form, read that which he cannot but disapprove, pronounce that which he cannot believe, assume the semblance of an authority, which he knows he does not possess, and for which his conscience must smite, and his heart condemn him."—*Ibid.* p. 80.

"Absolution by the priest is not therefore the doctrine of the church, though retained in that office. I am aware that the Romish church, with other marks of antichrist, assumes the divine right of absolution, because they hold the keys of Peter; and may they long keep them, and keep them from England's Church, and lock them up in the Vatican for ever, and never part with them. I am sure your Lordship will approve that sentiment."—*Ibid.* p. 81.

"But to return. This office then will not be admitted as a rule of faith, because it is not the standard of the Church. But how shall we dispose of the 'absolution?' How shall we determine on this matter the sense of the Church? Surely by the spirit of the whole, and not by the discrepancy of any one of her parts."—*Ibid.* p. 82.

"On this ground I meet your Lordship in the Baptismal Service. That office, and the unsound part of that office, at variance as it is with Scripture, the spirit of the Church, and plain matter-of-fact, has no more claim to be considered the standard of our Church, than the absolution in the Visitation of the Sick. To reconcile the difference, or correct the error, we ate, as in the former case, not to interpret and explain the Articles and the Liturgy by the office, but the office by the Articles and Liturgy."—*Ibid.* p. 83.

We will not trespass upon our readers' attention by commenting upon this; we beg their notice of the vulgar ribaldry which we have italicized; but as the absolution in this very office has —it is a matter of the commonest history—been attacked by sectarians of every class, upon this very ground, and defended by all churchmen, simply because it does claim the Power of the Keys,—an indefeasible right of the Christian priesthood, —we ask what authority in Church matters can a writer have, who surrenders what has ever been considered a note of the true Church of Christ? As Dr. Holloway frequently proclaims his great respect for the compilers of the Articles, we commit the following to his notice:—

"Ecclesia Christi est, in qua purum Dei verbum predicatur, et sacramenta juxta Christi ordinationem administrantur; et *in qua clavium auctoritas retinetur.*"—*Heads of Religion prescribed to the Clergy by Abp. Parker and the Bishops,* 1559.

We also remind this writer that the Bishops, at the Savoy conference, justified this form of absolution, and retained it against Puritan cavils; and that Mr. Palmer, "Origines Liturgicæ," ii. 228, declares that "it is in fact the original absolution, which has been given to dying penitents for more than thirteen hundred years in the western churches."

Once more; Dr. Holloway asks with simplicity almost ludicrous, "If baptism is so essentially connected with regeneration, why did not our Lord, in entering upon His office, commence with that ordinance?" p. 5. "Why, when He sent the twelve, and the seventy, did He not notice it?" pp. 8, 9.

Digitized by Google

For this plainest of all reasons, because the great sacrifice not having been offered, the atonement not yet being made, Baptism, which is the communication of the pardon pledged by the precious blood-shedding of Christ, was not made imperative till the Saviour's death on the cross; in other words, the means itself was not ordained until that grace, of which it is the channel, was shed. But in turn we ask Dr. Holloway, whether, *after* the atonement, our Lord's charge was not to preach and to *baptize?* and whether there is a single instance in Scripture of a believer who was not baptized? "Repent and *be baptized every one of you* for the remission of sins!"

And again, in commenting on Mark xvi. 15, 16, he says, as though the objection had not been urged and answered to satiety, "The Lord notices not 'baptized' in the last clause of this verse; he does not say 'he that believeth not, and is not baptized,' but simply 'he that believeth not shall be damned.' As men are saved, not by baptism, but by faith, so it is for the lack of faith, and not of baptism, that men will perish," p. 11. Take Theophylact *in loco*:—

"It is not enough to believe, for he who believeth and is not baptized, but is a catechumen, has not yet attained unto perfect salvation."

Bishop Bethell meets the objection with his usual clearness:

"An opinion has been entertained by modern commentators, that the mention of Baptism was purposely omitted in the latter clause of our Lord's speech, to show that it is necessary only in a qualified sense. The truth is the mention of Baptism would have been quite superfluous: for our Saviour speaks of Baptism as a consequence of belief, and if the men to whom they were sent rejected the gospel, it was needless to say a syllable of Baptism."—*Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism*, p. 30.

To speak even more plainly, Faith and Baptism are correlatives after institution; to require Faith implies Baptism.

And here, having alluded already to Dean Cockburn's moral qualifications, we take our leave of Doctor Holloway; his scandalous and personal abuse of men better and holier, more learned and more religious than himself, contained in the last thirty pages of his pamphlet, it would be as discreditable for us to notice as it is to the minister of Fitzroy Chapel to write; only observing, that he must have been sorely pressed for matter to cram into his cumbrous pamphlet, when he could reprint from the "Record," (though even Dr. Holloway seems ashamed of his authority, by suppressing the name,) an anonymous letter, which announces the alarming intelligence that a curate actually did, on St. Bartholomew's day,* "make

* Of this offensive and disgraceful letter we do not care to speak, except that it may serve as a specimen of that frightful spirit of religious rancour which induces anonymous newspaper reporters (this person styles himself, we feel assured falsely, 'Clericus,') to go about from church to church, solely to carp and cavil at the mode in which divine service is performed. It pretends to be an account of the services

Digitized by Google

a violent attack on the Protestant Faith," when by mere mistake he said "'holy Catholic Church,' instead of 'whole Church.'" This is serious; if Mr. Woodgift, (which, by the bye, is not the gentleman's name,) really did commit this atrocious act of treason, all that we can say is "Actum est de Ecclesiâ!"

Mr. C. Yorke, Rector of Shenfield, Essex, evinces his qualifications for the delicate task of calling his diocesan's attention to certain "prevailing notions" to which he cautiously, though not obscurely, hints that the Bishop is committed, by avowing latitudinarian principles with as little reserve as it has for some time been our fortune to see.

First, he doubts "that the Bishop should be by himself the guide of the minds of his Clergy," in which doubt we also share; but then we cannot follow Mr. Yorke, when from this he goes on (Dr. Whately again!) to deny that the Apostles "could have successors," p. 6, and that Timothy and Titus were not heirs of the Apostolic office; and that "the Angels of the Seven Churches might have been moderators or annual presidents,—[we expect that Dr. Candlish, of Edinburgh, and the President of Conference will club together to present Mr. Yorke with some substantial memorial for this hint] or, probably, according to the apocalyptic style, the *collective* ministry of the Churches," p. 31. Of course, St. Ignatius does not find much favour with Mr. Yorke: "when we read the sentence, 'See that ye all follow the Bishop AS JESUS CHRIST THE FATHER,' almost as great a shock is given to our love of Scriptural truth, &c." p. 6. Now we have read this sentence very often (Ign. ad Smyrn. viii.), and we were never shocked at all. Mr. Yorke's horror perplexes us sorely: at first, we were inclined to think that Mr. Y. had "small Latin and less Greek;" and taking only the English version, had blundered into the belief that St. Ignatius had applied the name "Father," to the Saviour; if so, we can assure the Essex Clergyman, that the original is πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρί; then again, we doubted whether Mr. Y. would admit that Christ could follow and obey the Father: if this be his difficulty, we would remind him of John xiv. 31: for it seems incredible that the Bishop's critic should object to the hypostatical union of the Father and Son being adduced as an example of the unity re-

at the anniversary of the dedication of a church at Littlemore, near Oxford, and the incident of the accidental error at Christ Church, St. Pancras, is thrown in as a make-weight. However, it is a melancholy proof of the sad state of the writer's mind; were these things not too painful, they would be simply farcical. This clergyman (!) Dr. Holloway informs us, "had both oral and ocular demonstration of the whole scenery and performance," p. 97, in question, viz. at Littlemore and Christ Church. Here we are quite at fault: "*oral* demonstration" as well as "*ocular*"—that is, his *mouth* helped him to the proof as well as his *eyes*; does the learned doctor happen to have confounded "aural" with "oral," or does he imagine that anybody's mouth, except when he keeps it, as wondering clowns do, wide open, will at all help him in acquiring information in such cases?

Digitized by Google

quired in the visible communion of Saints, when our Lord's last prayer was, "that *they* may be *one* even as *we* are *one*," John xvii. 22. Nor is the reference made to the doubts of Ussher and Vossius on the integrity of the Ignatian writings very felicitous, at least in the present instance; for Vossius himself, on the very passage which strikes Mr. Yorke with so much horror, annotates—

"Nemini mirum videri debet, si et hic et alibi, tantam auctoritatem Episcopis et Presbyteris adtribuit Ignatius: non aliter de illis loquitur Polycarpus. [Ep. ad Philipp, §. 5.]

As for the "American Norton,"* we set but little store on transatlantic opinions in patristic criticism; but we do recommend Mr. Yorke, before he encounters Ignatius again, and "troubles us" with his threatened "disquisition," to acquaint himself with the "Vindiciæ Ignatianæ" of Bishop Pearson, which may improve his notions of Christian unity.

For we are compelled to say that Mr. Yorke is only a disguised dissenter; by denying the apostolic succession, and the necessity of the Episcopate, by which to link us to the Apostles, to whom alone the promise of everlasting Presence was given, in effect he denies the most ascertainable mark of the true church. Since, as Bramhall tells us,

"We maintain that an entire profession of saving truth, a right use of the Word and Sacraments, and *an union under lawful pastors*, being taken jointly, do distinguish the church essentially from all other societies in the world. These, then, do belong unto the Catholic church, and to all true particular churches, inseparably, incommunicably, and reciprocally, and are proper to the church '*quarto modo*,' to every true church, only to a true church, and always to a true church,"—*Replication to Bishop of Chalcedon*, pp. 143, 144.

Again, the "second popular notion," to which the Essex rector objects is, "that our Episcopalian ministry is the sole channel of spiritual blessings." (p. 8.) We may as well set Mr. Yorke right on one point, which is, that nobody in his senses ever maintained that "*our*" Episcopalian ministry is the sole channel of spiritual blessings; and therefore his pathetic complaint, that "by so doing we stand alone in *universal Christendom*," is sheer nonsense;—a thing may be sole to us, yet common to other churches! But to maintain that, in a particular church, a lawful ministry is of its essence, is what Mr. Yorke himself must do, while the twentieth Article and the twelve first canons of the Church are imperative on his acceptance. And this is all that the Bishop of London has done, when he asserts that

* The only "American Norton" of any note, is Andrews Norton, of Boston. This man is a rank Unitarian; and has published "Reasons for not believing in the Trinity," which work exhibits some reading. We earnestly trust, for Mr. Yorke's sake, that this is not the authority which he wishes us to accept; and also that he does not permit himself much intercourse with such pernicious literature: it is pitch which must defile.

Digitized by Google

"*In this country* the Clergy of the National Church, and they alone, are entitled to the respect and obedience of the people as their *lawful guides and governors in spiritual things.*"—*Charge*, pp. 7, 8.

And this is all that at present we are bound to maintain; for it is quite consistent with this to allow with Bramhall, "Much less may we conclude from hence, that the want of true essentials, in cases of *invincible necessity*, doth utterly exclude from heaven, or hinder the *extraordinary* influences of divine grace." (p. 144.)

The sole point for discussion is, whether where a lawful ministry is, and an apostolic pastorate, (and Mr. Yorke we presume does not affirm the unlawfulness of his own ministry,) "other denominations," not holding the same faith, may exist. The plea of invincible necessity in this country, at least, can have no place, whatever avail it may charitably be supposed to have elsewhere; and it must be a separate inquiry, to define the mode of necessity when alleged. So that where our own Church has decided, we may, while arguing with a Churchman, which Mr. Y. claims to be, put aside the whole discussion as to the antecedent probability of such a rule—the assumed bigotry of "unchurching and unchristianizing," (p. 9,) and the rest. Mr. Yorke, however, starts a moral objection to the exclusive claims of the Church, which is at least novel:

"It often happens, that in a parish or a diocese there arises some sect whose tenets and practices at once set at nought authority, common sense and revelation. And then, *instead of painfully and studiously examining and exposing the specific absurdities and evils of the sect*, it frequently has been judged to be the shortest and surest method, to assert forthwith the unique supremacy of the Episcopalian Church. How lamentable an error! How delightful an encouragement to *sloth!*"—P. 10.

And yet what would be thought of the physician who, having it in his power to disperse, by one decisive medicine, an eruptive disease, should set about healing every pustule in detail? To cut off a whole army at a blow, instead of wasting his strength in ten thousand single combats, is not usually considered the sign of a general's sloth.

But observe the tests of error which Mr. Y. would substitute for our simple appeal to the fact of the existence of the lawful Church, "authority, common sense, and revelation." Authority! why that is the very thing which we are disputing for; and if Mr. Y. would consent to stake the issue on this, we should have no longer a controversy with him: but shallow writers use words in an equivocal sense, so we suppose that by authority he means the mere figment of establishmentism, which test we are quite ready to surrender. Common sense! yes, but people differ on whose common sense is to be decisive; and if the question rested, say, between Mr. Y.'s common sense and Mr. Binney's common sense, or Robert Hall's common sense, the issue would be very perilous And then Revelation! which

Digitized by Google

everybody sees to be a manifest circle, for the question instantly resolves itself into the *sense* of revelation, which is the real matter in dispute.

Mr. Yorke dogmatically decides, that "from Scripture this principle," viz., of the oneliness (to use the happy phrase which Archdeacon Manning has adopted from Cudworth) of *the* Church, "cannot come, because in Scripture it is not to be found," (p. 10;) and yet in Scripture we hear much of the "one body, and one baptism, and one faith," but not a syllable about "all other denominations."

As might have been anticipated, the Bishop of London's sound canon of interpretation, as applied to the Articles, has been much controverted. His Lordship writes:—

"In the interpretation of the Articles which relate more immediately to doctrine, our surest guide is the Liturgy. It may safely be pronounced of any explanation of an article which cannot be reconciled with the plain language of the offices for public worship, that it is not the doctrine of the Church. The opinion, for instance, which denies baptismal regeneration, might possibly, though not without great difficulty, be reconciled with the language of the 27th article; but by no stretch of ingenuity, nor latitude of explanation, can it be brought to agree with the plain unqualified language of the Offices for Baptism and Confirmation."—*Charge*, p. 23.

We say that we are not surprised at the objections taken to this principle; for it seems to us to come very near another rule of interpretation, which made no little stir a few months ago. To say that when the article may possibly be construed in two senses, we must choose that which is in accordance with the Prayer-Book, which is the Bishop of London's position, and an impregnable one, what is it but to say under another form,—

"It is a *duty* which we owe both to the Catholic church and to our own, to take our reformed confessions in the most catholic sense they will admit; in giving the articles a catholic interpretation, we bring them into harmony with the Book of Common Prayer, an object of the most serious moment in those who have given their assent to both formularies."—No. 90, p. 80.

We are not here attempting to insinuate that the Bishop of London has incautiously or otherwise committed himself to No. 90, far less to its details; but we can see no great difference between his Lordship's doctrine and one of Mr. Newman's principles; whether the latter writer has not overstated it or misapplied it in some instances is another question; but as to the principle itself, viz. that the Prayer-book, which to us is the catholic interpretation of the Church, is the standard by which the Articles must be read, it is comforting, after all our miserable disputes, to find it recognised by one whose statements are so well-weighed as those of the Bishop of London. This Mr. Yorke of course cannot stomach: but from the fact that the Articles are the more recent compilation, (p. 15,) he concludes that they were meant to control, and overrule, and modify the sense of the services; and then he goes on to speak of the Articles as

Digitized by Google

articles of faith,—as the sheet-anchor of our churchmanship,—as a final summary of the theology of the Church of England,—as definitive of the Prayer-book, and so on, while Dr. Holloway, (once more to recur to his lucubrations, which, with pretensions somewhat immodest, he entitles,—we had forgot to mention this before,—"*The* Reply,") repeats again and again, "If we are to decide between the two, surely the Articles have a right to the preference," p. 51; "the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church are the standard of her doctrines, *the arbiter of her sacraments*, [what can this mean?] the guardian of her constitution, and the bulwark of her security: they do not appeal to the Liturgy, but have in all things the pre-eminence," p. 50. No: they do not appeal to it because they pre-suppose it; and did it ever occur to these writers that the Thirty-nine Articles are not articles of faith,—that the laity, who are just as much the Church as the clergy, are not bound even to have heard, or seen, one of the Articles, but are bound to accept the Prayer-book in all its parts and services as their rule of life, and a teacher of doctrine? To assert, then, that a controversial document, such as the Thirty-nine Articles, which nineteen-twentieths of the Church of England are never, throughout their lives, called upon to subscribe, to read, to study, or to listen to, is superior, in point of authority, to that book which they are directed to use twice every day, and from whose voice they learn their duties and their faith on every occasion of human life, (thus closely is the Prayer-book intertwined in every action of the Christian's walk,) seems to us quite nugatory.

"One of the Laity" is rather dishonest on this point. He asserts that

> "In the Charge we are now reviewing, the Bishop recommends that when the signification of a passage is doubtful, we should be guided by the probable intention of those who framed the Articles, &c."—P. 13.

It is true that the Bishop suggests this in those "few instances where we cannot without other help fix the meaning of the article," *Charge*, p. 14. This may, *then*, be our last recourse; but in the first instance, "the Church is her own interpreter; the Liturgy and Homilies, we must first appeal to, *especially the former*."—*Ibid.* p. 14.

We must now, without much attempt at arrangement, group together some few specimens of the general temper and tone of mind exhibited by the writers before us; for without such our readers will not estimate at their right value the very varied qualifications which respectively these four gentlemen possess for their self-imposed task of rebuking, correcting, and advising a Bishop.

For example, Mr. Yorke considers a child's cry at the font to be conclusive against the theological verity that he then and there receives the grace of God. "The theory of a 'seraphic state'

Digitized by Google

does not seem exactly to agree with the manifestation of feeling made by children at the font," p. 12; and in the same page he reminds his diocesan that the use made of his lordship's Charge by that Satanic journal, the *Weekly Dispatch*, should make him suspect its soundness. We quote the passage:

"I have been assured, my Lord, that such papers as the Weekly Dispatch seized with immediate glee and triumph upon your Lordship's statement, as being one which the weakest observation might disprove."—p. 12.

It is really quite awful to see a warm-hearted person like Mr. Yorke handling the missiles of the dunghill to cast in his Bishop's face.

And, in language equally offensive, Dr. Holloway, p. 98—"*Justification by faith* is the immortal shield, for which Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, &c., &c.,—shall we tamely suffer it to be violated by the perjury of professed friends, who call our Reformation, revolution—the Protestant faith, heresy; who, taking our shield from its place, *pollute* it, and, putting it to an use for which it was never given, instead of a buckler* for defence, turn it upside down, and make of it a *Sacramental font for Baptismal water?*" Were not this language almost maniacal, we should be called on to ask the minister of Fitzroy Chapel, whether he seriously thinks that any thing could be *polluted* by being used for a *font?*

Dean Cockburn, too, does not think it inconsistent with decency to point at the "misty obscurity" (p. 11.) which he finds in the Bishop's Charge, by selecting, as the motto of his pamphlet, "Even as our beloved Paul has written unto you—*in which are some things hard to be understood.*"

And here we conclude this branch of the subject, omitting further notice of the fourth critic, since that sober and reverential tone which we have a right to claim in the writings of a clergyman we hardly expect to find in the pamphlet of an anonymous layman, if he be a layman, by which we mean a churchman, at all: and, having gathered together these specimens of their Theological accuracy and precision—of the distressing views they hold of the Holy Catholic Church—of their utter denial of some of the principles of the Faith—of the mutual contradictions which their respective pamphlets display—of their irreverent and irreligious cast of thought—and of their personal discourtesy to the bishop—we ask, are these the men to guide the people's minds? Are these the writers to criticise a bishop? From

* This nonsense about a shield turned into a font, has, we suppose, some allusion, but a very clumsy one, to the excellent story of Dr. Cornelius' buckler, in the memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus. Though Dr. Holloway was, or perhaps is, a schoolmaster, we do not charge him with any classical recollections of the cradle of the youthful Hercules,

Ἡρακλέα λούσασα καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτος,
χαλκείαν κατέθηκεν ἐς ἀσπίδα.—*Theocrit. Idyll.* 24.

Digitized by Google

learning—from personal fitness—from subdued temper—from patient habits, acquired by discipline, retirement, and religious studies, do they, together or singly, exhibit one single qualification for the presumptuous task which they have undertaken? They are utterly deficient in every gift, especially that of humility and affectionate respect to a bishop's most sacred office, which is needful for those who come forward, if any must, on such an occasion. And let them be assured of this, that if the Bishop of London were to be swayed either way, a supposition which it is in us disrespectful to suggest, he is not likely to entertain henceforth more cordial feelings towards that Theological school in the Church, whose principles are to be judged by such writings as those of Dr. Holloway and Mr. Yorke. Now, if the so-called Evangelical party desire to win the approbation of those above them, and to secure the esteem of those committed to their charge, they must display a little more submission—or, if not this, at least silence towards their bishop's avowed doctrine, and a little more plain, intelligible, positive obedience to his directions on practical matters than they seem at present disposed to pay. If we were inclined to use the language of triumph, we should only ask for a few more such pamphlets, and a little longer disobedience, to ruin the party in question, not only with their bishop, but with all honest men. There is something almost judicial in that blindness to the commonest dictates of prudence, which they just now exhibit; but present events are showing them in their true colours.

II. We now proceed to the second branch of the Bishop's Charge, or rather, to the objections urged against it, viz., the directions on Rubrical matters.

Having already alluded to the state of things which rendered recurrence to the plain rubrical directions of the Church needful, and which made the few private attempts at obedience so trying, it might before experience have been anticipated that, in spite of reclamation from Mr. Baptist Noel, and a similar class among the Clergy, some compliance would have been made with the Bishop's directions; and this the rather, because, as we have shown, they are *here*, at least, *authoritative*. But of its results we shall speak presently. First, however, of the sentiments with which they were received. The whole pack of recusants here open with one mouth; the Dean of York, remembering the Archbishop's injunctions on the neglect of the Rubric at York Cathedral, already quoted, has the decency to preserve silence; but the rest rush on with tuneable cry—

——— Primusque Melampus
Ichnobatesque sagax, latratu signa dedêre,
Gnosius Ichnobates, Spartanâ gente Melampus,
Pamphagus et Dorceus et Oribasus: Arcades omnes:
Labros et Agriodos et acutæ vocis Hylactor.

Digitized by Google

And first, as a specimen of impertinent interference in the concerns of another diocese, the following, we think, deserves to be recorded. It emanates from the well-known Mr. Carus Wilson, of Casterton, whose precious "Thoughts for the Times" our readers cannot have forgot.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE RECORD.

(*From "The Record," November* 14.)

"Sir,—The more I reflect on the Bishop of London's Charge, the more I am filled with fear, that, amidst all its excellencies, it will do more to produce perplexity and dissension in the Church, than any thing that has occurred for a long time. The subject of implicit obedience to the rubric, is one which cannot be approached without feelings of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. No faithful son of the Church can contentedly be charged with a want of submissive and hearty dutifulness, and some may be driven into the adoption of changes, against the judgment, from a temptation to avoid such a charge.

"Allow me to suggest a thought which has just occurred to me, and which I do not think has been brought forward in your pages. Is it not with the ecclesiastical law, as it is with academical and civil law? Unquestionably, *primâ facie*, every clergyman is bound to give implicit obedience to the rubric. It is the law of his Church which he is pledged to obey. It is the same with the University statutes. The oath of obedience lies, at least did lie in my day, on every member. But the statutes had in many respects become obsolete and incapable of enforcement, and they whose business it was to enforce, were compelled to connive at daily infringements.

"So it is with the law of the land. There are laws that are more honoured in the breach than the observance. Who would wish to see every adult fined every Sunday for not attending his parish church?

"And is not our ecclesiastical law in the same position? And ought not the inquiry to be, not what stands in the ecclesiastical statute-book, and *therefore* must be enforced in every iota *because* it is there; but rather what best accords with the changes of the times, and is best adapted for the purposes of devotion, and has been so regarded and approved by the command, consent, and example, of our ecclesiastical rulers?

"Then what mischief will immediately spring up! What divisions and animosities in the diocese of London! The Conformists condemning as Low Church and undutiful, the clergy who demur to comply altogether with the prevailing changes. While other dioceses, and that under the guidance of their bishops, determine not to meddle with them who are given to change.

"And for what is the peace of the Church thus endangered? If it were for the furtherance of its real holiness and spirituality the case would be far different, but when it is only for the maintenance of its forms and ceremonies, and that at the bidding of men who are doing all they can to drive us back again to apostate Rome, but who are loaded with compliments for the service they are rendering the Church in this respect, we may well sigh and mourn in secret, and fear lest these be not ominous signs of the glory departing from our Zion.

"May you long be spared and strengthened to pursue the enlightened and most beneficial course to which you have been led.

"Very truly yours,

"Casterton Hall. "W. CARUS WILSON."

Mr. Yorke sums up several clear reasons against compliance with the letter of the rubric: first, the fact that several injunctions of the Church are not observed by the Clergy; "indeed,"

* See CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, Aug. 1842.

Digitized by Google

he adds, "it is not clear they were ever observed." Mr. Bickersteth speaks out with a little more decision, and applies Mr. Yorke's doubts to the daily service; he unblushingly asserts, —

"The appointed use of our public forms of prayer in the English language daily, in the first energy of our Reformation, was calculated to meet the wants of men, and to remove their ignorance. But I am not aware that *at any time* the literal directions concerning the daily saying of the morning and evening prayer were generally practised."—*Sermon preached at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, Nov.* 5, 1842, p. 22, note.

Now, though it "may not be clear to Mr. Yorke," and though "Mr. Bickersteth may not be aware of it," yet still it is a fact, notwithstanding, that so late as the beginning of the last century, in London alone, "in seventy churches and chapels, public prayer was daily offered; in forty-three of them twice a-day; in six, three times a-day; and in five, four times a-day."*—*Plain Words to Plain People*, p. 6.

It will therefore stand the enemies of rubrical proprieties in very little stead to doubt about their ever having been observed: even granting this, which is not the fact, entire and utter desuetude does not, and cannot, blunt the force of a moral obligation to an individual, if he personally lays himself under it. If all the world were to combine to-morrow to legalize murder, would that destroy the bounden duty of a single individual Christian, not to commit it? Mr. Yorke opines, that all that is meant by ordering the daily service, is an injunction not to go to the Romanists' matins [and why not vespers too?]—that the proclamation of certain Saints' days was meant as a preventive to the celebration of other Saints' days; and, to crown all, another writer informs us, "that by signing a declaration of conformity to the Common Prayer, and *every thing therein*, you bind yourself to use that form in the administrations of the Church, eschewing the forms of the Roman missal on the one hand, and the Puritanical directory on the other, although not pledging yourself to adopt every thing contained in the rubric, &c." quoted in the Layman's Examination of the Bishop of London's Charge, p. 16.

We should like to know how a tenant would stand in a court of law, when his landlord produced the lease by which he covenanted to do all works of husbandry in every field of the farm, should he pretend that the lease only meant that he, the holding tenant, was not to plough up his neighbour's land; and if he attended to one field in seven, that was all that the lease could mean or require of him.

In this, as in other matters, the question is not whether the present daily service is the best mould in which a Christian

* Somebody else, we understand, has discovered that the daily service was enjoined "in the first energy of the Reformation," to teach the Clergy how to read! We can hardly follow this learned conjecture: for common minds might have thought a horn-book more to the purpose.

Digitized by Google

man's prayers, or rather the voice of the Heavenly Bride, may be cast. We are not called upon to decide whether things could or could not be better than they now are, but we may at least say this; that till we have tried the Prayer-book, tried it ourselves, till use has accustomed us to it, till we know from experience how it works, we are not in a condition to pronounce an opinion upon it. And, therefore, when Mr. Yorke puts the question—and answers it too—

> "Would you, my Lord, say that there could be nothing better than to repeat our *present* liturgical forms day after day? Even *natural* affection would be deadened by having to repeat *the same long address* in every circumstance, on every morning:"—*Yorke*, p. 19.

we remind him that he at least is not the man to dogmatize either way—at the best he can but spin theories; prayers are not things to be looked at *ab extra*; they are to and from the inner life; abstract arguments are here useless; a man must know what the Prayer-book is, tell how it works from experience, and then when he has used it regularly twice a day, for two or three years even, he is in a better position to talk about it than at present; at any rate we venture to think that if any greater variety is required in the daily office, after such practice as this—and we are not now saying that "our present liturgical forms repeated day after day" are perfection—the change must go in the very opposite direction to that which Mr. Yorke proposes. That "it *might* be well, if in our towns there was something like the Jewish proseuchæ," we most heartily admit, though perhaps we should differ from Mr. Yorke about the mode of using them; but what if we tried a number of services—each different from the others, and suited to the varying exigencies of the day and sacred season? that wearied souls might retire from the monotonous din and tumult of populous streets, and find God's service always celebrating, and like our common earth and heaven always one yet always varying—with shade and sunlight—with summer and winter—with day and night—with clouded skies and peaceful evenings?

As to the other reasons urged against compliance with the rubric; such as "obscurity—palpable inconvenience—superior refinement, if not purity in speech; and increase of common sense and theological knowledge," p. 21, we do not intend to pause on these, for a very little study would remove the obscurity; the inconvenience exists but in the imagination of the idle and careless; the plea of superior refinement and delicacy we consider rank hypocrisy, and we do not desire to be one whit less plain-spoken than the Church; and "for the increase of common sense and theological knowledge," we need go no farther than the four pamphlets which are now before us to have some serious misgivings on this head.

Digitized by Google

On one other observation of Mr. Yorke, we desire to offer a few remarks; it is this:—

"The points in our ritual which have become obsolete, are precisely those in the modification of which the Fathers of our Church must have consistently rejoiced. As to the Apocryphal lessons they are, in fact, never mentioned in the services themselves,* and glad would our Reformers have been to have witnessed their silent fall into popular neglect. In acting, therefore, on the principle that it was their duty to bring to light again what had sunk, the Bishop would be acting against the minds of our Reformers."—Pp. 24-25.

To which it might be replied—

1. That it is a gratuitous assumption to assert all this about the Reformers. How can Mr. Yorke show that they only permitted the Apocrypha with a hope that it would soon wear out? Or again, is he prepared to prove that they deliberately left the services in their present state, with the certain conviction that they were unscriptural and false; full of "faults, doctrinal and historical?" Because if so, if Mr. Yorke thinks that the Reformers, acting in the sight of Almighty God, with a solemn account to render at His judgment-seat of the salvation, not only of that realm of England committed to their spiritual charge, but of millions of souls yet unborn, could with deliberate treachery and cowardice permit celebrations, services, ceremonies, and doctrines, which they would gladly have obliterated, had they dared, to be enjoined and taught in the church, with only the vague chance of some possible and remote disuse; then no words can express our opinion of the profligacy,

---

* What this phrase may mean we are wholly unable to conjecture; if it is intended to say that the lessons from the deutero-canonical books only occur in the calendar, and are not alluded to in the body of the Prayer-book, how do they in this respect fare worse than the other lessons? where are *any* lessons "mentioned in the services themselves?" and is Mr. Yorke aware that the Reformers themselves, in the Homilies, use such phrases as these?—

"Let us learn also here, in the *Book of Wisdom*, by the *infallible and undeceivable word of God*."

"Fasting is of great efficacy, and weigheth much with God, *so* the angel Raphael told *Tobias*."

"The *holy father Tobit* giveth this counsel."

"The same lesson *doth the Holy Ghost teach* in sundry places of *Scripture*, saying, *Tobit* iv."

"We *read* that *Judith*, with other holy men and women, &c."

"The *Book of Wisdom* also, willing to pull down our proud stomachs."

"The weakness, &c. in device of images, is expressed at large in the *Scriptures*, viz. the Psalms, &c. the *Book of Wisdom*, and *Baruch*."

"Holofernes, a valiant captain, had his head stricken from his shoulders by *Judith*."

"The Jews also when in the time of *Judith*, &c."

"Therefore doth *Jesus the son of Sirach certainly assure us*."

"The wise preacher *confirmeth* the same saying, &c. Ecclus. iii."

"Thus far the *prophet Baruch*, his words."

How can Mr. Y. reconcile all this with what he calls "the historical and doctrinal faults of such works as *Tobit, Judith*, &c.?" P. 32.

Digitized by Google

and dishonesty, and baseness of the Reformers, as Mr. Yorke chooses to represent them.

2. But it was not so; facts prove the contrary. Take the first particulars which offer. For example:—

"They shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still."—*Injunctions of Edward* VI. 1547.

"Which persons not contented to accept, concerning the said Sacrament, that the *body and blood of* Jesus Christ is *there*."—*Proclamation concerning Irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament*, 1547.

"Thees are to write you, with convenyent expedition, not onely to give warnynge to all curates within your archdeaconry that they suffer no preachinge upon worke dayes in their churches." Nicholas London: [*Ridley*] to the Archdeacon of Colchester, 1550.

"Item, that incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or Free-will-men, be sent into some one castle in North Wales or Wallingford."

"First, that there be used only but one apparel; as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice in all other ministrations."

Archbishop Parker's 'Interpretations and further considerations' of Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, 1559.

Here are the express directions of Cranmer, Ridley, and Parker, which is sufficient to disprove Mr. Yorke's guess as to their reserved disapproval.

3. But yet more we know the history of the objections now so commonly urged against the ceremonies; we know where they originated, and how they have been met ever since the Reformation.

"At Frankfort the exiles, in Queen Mary's time, agreed to refine, to a considerable alteration, upon their own Prayer-Book. For instance: they agreed that the responses should not be pronounced aloud: that the Litany, the Surplice, and several other things prescribed by the Rubric, should be omitted. The reason was, because the Reformers in those countries would be somewhat shocked with these ceremonies.* When this was done the people were to sing one of Hopkins and Sternhold's psalms. This innovation was made in conformity to the French, Dutch, and Scotch custom; and thus it seems they thought all the Reformers wiser than those of their own country. After the Psalm, the minister was to pray for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and then proceed to his sermon; and thus, after they had disguised and maimed the English service," &c.—*Collier, new edition*, vi. 144.

"The first Injunction (of Queen Elizabeth, 1559) is concerning the use of singing; that the Common Prayer should be sung in so plain and distinct a manner that the pronunciation might be altogether as well understood as if it had been read. A religious anthem was allowed. The Psalms were sung in plain song [i. e. the Gregorian chant] in most parish churches, and in the Queen's chapel, in cathedrals and colleges. The hymns† were sung in a more awakening and improved manner. To proceed, the customary reverences in churches are ordered to be continued. For instance; when the name of

* "What are we doing to the dissenters? we are *reviving* usages, in order that those who join us may do the utmost possible violence to all their former feelings." —*Yorke*, p. 25.

† Such hymns not being, as we scarcely need to remark, such things in verse as are now known by that name, but only those sacred hymns following the lessons; and those also of the Eucharistic office.

Digitized by Google

Jesus was pronounced, all persons were to bow or show some other suitable mark of respect."—*Ibid.* p. 256.

"At the Convocation, 1562-63, there was a project amongst other things for making an alteration in ceremonies, introduced by Sandys into the upper house; and another paper was laid before the lower house, signed by thirty-three ministers. It suggested,

"I. That the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or else said wholly by the minister; and that all strains of skill, musical performances, and playing on the organs should be discouraged.

"II. That the cross in Baptism be disused.

"III. That kneeling at the holy Eucharist be left discretionary.

"IV. That copes and surplices be laid aside.

"V. That the ministers of the gospel be not forced to wear caps and gowns.

"VII. That all festivals in honour of the Saints be abrogated.

And this list of articles being revised, it was added—

"That in all parish churches the minister in Common Prayer turn his face towards the people."—*Ibid.* p. 372–373.

It is needless to remark, that these innovations were rejected; but we may observe that here was the exact opportunity for Parker, (in the very convocation which passed the Articles,) and for the ripe Reformers of that period, to have removed these temporary observances, had they "desired to make a gradual descent," as Mr. Yorke has it, "from Popery." Besides the imprisonment of Humphreys and Sampson, in this reign, for objecting to the surplice, and the fact that even Hooper, upon the *complaint of Cranmer himself*, (Collier, v. 394,) was sent to the Fleet in Edward the Sixth's time, for scrupling about vestments, (which imprisonment, combined with the chance of losing the see of Gloucester, soon brought him to accept the rochette and chimere,) shows pretty clearly that Mr. Yorke's scruples about the surplice would not have found great favour in the eyes of his friends, the first Reformers, or with the compilers of our Thirty-nine Articles; that is, if Cranmer and Parker are any authority as to the bias of these parties respectively.

We are, of course, perfectly well aware that there were in those days scruplers at ceremonies,—*fanatici superpelliceani*, as they were then called—but they were the disciples of Calvin and Bucer; they were not the representatives of the ancient tone of the English Church; they were Dissenters,—they were Puritans; they were would-be Reformers on the Reformation; they were not those whom all the world knows as "our Reformers." The old charge of Popish tendencies we are content to bear; history has told the tale well, both of those who, "in the old time before us," have suffered under the imputation, and of those who have made the charge.

Our fathers' fathers wore it,
And our fathers bore it,

and we may well count upon the same.

Digitized by Google

At this very period of which we have last spoken, 1568, Cheney, Bishop of Gloucester, fell under an imputation of being Popishly affected, for some sermons preached at Bristol. The passages are not only good in themselves, but so exactly illustrate our present position, that we must transcribe one of them.

"Scriptures—Scriptures do you say? Be not too hasty; for so the heretics always cried, and had the Scriptures. I would ask this question; I have to do with a heretic; I bring Scripture against him, and he will confess it to be Scripture. But he will deny the sense that I bring it for. How now? How shall this be tried? by consent of the Fathers only, and not by others."

We really have not, in the slightest degree, increased upon "the common sense and theological knowledge" of our ancestors, nor have our opponents started any novel objections. In the mirror of Church history they may see themselves as in a glass. One would think that one was reading the Record of 1842, instead of—

CARTWRIGHT'S PROPOSITIONS, 1570.

"2. The names of lawful ministers in the Church, such as bishops and deacons, when abstracted from the office described in the Holy Scripture, are likewise to be rejected, and the whole brought back to apostolical institution. And thus the *Bishop's function ought to be limited to praying and preaching, and the Deacon's to taking care of the poor.*

"6. That ministers ought not to be ordained by the sole authority of the Bishop—but this office ought to be conferred by a public choice of the congregation.

"4. Popish priests have no authority to be ministers of the Gospel by virtue of their own ordinations.

"5. Nothing but canonical Scripture ought to be publicly read in the Church.

"8. That all portions of Scripture, all names and distinctions of God Almighty, are to be treated with the same reverence and regard. And, therefore, it is against reason to enjoin the people to stand at the reading of the Gospel, or to bow and pull off their hats at the name of Jesus.

"16. The keeping Lent, together with Friday, is unlawful.

"17. Keeping holy days is unlawful.

"18. These words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost," at the ordination of ministers, is a ridiculous and wicked expression.*

And,

THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE, 1603.

"The reason of the backwardness of the Puritans to subscribe was—first, the apocryphal books. The answer was, as the objection, twofold. First, general for apocryphal books: the Bishop of London [Bancroft], showing, first, for the antiquity of them, that most of the objections made against those books were the old cavils of the Jews, removed by St. Jerome in his time, who was the first that gave them the name of Apocrypha, which

* For the especial benefit of the minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, we would suggest how painful it must be to him to be a living witness of the futility of the frivolous objections urged by his great predecessor in promoting the disunion of the Church. Among Cartwright's propositions occurs—

"13. That in giving names at baptism, the names of offices should be declined; such as Angel, *Baptist. &c.*"

Digitized by Google

opinion, upon Ruffinus' challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed, the rather, because a general offence was taken at his speeches in that kind."

"Master Knewstubs took exceptions to the cross in Baptism. First, the offence of weak brethren—to which his Majesty answered, asking them, how long they would be weak? Whether forty-five years were not sufficient for them to grow strong? And he suspected that some of them were strong enough, if not head-strong; and howsoever they in this case pretended weakness, yet some thought themselves able to teach him and all the bishops in the land.

"The next thing which was objected, was the wearing of the surplice. It was the king's constant and resolute opinion that no Church ought further to separate itself from the Church of Rome, either in doctrine or ceremony, than she had departed from herself, when she was in her flourishing and best estate, and from Christ her Lord and Head."

[We cannot forbear quoting "gentle King Jamie's" somewhat homely account of this memorable defeat of Reynolds and his coadjutors, in his own private letter to a friend in Scotland.

"We have kept such a revel with the Puritans here this two days, as was never heard the like: where I have peppered them as soundly as ye have done the Papists there. It were no reason, that those who will refuse the airy sign of the cross after baptism, should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, *ut est eorum moris*, as I was forced at last to say unto them, that if any of them had been disputing with their scholars, if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in place of a reply; and so should the rod have plyed upon the poor boy's buttocks. Their book shall never convict me, expect [except] by arousing me more earnestly against them."—*Cardwell, History of Conferences*, p. 161.]

THE PURITANS BEFORE THE GREAT REBELLION, 1624.

"In the mean time it may not be unnecessary to enquire what they might and did mean by Popery and Arminianism. And first, we find, upon due search, that by Popery they understood all such points of doctrine, as being determined by this Church, hold some correspondence and agreement with the Church of Rome; or being not determined by this Church are left at liberty for every man to please himself in his own opinion, how near soever he may come to such compliance. Of the first sort they reckoned for points of Popery—*The doctrine of the perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ—the local descent of Christ into hell—the lawfulness of images—signing with the sign of the cross—confession and sacerdotal absolution—the Real Presence—the sacrament of orders:* quarrelling even with very words, *sacrifice, altar*, and the like: all which, upon a perfect examination, will be found to be the genuine doctrines, and to speak nothing but the language, of the Church of England. Amongst the last I reckon the disputes concerning *Evangelical Councils, Antichrist*, and *Limbus Patrum*, of which the Church has determined nothing. Such was the temper of those times, that whosoever held any of the points aforesaid, or any other controverted with the Church of Rome, contrary to the sense of Calvin, must be presently accused of Popery. He that adhered unto the tendries [?] of the Ancient Fathers, in such particulars as the Church had left undetermined; or bound himself in matters publicly resolved on, to vindicate this Church to her *genuine* tenets, was presently made subject to all those clamours and reproaches which the tongues and pens of the faction could either raise upon him, or asperse him with . . and under the name of Arminianism they comprehend *Melancthon's* doctrine of *predestination—universal redemption—the co-operation of the will of man with the grace of God*—and *the possibility of falling from grace received.*"—*Heylyn's Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 121.

Digitized by Google

ACTS OF THE REBELS AND REGICIDES, 1640, &c.

who murdered the Archbishop in 1644, and the King five years after.

"June 28, 1641, they declared 'that neither university shall do reverence to the Communion Table; by which understand bowing to it.'

"And Feb. 17, they ordered 'That the University statute prescribing the surplice on all graduates and students, was against the law and liberty of the subject.'

"Sept. 18, they ordered 'That all tapers, candlesticks, and basons be removed from the communion-table; that all bowing at the name of Jesus, or towards the east end of the Church, be forborne.'

"April, 1644. An Ordinance 'for taking down May-poles, which they looked upon as an heathen vanity.'

"May 9, 1644. They ordered that 'no cross continue upon any plate or other thing used about the worship of God; and that copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, fonts, and organs, be not only taken away, but utterly defaced.'

"June 8, 1647. An Ordinance that 'the Feast of the Nativity of Christ, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and all other festival days, be no longer observed.'

"October 16, 1647. 'An Ordinance imposing fine and imprisonment for using the Prayer Book.'

"The points, then, in our ritual, which have become obsolete," once more to adopt Mr. Yorke's phrase, are those which have always been objected to by minds tinged with the heresies of Geneva; what puritans and regicides would have rejected, and to preserve which blood sacerdotal and royal has been shed, we may rather consider the glory than the shame of our English Church: we must prize it as our most precious heritage, rather than tamely surrender it to the cavils of the Bishop of London's critics.

Two hundred years have passed away; and we find ourselves in 1841 just where we were in 1641. Messrs. Seeley have but to reprint the following "copy of the proceedings of some worthy and learned divines, touching innovations in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; together with considerations upon the Common Prayer-Book:" (the committee appointed by the House of Lords, 1641,) and it will read for the last handbill received by the penny post.

"INNOVATIONS IN DOCTRINE. 1641.

"Quere, 2. It appears that some do teach that good works are concauses with faith in the act of justification.

"3. Some have preached that works of penance are satisfactory before God.

"4. Some have preached that private confession by particular enumeration of sins is necessary to salvation.

"5. Some have maintained that the absolution which the priest pronounceth is more than declaratory.

"6. Some have published that there is a proper sacrifice in the Lord's supper—and therefore that we have a true altar.

"7. Some have introduced prayer for the dead.

"9. Some have maintained the lawfulness of monastic vows.

"10. Some have maintained that the Lord's day is kept merely by ecclesiastical constitution.

"12. Some have passed scorn upon the Homilies, calling them either popular discourses, or a doctrine useful for those times wherein they were set forth.

Digitized by Google

"18. Some have broached a most uncomfortable doctrine, that repentance upon the last bed of sickness is unfruitful, at least to reconcile the penitent to God.

"ADD UNTO THESE SOME DANGEROUS AND MOST REPROVABLE BOOKS.

"1. The reconciliation of Sancta Clara, to knit the Romish and Protestant in one.

"INNOVATIONS IN DISCIPLINE.

"1. The turning of the holy table altar-wise, and most commonly calling it an altar.

"2. Bowing towards it, or towards the east.

"3. Advancing candlesticks upon the altar so called.

"4. In making canopies over the altar so called, with traverses and curtains on each side and before it.

"6. In advancing crucifixes and images upon the parafront, or altar cloth, so called.

"7. In reading some part of the Morning Prayer at the holy table, when there is no communion.

"8. By the minister's turning his back to the west, and his face to the east, when he pronounceth the creed or reads prayers.

"9. By reading the Litany in the body of the church.

"11. By offering of bread and wine by the hand of the churchwarden or others, before the consecration of the elements.

"12. By having a *credentia*, or side table besides the Lord's table.

"13. By introducing an offertory before the communion.

"16. By prohibiting a direct [extempore] prayer before sermon: and by bidding of prayer.

"17. By singing the *Te Deum* after a cathedral way in divers parochial churches.

"21. By taking down galleries in churches, or restraining the building of such galleries where the parishes are very populous.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

"1. Whether the names of some departed saints should not be expunged in the Kalendar?

"3. Whether the Rubrick should not be mended where all vestments in the time of divine service are now commanded, which were used 2 Edw. VI?

"4. Whether Lessons of canonical Scripture should be put into the Kalendar instead of Apocrypha?

"8. Whether, according to that end of the preface before the Common Prayer, the curate should be bound to read Morning and Evening Prayers *every day* in the Church; and why not, only on Wednesday and Friday morning and Saturday afternoon, with holy-day eves?

"9. Whether the hymns *Benedicite*, &c. may not be left out?

"17. Whether cathedral and collegiate churches shall be strictly bound to celebrate the Holy Communion every Sunday at the least, and might not it rather be added once in a month?

"21. Whether in the last Rubrick [of baptismal office] those words be not left out, 'and be undoubtedly saved?'

"28. In the Absolution of the Sick, were it not plain to say, 'I pronounce thee absolved?'

"30. May not the priest rather read the communion [commination?*] in the desk, than go up to the pulpit?

"32. In the order for Burial—'we commit his body, &c. in sure and certain hope of resurrection to eternal life;' why not thus, 'knowing that the dead shall rise again?'

* A conjecture which we hazard from the position of this "consideration." Qu. 29 relating to Churching service, and 31 to Commination service.

Digitized by Google

"34. In the Litany, instead of 'deadly sin,' 'grievous sin?'

"35. It is very fit that singing [metrical] psalms should have authority added to them, to have them publicly sung *before* and *after sermons;* and instead of the hymns of Morning and Evening Prayer."

And since the exceptions against the Liturgy, at the

SAVOY CONFERENCE, 1661,

are founded upon the above, we may here terminate the catalogue of puritan objections.

From this detail of facts, tedious, yet needful, we may draw this comforting conclusion, that ever since the Reformation, certain doctrines have been held, and certain significant ceremonies and observances have been maintained in the English Church; that they have been constantly objected to by proved traitors to, and apostates from, the Church, and as constantly maintained by the Church, in her formal appeals and documents; that there is not a single point of objection raised in our own days, which may not be traced, in direct succession, from the puritans and regicides; and, therefore, that they who urge them now, are committed to the same principles which once imbrued the altar and the throne with the blood of our best and holiest martyrs and fathers. And yet more, that such truths and such rubrical proprieties have always been deemed characteristics and essentials of our Church—that the *evangelical party alone* fail to see them in this light; that, as such, they always have been attacked; that, as such, they are attacked still by all consistent sectarians; that, as such, the Bishop of London has approved their revival and retention; that, as such, we defend them; and, therefore, that, as such, his critics must oppose them. And having thus settled the true standing of the parties in the present controversy, we proceed to the last division of our subject.

III. Although we have carefully debarred ourselves from offering any observations on the Bishop of London's directions on uniformity in the celebration of divine service, we may be permitted here to offer some suggestions on certain rubrical points which his Lordship has not noticed.

1. The propriety of chanting the *Venite;* for it seems inconsistent with its avowed object, "O come let us *sing,*" only to recite it, without intonation.

2. The needfulness of always using the anthem—or, at least, some singing after the third collect, to show that the Litany is a separate office; and though we may not yet expect the recitation of the Litany in the body of the church, or at the Litany-stool, yet, where there are two or more ministers, that one who has not said the prayers should say the Litany, to preserve the same distinction.

3. The need of some direction whether the sick should be announced before the Litany, or in it, or at both times?

Digitized by Google

4. And, also, whether the Lord's prayer at the commencement of the Communion service should be said by all the people, or only by the minister?

5. That no singing whatever should precede the sermon. The only singing allowed in the eucharistic office, is of the responses, the creed, the *Gloria* before the Gospel, the *Tersanctus*, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*. It is significant that, after the Gospel, the Creed immediately follows, without "here endeth the Gospel;" as though, to show that the Creed is an expansion and continuation of the Gospel. So, after the Gospel, should follow the sermon, as its expansion and explication; for which reason it was once ordered that the subject of the sermon should be taken from the Gospel of the day.

6. That the "bidding prayer," before sermon, should always be used, instead even of a selected collect. It is sometimes maintained that the "bidding prayer" was intended only for sermons where no service had preceded, as in the Universities; but the terms of the 55th canon are explicit—it is to be used before "all sermons." And if the fact be disputed, that the "bidding prayer" was ever generally ordered and used in all parish churches, Bishop Wren's injunctions to the diocese of Norwich show what was the exact practice at his time, 1636:

"That the prayer before the sermon, or homily, be exactly according to the 55th canon, *mutatis mutandis*, only to move the people to pray in the words there prescribed, and no otherwise, unless he desire to interpose the name of the two Universities, and of a patron; and no prayer to be used in the pulpit, after sermon, but the sermon to be concluded with 'Glory be to the Father,' &c.; and so come down from the pulpit."—*Cardwell, Documentary Annals*, ii. 201.

And if it be objected that the subjects of the "bidding prayer," and of the "prayer for the Church Militant," are identical, the rationale seems to be, that the "bidding prayer" prescribes the matter,—(it is not itself a prayer,)—and the prayer for the Church Militant fulfils such bidding, or injunction. Rather than opposed to each other, the two are eminently consistent.

7. Of the place for dismissing the non-communicants we trust on another occasion to speak at large: it will be sufficient here to suggest that, even if the non-communicants are dismissed after the sermon, which is wrong, they should retire without any blessing, (or if any, which is also wrong, only with "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.")* The loss which they suffer by turning their backs upon the altar will then be practically realized; and the preacher should immediately return to the altar, and remain there, without any voluntary from the organ, or singing, and without retiring to the vestry, to show that the

* The greater blessing, "Pax Dei," being peculiar to the Eucharistic office, when the evening sermon follows all the prayers, should be used after it only the minor Apostolic benediction, "The grace of our Lord," &c.

Digitized by Google

people who quit the church disturb and disarrange the service, and not he.

8. That during the bidding prayer, and during the ascription of glory, &c., which concludes the sermon, the congregation should stand; also during the notice for communion, if required; during the offertory; also during the address to communicants, "Dearly beloved in the Lord;" during the Tersanctus, and during the Gloria in Excelsis.

9. That the preface to the Tersanctus, "Wherefore with Angels and Archangels," &c. should be intoned by the Priest alone; the congregation, or choir, commencing with "Holy, holy," &c.

10. That when either of the two exhortations to receive the Holy Communion are required, it should follow immediately after the sermon.

11. That the communicants should not retire till the consecrated elements are consumed; and that whoever partakes in the remainder of the consecrated elements, whether clergy or people, should do so kneeling, and that the oblation of the elements and alms should be made by the priest kneeling. On this point, however, we speak with hesitation; or, perhaps, the distinction of offering the elements standing, such being rather the sacerdotal attitude, and the alms kneeling, might be right. The Rubric requires, in the latter case, that the priest shall "*humbly present* and place the bason on the holy table;" and the Scotch Liturgy orders that "the presbyter shall *humbly present it before the Lord,* and place it, &c." Now this "humble presentation," and "humble presentation before the Lord," distinguished from the act of placing on the Lord's table requires, as we think, some distinction of gesture; and on this we ground our suggestion. Where the deacons or churchwardens are required "*reverently* to bring it to the priest," kneeling seems the most fitting reverence which they can pay. In the Coronation office, "The king and queen go to the steps of the altar, and *kneel down* there, and the king offers bread and wine, &c., which are by the archbishop received and *reverently* placed on the altar, &c. Then the king, *kneeling, as before,* makes his second oblation, offering a mark weight of gold." At St. George's Chapel, in Windsor, the king and knights of the garter make their offerings, *kneeling;* so do the dean and clergy at Canterbury; each separately and *kneeling.* It may be well to add, from L'Estrange, (Alliance, p. 179,) "Bishop Andrewes faulteth the Churchwardens going up and down to receive the alms. *Sapit hæc collectio per singula capita* Genevensem *morem.*" The Scotch Rubric, altered according to his suggestion, requires the people to go to the deacon, or churchwarden, and then offer. "And *when all have offered,* he shall reverently bring the said bason, &c."—See *Keeling, Liturgiæ Britannicæ,* p. 186.

Digitized by Google

12. That when there are clergy in the chancel during the first service and litany, they should kneel away from the holy table, and only approach it at the Introit. To use the Lord's table as a leaning board throughout the prayers seems indecorous.

13. That, among other reasons, the morning sermon should be preached in the surplice, to show that it is part of the eucharistic office. The morning sermon is eminently, at least in theory, *ad fideles;* the evening sermon, especially when it displaces catechizing, might well be of a more elementary and awakening character, as addressed to catechumens and hearers: and by keeping this distinction in view, many things, fit for scarcely more than heathen, and yet which the sad circumstances of the time render most needful, might be reserved for the evening or afternoon sermon, which it would be most distressing to say in the course of the eucharistic office: to pray people to come and be converted, in the very middle of the mysteries, does seem most incongruous. Why might not this distinction in the character of teaching be brought out, in cathedrals, by preaching the morning sermon in the choir, and this especially to the faithful; and the afternoon sermon in the nave, and this especially to the people at large?

14. That in the solemnization of matrimony, all the first part of the office, or espousals, should be celebrated in the body of the church, otherwise the Rubric, which requires, "Then the ministers or clerks, going to the Lord's Table [that is, while going], shall say or sing the psalm following," cannot be observed.

15. That neither the time nor place for churching seems defined. Bishop Wren's injunctions before the rebellion (already quoted), and, as we are informed, the injunctions given at the restoration, are noticeable:

"ix. That the Churching of Women begin as soon as the minister comes up to the communion table, before the second service."

But this settles nothing about a churching at evensong.

And we may as well cite from the same valuable document other seasonable hints:

"x. That women to be churched, come and kneel at a side near the communion table, without the rail, being veiled according to custom, and not covered with a hat;* or otherwise not to be churched, but presented at the next general [visitation?]

"xi. That they go up to the holy table at marriages, *at such time thereof as the rubric so directeth.*

"xv. That all communicants come up severally and kneel before the rail to receive the holy communion; and that the minister repeat to *every* communicant *severally*, all the words, &c.

"xx. That the minister's desk do not stand with the back to the chancel.

"xxiv. [most needful for these times.] That all *lecturers* behave themselves *modestly* in their sermons: preaching faith, obedience, and good works.

* Included in which, we presume, are bonnets. The costume still used by females at confirmations, seems most appropriate.

Digitized by Google

"xxvi. That there be no difference of ringing to Church when there is a sermon, more than when there is none."*

16. That in the order for burial, all corpses be brought into the church. To omit the first part of the service, or to charge extra fees for it, is undoubtedly illegal, as well as uncharitable.

17. In the commination service, to read all the first part of the service in the pulpit, and to commence the penitential psalm in the reading-desk. The more proper course would be to read the first part in the reading-desk, and the latter at the litany stool, (see the plate prefixed to Sparrow's Rationale,) where there is one, or even at the altar rails, "between the porch and the altar." It may be worthy of notice also, that this latter portion of the service, including Psalm 51, should be recited by the clergy alone: "The priests and *clerks*† [in orders] shall say this Psalm;" of course, to preserve the intercessory character of the office. "Let the *priests*, the ministers of the Lord, weep, &c., and let *them* say, Spare thy people, O Lord, &c." That most offensive ecclesiastical nondescript, the parish clerk, the clerk not in orders, should be silent during the psalm at marriages, burials, and churchings also.

18. It seems a sign of better, and, we trust, not distant, things, to find a bishop classing together the objections against "*copes* and surplices."—(Bishop of London's Charge, p. 74.) The use of copes is enjoined distinctly in cathedral and collegiate churches by the twenty-fourth Canon; indeed they are still used, as we find by a recent print of the coronation of Queen Victoria. And "the principal minister" in such foundations is as much bound to wear a cope by the law of the Church, as all others are to wear the surplice.

Many persons have affected to draw a subtle distinction between the Bishop of London's Rubrical directions; as though some were simply suggestions, and others positive orders. We cannot see this; uniformity is the object which his Lordship had in view; and to secure this there is but one way; that is, for all the clergy to do the same thing—to carry out the principles and practices—we mean distinctive practices of the Church, completely and thoroughly—to turn the same way during the public service, for example;‡ this would produce a visible and touching harmony. So would uniformity in vestments; and, as in either case it is unquestionable which is most consonant to the true spirit of the Church, we cannot understand how honest men can hesitate about these points. These are things which common people can understand, and visible uniformity is a great

* A strange practice still exists in some country parishes, of making such a distinction in peals, when there is no afternoon sermon.

† Not as elsewhere, "here shall be said or sung," which implies the congregation generally.

‡ If it should be said that this were impracticable when the pulpit and reading-desk are stuck in the middle of the church before the altar, then we answer, the greater reason for removing this most offensive arrangement.

Digitized by Google

step towards spiritual unity. "*Segnius irritant*, &c." We do not want these things as party-badges; either all must adopt, or all must neglect them; but with respect to the latter course, surely it is a little too much to ask, that they who have carried out such observances before the late Charge, should now relinquish them, in order to be uniform with those who do not choose to adopt their ordinary's suggestions. This is reciprocity very one-sided.

Indeed, we are compelled to say, that amid much that is gratifying with reference to the reception given to the Bishop of London's Charge, there is much that is disheartening; and this in those very quarters where we had a right to expect better things. On the one hand, it is comforting to find that obedience, though somewhat partial, is paid in many places to its directions. That men of schools so opposite as Mr. Hartwell Horne, (whose patronizing air towards the bishop struck us as very characteristic, also the *naive* defence which he contrives to introduce of his old practice,) and Mr. Bagnal-Baker, unite in even a tolerable measure of compliance, is very consoling. The sermons preached at St. James's, Enfield, are not only in themselves interesting, but show the hearty and grateful way in which the Bishop's Charge was received in another quarter; and Mr. Dampier's sermon, preached at Coggeshall, preparatory to the commencement of the daily service, is highly interesting, not only on account of the occasion, but for its own sensible tone. Indeed, we hear very favourable accounts from all parts of the country, (see for instance page 194 of our present Number,) and in one or two additional London churches, the daily service has been commenced since the delivery of the Charge.* Even in doctrine we perceive some modifications; as in the "Churchman's Monthly Review," which now allows that regeneration, in some sense, is conveyed in Baptism. Nor are the benefits of the Charge confined to the diocese in which it was delivered. Archdeacon Wilkins' excellent sermon, preached at Nottingham, may be quoted as an instance of the cordial way in which the Bishop of London's principles find sympathy even in places removed from the beneficial influence of his rule.

But on the other hand we are compelled in sorrow to ask, why no more has been done in the metropolis itself? Not only have we to complain of apathy, but of open disobedience. We hear strange

* It is gratifying to be able to specify some indications of a daily service at St. Bride's, Fleet Street. At present it is promised for Lent only; (why so long delayed?) and its continuance is to be contingent on the numbers of the congregation. We are not altogether satisfied that what has for its main object the glory of God should be thus made a mere matter of experiment: if the daily service be right, "whether they will hear or whether they will forbear," it is equally our duty to offer it. However, with Mr. Dale, as we have much in common, so we hail even this promise as the sign of a much closer union; and since present events are rapidly developing latent tendencies, we augur great good from that school of which the Vicar of St. Bride's may be considered the type.

Digitized by Google

stories; that the clergy of a parish or neighbourhood should meet in order to see how compliance can best be managed, and to vie with each other in devising means for paying respect to their bishop, is natural and becoming; but that they should meet and put it to the vote whether the Charge should be attended to at all, and carry disobedience by a triumphant majority, (we allude to rumours which are tolerably rife,) is what we do not like to talk about. Though we may express considerable fears about these large clerical meetings, especially certain annual gatherings, in and near London, of a particular school, conducted as they are with a set subject and crack speakers, a kind of *μικρὰ μυστήρια* preparatory to initiation before the greater hierophants of Exeter Hall, that Protestant Eleusis; such, even though they assume to be private, cannot but foster party-spirit in its worst form. We will adopt the Bishop of Down and Connor's remarks on similar, but more public, meetings, which take place annually in Dublin:

"I would have you to consider how far periodical meetings of clergymen, of the second and third orders in the metropolis, from the several dioceses of the country, without canonical or statutable authority, and without episcopal sanction, superintendence, and control, under the presidency of a presbyter, for the offering of open unauthorised prayers, and for the public discussion of stated theological subjects, be agreeable to the constitution, the discipline, the good order, and the welfare of the national Church."—*Charge to the Clergy of Down, &c.* p. 33.

But, were it possible, we have a more serious matter for remonstrance with another school in the Church. It requires but little difficulty, where a clergyman, from inveterate prejudice and education, is only not a dissenter by accident,—his associations, studies, and teaching being all in that direction,—to understand why *he* refuses compliance: nay, though we know him to be very wrong, we can almost enter into his feelings, especially when he avows, as Mr. Yorke does, that a "low churchman is one who considers the Church a *human thing;* and therefore glories in the name," (p. 27.) Taking into account his distressing views of the Episcopal office, we can fancy such an one boldly defying his Bishop, and openly proclaiming and "glorying in his shame." But that men of education, dignitaries of the Church,—men who know, or lay ostentatious claims to knowing, better than everybody else, what the true spirit of the Church is,—incumbents of the largest and most influential parishes in London, whose flocks comprise the flower of the land, not the noble in birth alone, but they who boast the best nobility of learning, earnestness and devotion to the Church,—that such men, we say, with all around them inspiriting them to do their duty; with the inferior clergy only clogged and fettered by the supineness of their superiors; with the laity anxiously waiting, nay all but demanding* the full treasures of the Church at the

* We should much like to know what has become of the endowment of twenty pounds per annum for a daily service, morning and evening, at St. Paul's, Covent

Digitized by Google

hands of their appointed stewards;—that such men should pause thus long is to us unaccountable. That they should still intend to persist in committing and sanctioning all sorts of rubrical violations, is what we can scarcely believe: and if they do so, from the miserable dread of offending their flocks, let them think well, whether this is not looking at the thing on the wrong side. Let them be assured that the laity are *not* with them. Men who can read their Prayer-books, are not slow at discovering what is, and what is not, obedience to the requirements of the Church; and if, to put it on the lowest ground, they intend to retain the dutiful affections of their people, and to win respect, let them move. The world is far too intelligent not to see the right and the wrong of the present state of things; and it will not be pleasant to be driven into duty by the indignant remonstrances of the laity themselves. We can sympathize with Mr. Yorke when he says, that the Bishops should no longer recommend but enjoin:—

"They should unanimously command at once, and that with the utmost freedom and the most honest perspicuity. There would then be no difficulty in the line the clergy should follow. If they *could* conscientiously obey the injunction, they would immediately do so; if not, they would withdraw from the Church."—P. 23.

And to this, we take it, things must come sooner or later. If such should withdraw, we have the comforting assurance, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." Of such, though they committed the sin of schism, we should have great hopes: daily would we pray God to pardon their errors, trusting that He would do so, in merciful consideration of their honest hearts. Of such we say, that we should be far more hopeful—confident, that is, in their singleness of purpose, candour, zeal (though mistaken,) and integrity, than in the hollow vaunt of attachment to the Church of the mere cold-hearted literary man of the world, who stands aloof from any and everything which would put energy and life into the Church; who stands idling with his hands in his pockets, watching the winds, and calculating the possible deficiency of pew-rents. If we might venture to say so, the Bishop of London's kindness has been taken unfair advantage of in this matter: he only *recommended*, it is true, because he, estimating his clergy according to his own generous nature, imagined that a *suggestion* from him would be received

Garden; "the settlement of which was made by Mr. Thursby, the able lawyer, and which was put into the parish chest, there to be preserved." This endowment was procured under very touching circumstances, by the excellent Symon Patrick, then rector (see his Autobiography, p. 90.) At the time he wrote, divine service was celebrated thrice a day; and after speaking of the good attendance at his own daily services, he concludes with a prayer, "I hope they will continue to do so." Negligence certainly, we trust not sacrilege, has done its work: the service is entirely discontinued.

Digitized by Google

as a *direction*;—injunctions must come next. Where the plea of ignorance cannot, and would not, be urged, we must quote the nursery apophthegm, "the little bird that *can* sing and won't sing, must be *made* to sing."

We owe some apology to our readers for the length to which these remarks have run; but we trust that the importance of the subject may plead our excuse. If it shall lead but one of the clergy to review his present standing—to see what the spirit of the Church ever since the Reformation has been—to observe who they were who have made these same objections, which at present have, if so be, weighed with himself—in point of fact, to realize to himself whose battle, however unconsciously, he is now fighting, and whose principles, though unintentionally, he is now carrying out—and yet more, if such an one be moved by our humble suggestions, to see how most unfaithful to the doctrine of the Church are they who are most disobedient to her discipline; and how forcibly this truth is brought out in the critics of the Bishop of London's Charge, neither our time nor his time will have been spent in vain. Our heart's desire and prayer is, that "we may be one;" but we have now spoken, and often, it may be, strongly under the overpowering conviction, that we never shall be one till we all "say the same thing;" and that the "one mouth" is the best earnest and pledge of the "one body and one spirit." We have a perilous battle to fight; Satan is drawing his forces together; we have need of every soldier of the cross; united we must conquer; scattered and disunited, and presenting to the great enemy of souls a broken front, and a wavering line of soldiery, we must fail; and if the captains are treacherous the more certain is our defeat; but we know that we have life in us; the elements of victory are in us and around us; the very fact that we have stood so long—that we have survived the slow sapping of the neglect of centuries, as well as "all assaults of our open enemies," is our brightest omen—that we *have* outlived every storm, and hitherto under worse auspices, under God's blessing, convinces us that we shall weather this; nay, prophecy* seems to shew that suffering and storm such as we have endured are the conditions of final blessing:

"O thou *afflicted, tossed with tempest, and not comforted*, behold I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness shalt thou be established: thou shalt be far from oppression; for thou shalt not fear: and from terror; for it shall not come near thee."

* In those cheering words which occur in the service of the day on which we are writing, St. Thomas's Eve.—*Isaiah* liv. 11—14.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Narrative of the Expedition to China. By Commander J. Elliot Bingham, R.N. 2 vols. H. Colburn. 1842.

A work of no excessive pretension, but unnecessarily extended to two volumes octavo by dint of very large print, and paper of a most *un-Chinese* thickness. There is in the style a little of the professional off-handedness, which, however pleasant in private intercourse with officers, we pronounce, after the frequent experience of late years, to be in their literary performances too often an affectation, and a mere excuse for superficiality. In the writings of our old voyagers there is a remarkable gravity and simple painstaking, through which the inevitable traits of the profession break with all the agreeableness of contrast and unconsciousness. Now our naval and military pen-wielders put us in mind of their respective characters on the stage, the former never taking three steps without hitching up their trousers, the others never off the very tiptoe of hero-dandyism. Mr. Bingham, however, is not very faulty in this particular, only he may in his next book be possibly even less so, and it will be, we think, to the advantage of the work. One word more. It is a very grave thing to investigate international transactions, and portion off the blame of a war between two races of mankind. Mr. Bingham states much very clearly, but there are departments he has not been led to attend to. We will only suggest the possibility of the Chinese being insolent and dishonest in many particulars, and affording finally sufficient pretexts for hostilities; and, at the same time, of our having done anything *but* avoid developing those tendencies on their part which we afterwards punished. We may use a man's faults against himself, and make his path slippery before him; and this is possible also between nations. Mr. Bingham will therefore see that, many and accurate as are the facts he states, he has not exhausted the inquiry, and, not exhausting, we regret he should have commenced it. One thing is certain, that the Chinese empire, like all nations and all individuals, is rebuked through the instrumentality of its own delinquencies. Our share of guilt is another matter, and requiring a different place for its exposition. We give the following extracts.

"The temples of Ching-hai are amongst the finest in China. On entering the huge and deep gateway, a colossal figure is seen seated on each side,—the right hand one being the warrior Chin-ky, while the one on the left is Chin-loong; but a high railing prevents the curious from touching them. After examining these seated giants, you pass to a large open quadrangle, one side of which is appropriated to the dormitories of the priests, and the

Digitized by Google

other consists of a long narrow apartment, with altars before three of their gods, who occupy arm-chairs, having elegant lanterns suspended before them. The first is an aged figure, with a long black beard, apparently sleeping, the countenance expressing the most perfect repose. The second is a female, the goddess Teenhow, the queen of heaven. The third is a male figure, with eight arms newly gilt, and apparently lately established in his domicile. He is no doubt of Indian origin. The fourth side of the quadrangle is occupied by the Temple. No sooner do you step clear of the screen which is before the door than you are struck with the magnificence of the carving and the colossal Budha seated on the lotus flower..... Behind these are mirrors of the famous 'petung,' or white copper, which when polished is not easily distinguished from silver."

We cannot forbear here referring to Mr. Bradford's interesting work on American Antiquities, in which the connexion, in this and a thousand other particulars, between the Mexican and the great Mongol race of Asia and its islands is ably advocated.

"Passing round a large square building behind the Budha, you find a row of thirty of his disciples as large as life, of different ages and sexes, all in a standing posture, but in different attitudes. ..... The play of the human passions is exquisitely depicted in their countenances..... on the whole they are good specimens of the fine arts in China."

Mr. Bingham was afterwards justly shocked to find the crucifix and many of the images introduced by the Jesuits set up in Chinese shops for sale with the native idols. Many of the symbols, however, which struck these missionaries as proofs that Christianity had been before heard of in China, may possibly be fragments of the great primitive revelation of the Messiah, the thoughts connected with which we find for ever more or less distinctly reappearing in every mythology. Yet it is not to be hastily denied that glimmerings of the truth may have reached the uttermost ends of the earth soon after the advent of the Saviour. We understand that there is reason to expect the appearance of a work written expressly to prove that the disciples of St. Thomas, possibly St. Thomas himself, had reached South America by the Indian Ocean at a very early period. It is an interesting region for inquiry—this mixture of the highest truth in all the mazes and horrors of idolatry, but one which requires to be wisely and reverently trod.

If Mr. B. do not exaggerate in saying that in this temple

"Kwanzin, the goddess of mercy, riding on a dolphin in a troubled sea, distributing her acts of grace, and exhibiting her power to save, would have been looked upon as a splendid piece of art had it been discovered in Greece instead of a small Chinese island,"

the Celestial Empire has allowed itself to be sadly libelled by the only specimens of its statuary we have hitherto been permitted to export.

"Tang-hai possesses a foundling-hospital," (is this the land of legalized infanticide?) "and one for decrepit and aged

Digitized by Google

persons," as does Canton and various other cities, not to speak of those specially set apart for lepers. The arsenals of Tang-hai, like all we have found, were extensive and in beautiful order. The fate of the Record-Office will not, we fear, redound to our honour either in Europe or China.

"This being the capital of Kein, the Six Boards were in existence there, each having its own peculiar office filled with old and mouldy archives, which had been treasured for so long a period that it became an arduous job to examine them. . . . . For a length of time they rested in peace, until it was discovered the Ningho authorities had employed emissaries to steal them"—(very questionable *theft*, surely!)—"when their fate was decided, and all those ancient documents were committed to the flames."

That is to say, the moment practical proof was given of the high value attached to them, *the barbarians* sealed their fate. Their antiquity, the anxiety to save them amid all the excitement of war, proves that they must have been curious, and probably more than curious. How did the perpetrators of this detestable act know whether they were not destroying the records of families, of courts of law, registers of public and private possessions, thus, perhaps, doing deeper injury to property and morals than by sacking a score of villages? At a meeting the other day of the Paris Academy of Science, a paper was read on the last discovered comet, and reference was ordered to be made to the Chinese Archives existing in Paris. They were referred to, and the comet identified with one observed by the Chinese as far back as the third century of our era. How did the perpetrators of this monstrous cruelty know what other similar treasures they might possibly be devoting to the flames? Such things cannot be passed over without hurt to our reputation, and, what is worse, intrinsic degradation to the minds of those performing them.

Mr. Bingham gives a charming account of the treatment of one of our ships' crews wrecked at Loo Choo. One would fancy that the good people had seen some review of Basil Hall's work, and resolved to prove him right in spite of the critics. Their only breach of perfect politeness—and perhaps no injudicious one—consisted in not letting their ladies be once seen during the stay of our countrymen, and in their still more ungallant, though most amusingly ingenious, pretext—"that they were *so* ugly!" The looks of the males convinced our officers that so far their reasons were probably most libellous and unfounded. "They are low in stature, but well-formed and handsome, their colour being a dark *copper*, with teeth remarkable for their regularity and great whiteness, and having a very tranquil black eye." They built their unfortunate visitors a large vessel—loaded them with kindness—and *would take nothing*. No weapons of any kind were seen, and no harsher police observed than an occasional severe look and an admonitory tap with the fan. I

Digitized by Google

there some strange wisdom in the art of government yet hidden in the far East? All this, too, was no result of a sombre passion stifling rule, for they seem to have been lively and capable of hearty merriment.

There is a minute account at p. 264, Vol I., of a good-looking *dandy* Chinese cavalry officer, 6 feet 2 or 3 inches in height, and powerful in proportion—very polite, and as dexterous in the use of the fan as any lady of the "Rape of the Lock," or any of our quondam fops famous for their handling of a snuff-box, or "the nice conduct of a clouded cane." Poor fellow! he may have been one of the many described in our late despatches, as spurring their horses on our bayonets, and seeking death when all seemed irretrievably lost,—or "asking to be led to death as true Emperor's men,"—or leaving this world in some one of the various ways preferable in their eyes to surviving their country's degradation. In this the Tartars have only followed the example set by Chinese Viceroys and Generals, on different occasions of defeat by the former. It is recorded, we believe, in their annals, how the last city of the Empire was taken after every extremity of suffering had been bravely endured by the besieged—how the gates were at length thrown open, and the Tartars rushing in found their way to the Viceroyal palace. They proceeded from chamber to chamber, and found all orderly, but silent as the grave. At length they entered the banqueting hall, and there was revealed to them the secret of this unexpected reception. Many guests, the Viceroy's family and connexions, and all the provincial officers of state, were seated as at a feast,—but a feast at which one and all had drunk a long farewell to their country and to life. Their Chief alone remained, standing at the extremity of the awful scene; and when the conquerors entered, he also pledged them in the poisoned cup, and made them welcome to the splendid inheritance of his office. We cannot but applaud some of the impulses which *prompt* to self-immolation amid the loss of so much that man should love more than life, however sincerely we may value the faith which teaches to endure to the end. That faith is to teach us to endure, not to blunt the high and unselfish feelings which cause, the suffering. He that lives and does not suffer in such a case, is worse than he that suffers and does not submit. The one wants pure and natural affection, the other, it may be, only knows not that he sins. All rightly-thinking men must have had their respect for the Chinese increased by the recent instances of self-devotion, and must rejoice that they are not all so entirely sunk in the sleep of a merely sensual civilization as has been generally supposed. The Church's missionaries have all the better foundation to work upon, and like the *more noble ones* of Berœa, the race whom Xavier longed to baptize, but died ere he could reach, may, by God's blessing, yet prove that

Digitized by Google

they are not without sympathy for all that is pure, and virtuous, and true, and bear large and fitting fruit to the religion of self-sacrifice. The sooner the Church's missionaries succeed to the bayonet and the hateful opium-smuggler, the better. We should visit them with inwardly cherished feelings of grief for the evil we have done them, and lift up the voice of prayer, that we may be permitted to make up to that countless people for the vice and degradation we have diffused among them, for the blows we have struck at their government and laws, for the prosperity we have shaken, and the blood that we have shed. With the Church, and with the Church alone, now lies the faculty to bind up these wounds of nations, and arrest the retribution awaiting them whose hands have inflicted them.

Proverbial Philosophy: — a Book of Thoughts and Arguments, originally treated by MARTIN FARQUHAR TUPPER, Esq., M.A. *of Christ Church, Oxford.* Second series. London: Hatchard. 8vo. p. 315. 1842.

OUR recollection of Mr. Tupper's first series is not very vivid, but we are inclined to think that the present volume is, upon the whole, superior to its predecessor. There is certainly "philosophy" in it, and that sanctified by very earnest religious feeling; and it exhibits considerable powers of rhythm.

A specimen or two will be acceptable to those who do not happen to have met with either series. The chapter "on gifts" thus concludes:—

"I saw a beggar in the street, and another beggar pitied him;
Sympathy sank into his soul, and the pitied one felt happier:
Anon passed by a cavalcade—children of wealth and gaiety;
They laughed, and looked upon the beggar, and the gallants flung him gold:
He, poor spirit-humbled wretch, gather'd up their givings with a curse;
And went—to share it with his brother, the beggar that had pitied him."

Again:

"O mysteries! ye all are one—the mind of an inexplicable Architect
Dwelleth alike in each, quickening and moving in them all.
Fields, and forests, and cities, with their woes, and wealth, and works,
And customs, and contrivances of life, with all we see and know.
For a little way, a little while, we hang dependent on each other;
But all are held in one right hand; and by His will we are.
Here is answer unto mystery, an unintelligible God,
This is the end and the beginning: it is reason that he be not understood.
Therefore it were probable and just, even to a man's weak thinking,
To have one for God who always may be learnt yet never fully known:
That He from whom all mysteries spring—in whom they all converge—
Throned in His sublimity, beyond the grovellings of lower intellect,
Should claim to be truer than men's truest, the boasted certainty of numbers,
Should baffle his arithmetic—confound his demonstrations—and paralyze the
might of his necessity;
Standing supreme as the mystery of mysteries—everywhere, yet impersonate,—
Essential One in three—essential three in One!

Digitized by Google

It only surprises us, that one possessed of such deep reverential feelings should rest satisfied with the shallow popular religion of the day. It is the sacramental system of the Church which alone is capable of answering these earnest longings; and it is the author's unacquaintance with this system which imparts a chill and disappointment to his best subjects.

Waverley Novels, Abbotsford Edition. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1842. 1st vol. royal 8vo. Pp. 674.

WHAT a tempting opportunity for that which is as close to our heart, as this noble volume is to our eyes: a general view of the character of Scott's mind and genius. It is time, not will, that we want; and perhaps we may be enabled some day to supply it. But often and often as we have read Waverley and Guy Mannering, it was never with so much satisfaction as in the present beautiful form: it is the first time that these undying works have been fittingly enshrined. We scarcely know on which of its numerous beauties to enlarge: the typography—it really is almost an honour to us that our Review and this edition issue from the same press—the illustrations, not only for their pictorial, but historical value—the binding, though one perhaps less fanciful and gorgeous might have been preferred—the profusion of ornament, or the proper spirit of the publishers. And, which is noticeable, it is the very thing which Scott himself would have delighted in—here are sketches of real actual claymores, and the genuine Andrew Ferrara—true depictions of the Chevalier's *caligæ*—the Blessed Bear no longer a creature of the imagination, but stump, squat, awkward, and capacious, there he stands, on the Baron's own sideboard, grouped with a wreathing nautilus shell, like Rose Bradwardine on the arm of her gaunt sire: and, which affected us deeply, Scott's own chair, with his own crutch-headed stick, his identical plaid, and the very shoes, "high-lows," in which he used to trudge the live-long day with his honest forester. Never was a book so *real* as this.

And we are glad, on higher grounds, to see the revival of this peculiar branch of decorative art: we are, we trust, by such undertakings training up, or creating rather, a school of art, which will do the Church, to which all our thoughts tend, good service. The fact, that pictures are so acceptable to children, proves that childlike minds may find much food, spiritual food we mean, from such aids to devotion: and we seek by all means to restore that spirit and holy feeling which produced the illuminations of the middle ages, and haply the temper which they contributed to produce. What so beautiful, and yet more, what so heartening and holy, as a collection of the hymns of the Church, with graphic commentaries in the severe school of Overbeck and Cornelius, and Scheffer, in all the power and truth of a bas-relief—a solemn frieze as it were, that singular symbol of unending succession? and interchanged with this, the prodigal and playful luxuries of that peculiar German school of art, which has illus-

Digitized by Google

trated Goethe's Ballads, for instance: where tendrils and twining arabesques encircle the poem in a mystic frame of curious and most elaborate design; where the poetry addressed to the soul, and the poetry addressed to the eye, meet and commingle; the far off horizon, as it were, where earth and sky, sight and feeling, blend. There is one wood outline of the dead Meg Merrilies in the volume before us, which has all the austere solemnity of a mediæval monument; it lacks, and here the artist has shown true feeling, but the peace of christian calm, and the upraised hands, to be mistaken for a design relating to the records of Faith. In mentioning this, we are reminded of Scott's most painful ignorance of the true nature of Christ's Church. We are inclined to think well of, nay to reverence, the Church in Scotland; but how the Bishops and Priests of that Church could allow such a man as Scott, who was at least in nominal communion with her, to remain in such surprising ignorance, passes our comprehension. And yet, in spite of all, surrounded as he was by the most miserable associations, now and then the right chord is touched: and we suppose that this is the reason why the Baron of Bradwardine is our especial favourite. Do our readers remember?

"When they approached the Baron's post, they found the good old careful officer, after having sent out his night's patrols, and posted his sentinels, engaged in *reading the Evening Service of the Episcopal Church* to the remainder of his troop. His voice was loud and sonorous, yet the circumstances of the danger in which they stood [the evening before the battle of Preston-pans] gave an impressive and solemn effect to the office of devotion. * * * * * * * As he shut the book, 'Now lads,' said he, 'have at them in the morning, with heavy hands and light consciences.'"—*Waverley*, p. 249.

But then what terrible stuff is the following: which is about the rationale of poor Scott's creed:

"'And you, Mr. Pleydell, what do you think of their points of difference?' [viz. between Drs. Erskine and Robertson.]

"'Why, I hope, Colonel Mannering, a plain man may go to heaven without thinking about them at all: besides, *inter nos*, I am a member of the suffering and Episcopal Church of Scotland—the shadow of a shade now, *and fortunately so*;—but I love to pray where my fathers prayed before me, without *thinking worse of* the Presbyterian forms, because they do not affect me with the same associations."—*Guy Mannering*, p. 559.

Views and Details of St. Giles's Church, Oxford. By James Park Harrison, B.A. *Christ Church.*

A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford. Part I.—*Deanery of Bicester.* Published for the Oxford Society for promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture.

These publications afford satisfactory proof that the Oxford Society is pursuing calmly and quietly the plain course of practical utility which it has so nicely laid down for itself from its commencement, and keeps steadily in view the object for which it was established—"the Study of Gothic Architecture."

The importance of this object can scarcely be over-rated, when we

Digitized by Google

consider the very low ebb to which our modern Gothic Architecture had fallen, and the gross ignorance which still generally prevails upon this subject among all classes, whether professional or non-professional. It is by careful study only that we can ever hope to see this mist of darkness dispelled; and whatever our contemporaries may think, there is no royal road to a correct knowledge of Gothic Architecture; and those who think to travel by railroad on this route will be very apt to find themselves as far from the mark they aimed at as when they started. Whatever may be asserted by those who are not conscious of their own ignorance, and have all the conceit, flippancy, and affectation which usually accompany this blissful state, they may rely upon it that the land is still enveloped in this dark mist of ignorance; and though we think we perceive glimmerings of daylight piercing through it, there are also many *ignes fatui* abroad, which are misleading their followers, and will only leave them stuck more firmly in the mire. The course which the Oxford Society is pursuing is the only one by which the general ignorance can be dispelled;—we can conceive no two series of publications better suited for this object than those before us. The first consists of sets of working drawings made from old churches, genuine specimens of Gothic Architecture, which should be laid side by side with the working drawings of any modern Gothic Church—and carefully compared in all points—arrangements, measurements, thickness and elevation of walls—and above all, in the details, sections of mouldings, and character of ornament. There are few, even of the best informed in the profession, who might not learn something from this comparison—and to the mass of those who call themselves architects it would open quite a new world; and, if they have eyes to see, will change the current of their ideas to an extent of which they had no previous conception. We are inclined, however, to think that the Society might have chosen better examples, that is to say, examples better suited for present wants. Neither Stanton Harcourt, nor St. Giles's, nor Haseley, nor Fotheringay, are exactly suited for this purpose. We trust, however, that the Society will soon favour us with more examples, and will pay more attention to this particular. It is gratifying to observe, as a proof of the progress this study is making in Oxford, that these drawings of St. Giles's Church, which would do credit to a professional architect, are the work of a "Bachelor of Arts of Christ Church, Oxford." We trust that one of the effects of this Society will be, that a few gentlemen who have had the benefit of an University education will turn their attention to Gothic Architecture as a profession, and thus help to raise its professors in public estimation.

The Guide is more of an antiquarian character, and intended chiefly for the practical use of the junior members of the Society itself. It is admirably calculated for this purpose, and likely to be eminently useful, by putting young men in the right road at starting; and it is distinguished by a straightforward honesty of purpose—a freedom from affectation and cant, which is particularly pleasing to us, as contrasting strongly with the generality of the publications which the conceited ignorance of the age is daily pouring upon us.

The preface is useful and valuable; pointing out, with clearness, the chief stumbling-blocks which fall in the way of beginners, the

Digitized by Google

numerous specimens of transition work belonging partly to one style and partly to another. We observe, with pleasure, that this Society refuses to follow in the wake of Mr. Matthew Holbeck Bloxam, in his Saxon and semi-Norman fancies, or of Mr. Lewis, in his mystical theories. The success and attention which these works have met with are among the strongest proofs of the general ignorance of the age. For the Saxon theory, or rather fancy, an examination of the Church of Daglingworth in Gloucestershire, and a comparison of Sempting Church in Sussex, with the neighbouring church of New Shoreham, are a complete settler in the eyes of all those who can see without the use of coloured spectacles. As for Mr. Lewis, mysticism is so much the order of the day that we suppose he will continue to have his admirers for some time to come;—but facts are stubborn things, and will prevail in the end.

It is amusing to see the errors into which some parties are led by following these *ignes fatui*, and how ingeniously they endeavour to distort facts to make them agree with these preconceived theories.

The chancel of Islip Church, rebuilt of its full dimensions, in the time of Charles the Second, by the celebrated Dr. Robert South, with its appropriate furniture, which forms the first article in the Guide, affords valuable testimony to the prevalence of Catholic views at that period. We will not attempt to criticise or pick holes in so useful a publication. The only legitimate mode of criticising it would be to take it into the churches described, and see how far it answers its purpose—and this we will not pretend to do. We are glad to observe that the dates followed are consistent with history, and will bear a careful comparison with other contemporary buildings, and that here again the Society refuses to follow Mr. Bloxam in assigning a date half a century too early to the transition from the Norman style. The nave of Peterborough is conclusive against him; nor can he bring forward a single established *fact* in his favour. The nomenclature throughout is as simple and intelligible as possible, studiously avoiding the unnecessary use of hard words. In fact the fashion of coining new words for every thing is generally only a disguise for ignorance of those long since established, and in general use. We cannot conclude without entreating the other local Architectural Societies each to supply us with a similar Guide for its own immediate neighbourhood.

The Seven Sermons preached at the Consecration and Re-opening of the Parish Church of Leeds. With an Introduction. Second Edition. Green: Leeds.

We are glad to announce, that a second edition of these Sermons has just appeared, not only because the sound principles of piety and discipline they inculcate cannot be too widely disseminated, but because they are connected with, and no doubt will keep alive, an event which should never be forgotten by English churchmen. "It was a day of good

Digitized by Google

omen," says the Bishop of Salisbury, in his admirable sermon, preached at the last anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, wherein he alludes to the consecration of the Parish Church of Leeds :—

> "It was a day of good omen which proved that, for brotherly communion's sake, zeal and love could cross the broad Atlantic; and which exhibited the blessed, but unwonted, sight of bishops of two sister churches united with those of our own in the same celebration."

We observe that the present is, in many respects, an improvement upon the former impression. For instance, an appropriate heading is prefixed to each sermon, thus making reference to any particular passage more easy than before. Fac-similes of the autographs of the archbishop and bishops who solemnized and assisted at the consecration, and of the well-known preachers, are supplied. In addition to the external view of the Church, a ground-plan is added. The list of the clergy present on the occasion is more correct than the former, from the necessary haste in getting up the volume, could be ; though even now, knowing how almost impossible it is to give so long a list of names with precise accuracy, we should not be surprised at both omissions and occasional misprints. We observe also, that Mr. Teale, the editor, has added several interesting facts connected with the history of the Church in Leeds, to the introductory matter. Whatever commendations, therefore, were bestowed upon the former edition may even more deservedly be applied to this; and as we have already, in a previous number, presented our readers with our opinion of the publication, we shall, on the present occasion, adopt the criticism of an American contemporary, who says, "that the volume is altogether one such as it befits a churchman to write, a churchman to print, a churchman to present, and a churchman to receive."

The Art of Reading Church Music. By W. Marshall, Mus.D. *Oxon, &c. &c.* 12mo. Vincent : Oxford. 1842.

We have, as our readers are aware, been long watching with the deepest interest the efforts which have been made, from time to time, of late years, to revive the study and practice of the purely ecclesiastical style of Choral Music. We think that, upon the whole, the prospect is cheering. We find attention is now drawn to this important subject in many influential quarters where, before, Ancient Church Music was a complete "terra incognita." The works of the old masters, in what Dr. Crotch truly calls, *par excellence*, the *sublime* style, are beginning to be appreciated ; ears which, before, had been unaccustomed to any but the secular, and comparatively flippant compositions with which our modern cathedral books are filled, and which our present cathedral choirs are, alas! for the most part doomed to perform, have had opportunities of listening to the glorious and majestic harmonies of Palestrina, Vittoria, Bird, Gibbons,

Digitized by Google

and the other great musicians of a former age, and the result has been just what might have been expected, where the listeners were Catholic Christians, as well as men of taste. To minds of the right tone, indeed, this music speaks home, and to be appreciated, only requires to be thoroughly known. It is emphatically the *music of the sanctuary*, unworldly—religious. This is its characteristic and its glory; it will not do out of the church; nor must those who come to the house of God expecting to have their ears tickled with such strains as have pleased them elsewhere, rebel, because they find the church speaking, as she does in the tones of the ancient music, a severer and more solemn language. Her divine offices require it, and to celebrate them with the gaudy ornaments and trappings of the world, in music, or anything else, is but to debase and profane them. With the admiration and appreciation of Ecclesiastical Music, has risen up a desire to cultivate it practically; and what delights us more than all, is, to find the young clergy beginning to study the elements of music, with the intention, doubtless, of rendering themselves competent to celebrate Choral service, as well as to regulate, with a full knowledge of what they are about, the musical arrangements of their churches—matters, alas! hitherto usually confided to the management of some ignorant performer on the organ, with his staff of charity boys. We venture to look forward to the time, when Church Music will become a regular branch of study with candidates for holy orders. A knowledge of vocal music would, in fact, over and above its high end, furnish one of the most delightful recreations to men engaged from day to day in classical and theological pursuits, and would serve the double purpose of unbending the mind, and bringing out a talent, afterwards to be turned to good account in the ministration of the sanctuary.

The little work which we have placed at the head of this notice, has been called forth by the revived attention to ecclesiastical music among the churchmen of our day; and we are led by a conviction of its soundness and utility, earnestly to recommend it as a class-book in all public seminaries, as well as in private musical classes and families. In doing so, we shall mention, briefly, its characteristic merits, which will have, at the same time, the effect of putting our readers on their guard against other publications, professing to be guides to the attainment of musical knowledge, but which, in many cases, are founded on very shallow, and even erroneous principles.

We have long known the difficulty felt by most persons, of mastering the various staffs (improperly called clefs, in common language,) in use in choral music, and have seen them entirely abandoned, while we felt their exceeding importance, and the thorough shallowness of the arguments adopted to make them appear needless. Nothing can be well more absurd than to suppose that, if the instruction were really fundamental, it could be at all easier to sing or play from lines to which the notes we are to sing or play do not belong, than from those to which they do; or to think (unless some fundamentally bad habit has been already formed,) that it can be more simple for a man to sing his part from notes which belong to a woman's voice, than from those which belong to the voices of his own sex. We have been astonished to hear the C clef, and the intermediate staffs spoken of as obsolete and

Digitized by Google

as needless to retain. These remarks proceed from entire ignorance of the fact, that the majority of voice parts, in all cathedral music, and much of the music in daily use in every orchestra, is of necessity so written. The general revival of choral singing for religious purposes, is bringing back the necessity for a knowledge of these parts of musical notation, which, it is rightly observed, have been neglected, only from the prevalence of ballad-singing, and mere instrumental execution.

In order to pave the way for this it requires some well-connected view, put out in a simple and elementary manner, of the entire Musical Staff; and, until the appearance of the Letters in the Educational Magazine, so candidly referred to by Dr. Marshall, in his preface, no modern work, and we do not know that any ancient work, had suggested a remedy. The leading feature of the work before us, which strikes us the moment we open the book, and more especially the exercises which we have had an opportunity of seeing, although not as yet before the public, is the adoption of the Red Line for the ledger line (never printed except in some of the intermediate staffs) which stands between the treble and bass staffs, and contains the note called Middle C.

It appears that the general mistake into which masters have fallen is the teaching each pupil those parts only of the general staff which refer to the particular instrument which he is learning, or to his particular compass of voice. The object of using the red line, which may or not hereafter be dropped, is to force upon the attention of all learners the very important fact of the central position of that note, whether looked at in relation to the great scale of the collected human voice, or the staff itself as at present in use, or its position amongst the harmonic scales as the *natural* key note. This being made the groundwork of the mode of instruction recommended, at once shows the learner the perfect connexion of the whole, and he learns, at first, the relation of his own vocal portion to the portions assigned to others, instead of either *mis*representing his own voice by using for it symbols which represent notes not belonging to his voice or looking upon the various vocal staff's as disjointed and unconnected.

We imagine this to be the first book of instruction in which this method has been, at least in modern times, systematically worked out. It has been glanced at in one or two works of popular instruction, as we observe, but subsequently to the appearance of the letters spoken of;—and our hope is that it will be very generally adopted, as being the only method we know of by which the perfect connexion and mutual relation of all the parts in choral music is "in limine" brought before the learner.

It also greatly facilitates the reading of any staff that may be placed before a pupil. In fact we have personal evidence that a child at a very early age will learn to read upon this system at once from any staff, even if it has not before been in the habit of seeing it. It would also be a very great step towards the power of transposing music at sight when coupled with that which forms in this, as in other sound works on musical instruction, the first thing to be learnt, viz. the knowledge of every interval in the scale. In this work it is illustrated

Digitized by Google

in a clear manner by a scale taken, as is said, from some Italian work on the Gregorian Tones.

We cannot do better than present our readers with portions of the third and fourth chapters, which contain the most important part of the explanation of the connected staff and its various subdivisions.

In treating of the lines, the author says—

"There are *eleven* in use in Church music, containing all the notes of the *ordinary* human voice; that is, from the lower notes of the male to the upper notes of the female voice.

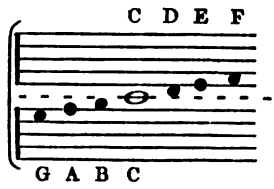
"When several of these lines are bracketed together, they are called a *staff*.

"For organ or pianoforte music, all eleven are used, excepting the middle line.

"It is, however, the ordinary custom to print the five upper and the five lower lines much more widely apart; but it must not be forgotten that there is only one line really between them; that is to say, there are only three notes between the two sets of five lines, *viz.* the note below the upper five, the note above the lower five, and the note on that middle line; and that note is middle C. Sometimes called Tenor C.

[*The middle line is, for distinction, printed in red wherever it occurs in this work, though we are obliged in this place to distinguish it only by dots.*]

"The note C standing upon that central line, the notes B, A, G, &c., of course stand successively below it, and the notes D, E, F, follow in their order above it.



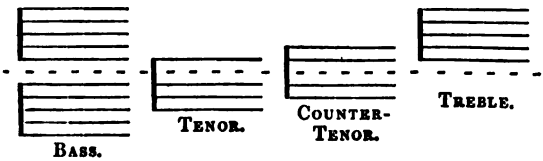
"This note C, which we call the chief or prime, is nearly at the top of a man's voice, and at the bottom of a woman's or boy's voice. The staff, or set of five lines below it, contains the notes most common to men's voices; and the staff, or set of five lines above it, contains the notes most common to women's or boys' voices.

"Above and below these eleven lines there may be more added. When added, they are called ledger-lines.

"There are several kinds of men's, women's, and boys' voices; that is, some can sing higher, and some can sing lower notes than others. Harmonized music, to be complete, generally requires four parts, though it may have more. The four kinds of voices, for which staff's are provided, most commonly used for Church music, are called,—

"1. The *Bass*, which is the lowest part.
"2. The *Tenor*.
"3. *Contralto*, or what is called *Counter-Tenor*.
} Which are intermediate parts.
"4. Either the *Treble* or the *Soprano*, one of which usually contains the melody.

"In these or any other cases, FIVE out of the eleven lines are sufficient to contain the notes which ought to be given to the voice of one person in Church music. Thus, the five lines below the C line are the set given to *Bass* voices. The five lines above the C line are the set given to *Treble* voices. The C line, with one line above it and three below it, are the set given to *Tenor* voices. The C line, with two lines above and two below it, are the set given to *Counter-Tenor* voices.



"When any five of these lines are placed together, it is easily known which lines of the eleven they are, by certain marks called *Clefs* (from the French *clef*, or key). Of these marks there are three:—

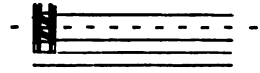
called the C Clef; the F Clef; the G Clef.

Digitized by Google

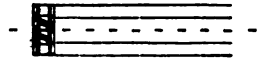
They are placed on the lines on which the note C (*i.e.* middle C), the note F, a fifth below middle C, and the note G, a fifth above middle C, respectively stand.

"When the middle or C line is one of the five,* the C Clef is placed across the staff at the beginning of it, so that the C line runs between the two thick cross bars of the Clef.

"Thus in the staff for *Tenor* voices:—

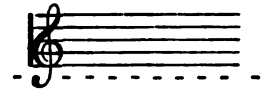


"And thus in the staff for *Contralto* voices:—

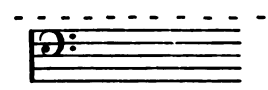


"When the C line is not one of the five, as in the *Treble* or *Bass* staff, then either the G Clef or the F Clef is used, and points out which staff it is.

"Thus, in the staff for *Treble* voices, the curled part of the G Clef line, on which G, a fifth above middle C, stands is placed on the second line above the middle C.



"While, in the staff for *Bass* voices, the F Clef is placed on the second line below the middle C line, on which F, a fifth below middle C, stands.



"These Clefs, therefore, simply point out the middle C line, the G line next above it, and the F line next below it. Their relative position, and that of the several lines, may be seen by this figure:—

The mention of the Accidentals is properly postponed till the Ordinary Major Scale is thoroughly understood; and though we would not pledge ourselves to the view taken of the Minor Scale, it appears worth serious consideration, and is borne out by the view taken by many of the various scales in use among the ancients. It certainly, however, is a view of it quite consentaneous with the notation now in use, which marks every note in the Minor Scale as an accidental, that departs from the ordinary intervals of its relative Major Scale; and in a work which professes to adhere closely to, and give explanation of the symbols in *present use*, it is the most consistent view.

The length of notes and rests, and the arrangement and illustrations of the different kinds of time, is much simplified, and yet put out in detail.

In order to make a knowledge of the graces and other symbols and marks more clear, a passage of music in which they all occur is printed in the Appendix, followed by a glossary referring to each.

* The Baritono, as it is usually written, is an exception to this.

Digitized by Google

The last chapter of the Appendix introduces a complete table of keys or scales, so introduced and arranged as to show the ascent of the sharp keys, and the descent of the flat keys from C as a common centre, together with the mutual relation of every key to the two adjoining it on either side, a principle of great importance, and, if early learnt, easily remembered.

The Exercises, which will shortly be published, are, we understand, already in use by pupils of Dr. Marshall, and illustrate the various chapters in their order.

We only add that this little work has the advantage of being very cheap, while, at the same time, its typographical appearance is worthy of the press from which it proceeds.

Reasons for Withdrawing from the Scottish Episcopal Church, &c. By the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, *Oxon.* Edinburgh: Lindsay and Co. 1842.

The Drummond Schism Considered and Exposed. By A Layman of the Church. Edinburgh: Grant. London: Burns. 1842.

We presume our readers have been for some time aware of a schism in the Church at Edinburgh, occasioned by the conduct of the author now before us. He had been in the habit of holding devotional meetings at which the Prayer Book was not employed; in a way and amid circumstances which seemed to his excellent diocesan contrary to one of the Scottish Canons. Consequently Bishop Terrot proceeded to admonish him in the prescribed way, which left him quite at liberty to bring the case before higher authority, if he still thought himself in the right. This, however, he declined doing; and, not content with throwing up his cure, has yielded to the Tempter, and consented to become pastor of a separate congregation, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.

Whether the Bishop or Mr. Drummond was in the right in his view of the Canon, is a question on which we need not enter: for even supposing the latter to have been so, his subsequent conduct cannot thereby be justified. He, however, takes it upon him to say, that God had "owned and testified to" the extempore prayers from which the Bishop wished to restrain him; and that in consequence he could not, in deference to any subordinate authority, abandon them. Now, granting for a moment that Mr. Drummond is entitled to use such bold language as this, surely the blessing may have rested on united hearts and united prayers, without reference to such a point as the authorship of those prayers, and the time and date of their composition. Nothing, we think, indicates less spirituality,—nothing can well be more carnal than a hankering after extemporary prayer; which, as far as we can judge, resolves itself into two elements—a hankering after the gratification of believing that the prayers used are the composition of him who is their mouthpiece, and a hankering after variety—the matter of prayer remaining in all essentials the same. What is this but to say that we are more taken up with the words than the thoughts? Of all hideous and disgusting expressions, those which denote admiration for a man's prayers—"Did you ever hear anything so striking as

Digitized by Google

Mr. ——'s prayer this evening?" and the like,—are, in our minds, the most hideous and disgusting.

But how can Mr. Drummond venture to talk at all as he does about God owning and testifying to ministrations of man's devising? We know that God has promised to bless his own ordinances; and we know too, that in the development of those ordinances, and their administration, as well as of the pastoral office in general, there must always be more or less of human origin; but on which, if pious, reverent and scriptural, a blessing may be humbly hoped for. But to talk in Mr. Drummond's strain seems to us in direct disobedience to the Apostle's command—St. Paul's very subject at the time being ministerial exertions and ministerial success—"Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God."

However, all discussion on this subject is now superfluous. Since the commencement of his schism a new and sudden light has dawned upon Mr. Drummond. He never knew till the other day the doctrines and principles of the Church in which he was officiating! A fact known to every clergyman in England who takes the slightest interest in the Scottish Episcopal Church, is new to him, for ten years a minister of that Church! She does hold the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which Mr. Drummond tells us is contrary to Scripture, and therefore he is conscientiously bound to abstain from her communion. He also says that on this point she is *vitally* opposed to the Church of England, which *protests* against such doctrine. Will Mr. Drummond have the goodness to tell us where? His other allegation, that the Episcopal Church of Scotland holds Transubstantiation is too silly for notice. The words on which he fastens may indeed strike those who have no theological information as implying that doctrine; but no competent divine will for a moment suppose that it follows from them; the known sentiments of the high liturgic school in Scotland to whom those words were most congenial,—such as Rattray, Jolly, and Skinner,—are sufficient to show that they mean nothing of the sort, even if the adoption by them and the rest of their Church of the Thirty-nine Articles did not necessarily impose on the Liturgy a primitive and orthodox construction.

With regard to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, we beg to remind our readers that the present case is Mr. Drummond, late presbyter of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and now about to become presbyter in no Church at all, *versus* Andrewes, Mede, Taylor, Bull, Horsley, and many other of our standard divines; among whom we scruple not to place Waterland, who, though differing from Mede and those who followed him on this subject, held the doctrine, and would never have objected to the Scottish Liturgy: that Liturgy which afterwards a Horne and a Horsley could approve and admire.

In Mr. Drummond's answer to the charge of schism, we find a great array of texts cited so as at least to establish the fact that he knows how to write the Greek words σχιζω and σχισμα, but for what other purpose it is not easy to discover.

His argument, at page 9, is as melancholy a piece of Erastianism as

Digitized by Google

we have lately been doomed to read. "Neither the Scottish," he tells us, "nor the English Episcopal Church, haev the least jurisdiction in the territory of Scotland:" a proposition which we beg leave to correct as follows. Whereas the English Church has no other jurisdiction in Scotland than what belongs to her prelates as peers—the Scottish Episcopal Church has neither that nor any other by law: but in the eyes of those who believe that Christ's holy Church can neither be created nor destroyed by the breath of Cæsar, and that through the Apostolical succession there are a Divine fountain of power and an Heavenly Kingdom amid the powers and the kingdoms of this earth, the latter has in Scotland a spiritual, where the secular law has taken away from her all temporal, authority.

We must now finally say a few words on Mr. Drummond's statements regarding his own position, and that of his future schismatic congregation. The Church of England claims no authority in Scotland, and owns that of the Episcopal Church there. The former has lately, by legislative enactment, procured by her highest prelate, drawn the cords of union closer between herself and the latter. Under such circumstances, the question naturally arises, on what footing does Mr. Drummond place himself in regard to the Church of England, by an act so opposed to all her principles as resistance to an orthodox diocesan? He must well know that the case of presbyters on the continent to which he appeals will not stand him in any stead. He tells us, however, that "two of her" (the Church of England's) "most eminent ecclesiastical authorities" have pronounced that he will incur no disability in England by the act he meditates. He does not vouchsafe to tell us who these are, and therefore the announcement must in the meantime go for nothing. But we will, for the benefit of our Scottish friends, give our impression of the case. Mr. Drummond probably does not mean to go to England, except to take a living. On supposition of his new schismatical conventicle paying him, he will have small inducement to quit it for a curacy in the south. Now in the case of a clerk presented to a living, the bishop's hands are notoriously much fettered by law; nor are we able to say what would be the result of an action of *Quare impedit* brought by Mr. Drummond against a bishop who should refuse to institute him on the ground of schism committed by him in Scotland. But should the new schismatic speculation be unprosperous, and Mr. Drummond come to England in search of a curacy, he will be under serious difficulties indeed. Every bishop will be at full liberty to refuse him licence; and he can hardly doubt, after the recent exhibitions of feeling towards the Scottish Episcopal Church made by our leading prelates, and the recent legislative enactments they have procured, that nearly every one of them will. If there be any one who has assured him otherwise, it would be but fair in that one to permit his name to go forth to the world.

As to his congregation, how are their younger members to be confirmed? Mr. Drummond modestly assures the public that he does not intend to take that office on himself! But he does "not hesitate to express a confident hope, that, at least, once in three or four years, the aid of a bishop of the Church of England, or of the American Episcopal Church, will be obtained for this purpose." Till Mr.

Digitized by Google

Drummond favours us with the names of bishops in either Church whose aid may be counted on by him or his flock for such a purpose, he must excuse our denominating the sentence we have quoted, a piece of *insolent swaggering*, and leaving our readers to be disgusted with it accordingly.

We recommend the second pamphlet at the head of this notice to attentive perusal. By whomsoever written, one thing is clear, that it is by a competent judge. The whole transaction does not tend to raise our opinion of Mr. Drummond's personal character. In order to regard him as an earnest though mistaken man, we must at least see candid dealing, of which we find none in him.

A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's. By CONNOP LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S. *Delivered at his Primary Visitation, &c.* London: Rivingtons. 1842.

To say that the Church owes an unspeakable debt of gratitude to the Bishop of St. David's for his Charge is what we will not say: for such language implies a very inadequate conception of the sanctity of a bishop's office, and a very imperfect feeling of the true value of these "godly admonitions." And we refrain from so saying, even though there are considerations, which, had his Lordship been only an ordinary clergyman, would have made his testimony, as it is for other reasons, the most valuable ancillary service to catholic truth which has yet appeared. For when education, previous pursuits, publications, and the expectation of all men, seem to have settled with the greatest certainty which way a writer's judgment upon any particular point must be given; then when it happens that every one of these certain evidences is most completely disappointed, and the author decides in the very contrary direction, of course the entire unexpectedness makes his aid the more valuable. This is eminently so with the Bishop of St. David's.

Without venturing to draw distinctions, without assuming to ourselves the invidious office of criticising bishops, we say it without hesitation, that the Bishop of St. David's Charge is immeasurably superior to everything that has appeared in any quarter in the way of judgment on the present state of things. If there were one individual in the whole Church who was supposed by every sympathy to stand, if not at the farthest remove, yet certainly at the most independent isolation, from the Oxford writers, common consent would have named the Bishop of St. David's: and now we find the most favourable judgment which has yet appeared passed on these writings by the very prelate whose witness, because the most unexpected, is therefore the most valuable. At length complete justice has been done to the "Tracts for the Times." Their motives have been fairly estimated; and, while the most discriminating and searching criticism has been applied by the Bishop of St. David's to their details, in by far the majority of instances the principles of these writings are stamped with his approval. Sufficient, though most temperate, indications of the estimate

Digitized by Google

which all good men must form of the treatment to which these writers have been exposed by reckless, we had almost said unprincipled, adversaries, are to be gathered from the Charge. All schools within the Church meet the most candid and Christian estimate: his Lordship speaks as a Christian bishop should, haply as a Christian bishop alone *can*, speak; every page is alive with the very highest principles—enounced with the calm dignity of unprejudiced truth. Bishop Thirlwall congratulates his clergy on living secluded for the most part from the daily strife of the present controversy: certainly we may believe that his Lordship has drank deeply of the soothing spirit of seclusion: his Charge comes as a voice from another and a better world, away from the rancour and turbulence of cities:—

> Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
> Purpureo.

And if Christian charity, the largest and most loving; if learning, zeal, discrimination, and industry, can, with God's blessing, reclaim the schismatical population of Wales, we may draw the happiest auguries from the episcopate of the present Bishop of St. David's. If such be the "first-ripe fruit," what shall "the gathering of the summer-fruits, the grape-gleanings of the vintage" be? We say it with all respect, but we cannot help feeling God's hand visibly outstretched over our Church to save, when instruments, which certainly were chosen for any other end than the spread of catholic truth and the furtherance of Church authority, are thus controlled and overruled to ends which are as consolatory and hopeful to us as they must be perplexing and disappointing to the enemies of the faith: "Surely the *wrath* of man shall *praise* Thee!"

Mormonism, a Heresy, contrary to Holy Scripture, condemned by the Witness of the Catholic Church, and repugnant to Common Sense. A Sermon, preached in the Parish Church of Hillsborough, on Sunday, 30th October, 1842. *With an Appendix of Illustrations and Proofs. By the* Ven. W. B. Mant, M. A. *Archdeacon of Down.* Belfast: Phillips. Liverpool: Grapel. 1843. 12mo. Pp. 47.

This is a very excellent sermon, which, being printed in a cheap and available form, will be found very useful in places cursed, as we are afraid many are secretly, by the emissaries of this fearful apostasy. The appendix and notes are full of most valuable documentary illustration of the rise and progress of this terrible heresy. The archdeacon of Down has had access to materials which we should have been glad to possess, when writing our account of Mormonism in our September number.

We are indebted to the present publication for the opportunity of correcting an inadvertent error into which we have fallen:

"Nor has the other of our Lord's holy Sacraments escaped their profane imitation. A writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* for September observes, 'It seems worthy of remark, that, as it seems, they have nothing—God be praised that He has vindicated His holiest gift!—which, in the way of substitute or imitation, profanes the Holy Eucharist.' But this is a mistake. Not only does their mock revelation, in the Book of Moroni, chapters iv. v., give very particular directions for the mode of

Digitized by Google

administering bread and wine, but the members of the sect 'are required to meet together as often as circumstances will admit, and partake of bread and wine, in remembrance of the broken body and shed blood of the Lord Jesus.'—*Account of Remarkable Visions*, p. 28. It does not appear that they consider this, however, as anything more than a mere *commemorative* action, or that they attribute any sacamental efficacy or spiritual grace to it. But I am given to understand that they receive this mockery of the Lord's Supper *weekly;* thereby putting to shame the professors of a purer and sounder faith, who seldom or never receive the true Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood at all!"—Pp. 39, 40.

We shall be glad to revert to this, though appalling, very important subject, and especially to Archdeacon Mant's publication, when we receive Mr. Caswall's promised Historical Account of Mormonism, which we will criticize even in its advertised title. Why should Mr. Caswall think of calling the execrable Joseph Smith "*The prophet* of the nineteenth century"? Surely "the false prophet,—the impostor,—the apostate of the nineteenth century!" would have been more appropriate.

Memoirs of the Literary Ladies of England, from the Commencement of the last Century. By Mrs. Elwood, *Authoress of "An Overland Journey to India."* 2 vols. 8vo. London: Colburn. 1843.

In the preface to these volumes, Mrs. Elwood "begs to deprecate the severity of criticism, by stating that they are intended only for such of her own sex, who, not feeling themselves equal to profound and abstract subjects, can derive amusement and information from what is professedly too light for the learned, and too simple for the studious." The plea is honestly put; and we shall respect it: indeed, we think the writing quite adequate to the subjects treated of. A few words, however, may not be out of place touching the influence of these ladies in their generation. We say advisedly "in their generation;" for, in looking through the catalogue of about thirty names, there appears to us but two or three, at most, whose productions are ever now read. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters may occasionally be referred to, as furnishing a picture both of England and Turkey in the eighteenth century; and no one can mention Mrs. Hannah More without respect; but it is probable that her fame as a writer will only survive in a very few tracts, as the "Shepherd of Salisbury Plain," and some others in that series. Miss Austen's Tales and Mrs. Hemans' Poems we pronounce to be still read. But of the rest what shall we say? Many, doubtless, were respectable and exemplary in character; as Miss E. Smith, Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. H. Bowdler, Mrs. King, author of "Scripture Female Characters," (a name omitted by Mrs. Elwood;) but in ability we cannot certainly rank them very highly. The mass of "literary ladies" of this date may be ranged under two classes; the one possessing principles directly unsound and defective, as the Aiken family, Miss Taylor, Miss Wolstonecroft, Miss Edgeworth, (a name also omitted in these volumes,) the other, a gossipping, unfeminine race, more "literary" than literate. Of these were Mrs. Piozzi, Madame D'Arblay, Mrs. Montague, and the *clique* which ruled supreme

Digitized by Google

at the close of the last century in the *salons* of London and Bath, and corresponded with Porteus and divines of his school.

The influence of Mrs. Hannah More and her female coadjutors in their day is among the most striking of literary and theological *phenomena*. It would seem as though the whole bench of bishops had delegated their power to them. The present generation, however, requires some more solid stuff; and, with all its faults, will not tolerate the decent proprieties of Mrs. Chapone, and the meagre theology of Miss Talbot and Mrs. H. More. It is not in the nature of things that lives of persons of this kind should possess much interest; nor is it likely that one who volunteers to be their biographer should have any very decided views of her own.

The Certainty of the Origin of Evil in the World, and the probable Pre-existence of Mankind in the Fallen Angels, cast out of Heaven into the Earth, before the Creation of the Six Days recorded in Genesis. Deduced from the Revelations of Holy Scripture, from Sacred and Profane History, and from common Experience; including a Retrospective and Prospective General View of the Christian Dispensation revealed to its Consummation. By A Layman. London: J. W. Parker. 1842. 8vo. Pp. 257.

In holding this book up to the reprobation and contempt which it so richly merits, we are not actuated, we must confess, by any fears that the author will make converts to his views. We do not expect to see a sect of "Diabolo-angelicans" rise up, even in these "latter days." Heresy—at least successful heresy—usually appeals to some evil predisposition of the human mind: but men, we conceive, will not like to be told that they are "children of the devil," even although it may be a convenient excuse for doing the devil's work. Indeed we much doubt if any one will ever read beyond the title-page of this work. It may be convenient, therefore, perhaps, that we should give some account of the wonderful discovery which it makes known. It appears, then, that the "Layman" commenced his speculations "about the beginning of 1841:" [query? was it on the 1st of April?]—no one assisted him; but, by his own unaided genius, he excogitated the theory that man has some material link of connexion with the fallen angels, and is, in fact, identical with them. We repeat, that the merit of this discovery, with all its important consequences—physical, metaphysical, and moral—belongs indisputably to our anonymous "Layman." [We presume that he purposely withholds his name, lest this great truth should be mistaken for a mere party tenet]. Two other names, indeed, are partially connected with the ultimate evolving of the theory; viz. "the learned Bishop Burnet" and "the early and much-esteemed Father, Origen;" but, could they speak, we are sure they would yield the palm to our author. Indeed, no century but the nineteenth *could* have produced it—a century in which a man can write without reading, and be an actual heretic without knowing it. A

Digitized by Google

"censorship of the press" is an institution to which we should with difficulty reconcile ourselves: but really it would be worth some sacrifice to be secure from such ignorant, irreverent, and senseless speculations as are these under review.

Recollections of Siberia in 1840 *and* 1841. *By* CHARLES HEBERT COTTRELL, Esq. London: J. W. Parker, 1842. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 410.

A MAN who makes a journey of ten thousand miles, east of Moscow, and visits a country untravelled, he believes, by any *living* Englishman, is not to be confounded with the every-day tourist. Mr. Cottrell's is a book of real information; and is written in a plain unaffected style, that will commend it to the acceptance of many readers. One only offence against good taste and propriety have we noticed in it; viz., the use of the opprobrious and unmeaning epithet of "Puseyite," though it should be added, the Author introduces the words with the view of explaining the tenets of a harmless and conscientious body of men—the "Roskolniks" of the Russian Church. It is a pleasure always to have one's unfavourable impressions corrected; and we are glad to find Mr. Cottrell characterizing the conduct of the Russian Government, with respect to its system of transportation, as mild and considerate. Hardly, indeed, will the opinion make its way against Madame Cottin's well known tale of "the Exile," which serves to form the belief of every young person that is able to read. Our author also notices freely the errors of Captain Jesse—whose judgment, we ourselves ventured to surmise, in reviewing his travels, was not much to be relied on.

The acquaintance of the generality of persons with Siberia, is so very limited, that a sketch borrowed from the present volume may, perhaps, be useful in awakening the interest of the reader in this *terra incognita.*

"Siberia is perhaps the least known, though the largest, inhabited country, in the world, under one sceptre, of which the inhabitants speak, for the most part, the same language, and profess the same religion. To consolidate and keep together so vast an empire as that which owns allegiance to the Emperor Nicholas, nothing contributes so much as a similarity of language and religion. The Emperor appears fully impressed with this truth, and might almost have been thought to have adopted that policy from a remark of Gibbon, in speaking of the ancient Romans. 'So sensible,' says he, 'were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend with the progress of their arms the use of the Latin tongue.' From Petersburg to Kamtschatka, a distance of more than thirteen thousand versts, there is no perceptible difference in the language. The Russian, an old Schlavonic dialect, has less *patois* than any living language; the only difference is a slight provincial pronunciation of some words peculiar to the Siberians. But the tie of a common religion is still stronger than that of a common language, and far more binding now than to the Romans of old, whose polytheism admitted any form of worship so long as the number of divinities was only increased, and no attempt was made to derogate from the attributes of those already existing.

"Siberia has been supposed to derive its name from Sibir, a Tatar fortress on the Istyoth, not far from Tobolsk. This, however, is not the case, as this fortress was called by the Tatars, Isker, and the southern part of the province had been called Siberia by the Russians before they knew of the existence of this fortress. The word Siberi, signifies all over Asia, the east, sunrise, daylight.

Digitized by Google

"Siberia lies between 45° 30′ and 77° 40′ north latitude, and 60° and 190° east longitude. Its surface covers an extent of more than five million square miles, but neither this nor its extreme length can be accurately defined, as the Russian frontier is continually being extended farther into the Steppes of the Kirghis and to a much greater distance, than we have any idea of in Europe."

For the rest we must refer to Mr. Cottrell's volume, of which, we think, no one who makes the experiment will regret the purchase. It is accompanied by a useful map.

It is not always safe to look very nicely into the morality of this class of publications; but we are of opinion that, upon the whole, those which come to us in an Eastern dress are the least objectionable. A "Buchtiaree Adventurer" is less likely to have imitators than one who frequents the *purlieus* of St. James' Street; while a picture of Eastern manners, when faithfully drawn, as in the present instance, cannot but be instructive.

We can recommend "The Jewess" (Murray), by the author of the "Letters from the Baltic." It is not of the class of "*Didactic* Fiction;" nor yet has it anything of the Novel character about it. Indeed, we imagine that it is not "fiction" at all: and it is this truthfulness which is its best recommendation in our eyes.

Whatever little good there may be in "Steill's Pictorial Spelling Book" appears to have been borrowed from the one lately published by Mr. Turner. As to the general question of "illustrating" such works, we should probably differ in opinion from Mr. Steill; but the pictures, in the present instance, are of that vulgar and offensive kind, as to render the book eminently unsuited for the use of children.

"The Castles and Abbeys of England" (Tilt and Bogue) is a beautiful work, and really deserving of encouragement. The editor (Dr. Beattie) appears to be a person of considerable antiquarian research—and what is better, of correct sentiments.

Mr. James Baillie Fraser has just favoured the public with another Oriental Novel, called "Allee Nemroo."

The "Memoirs of the Queens of France," the authoress informs us, cost her "much labour." We question if the labour would not have been better bestowed upon selected lives. There is really little to interest us in such names as Basine, Marconève, Audovère, &c. &c. This, however, is the only fault we have to find with the volumes.

Of "Ancient Hymns for Children" (Burns), it is enough to say, that they are "taken from the Hymns translated from the Parisian Breviary, by the author of the Cathedral." We think the volume very beautiful, though we question how far all its metres are fit for the ear of a child. On this subject we gave an opinion in April last.

We also recommend "The Christian's Sunday Companion, &c." by Mrs. J. A. Sargant, (Smith, Elder, & Co.) The book consists of reflections in prose and verse, on the services for each Sunday in the year. Its design being so comprehensive, we think it might have been stretched just a little, so as to admit the holidays. The prose will be found in families a suitable companion to Jolly's well-known book; and much of the verse is very pleasing. The hymns are some of them in our judgment too long; and the English is not sufficiently pure—an unpardonable fault in a work designed for the young.

Digitized by Google

We have not had time to give an "Outline of the Laws of Thought" (Pickering) the attention which it seems to us to deserve. The author is not one of those who has thought that logic is mastered as soon as the reader has gone through Aldrich or Whately: he is well aware how little of the vigorous thought and scientific process which ought to be applied to it, has in fact been so applied in England; and whatever opinion a further acquaintance with his book, which we hope soon to enjoy, may lead us to form of it, the praise of having made a good attempt must in any event be his.

"A Father's Letters to his Son on the Apostolic Rite of Confirmation, &c." by J. Endell Tyler, B. D. (Rivingtons) may be safely recommended, and will be found a useful manual in families and schools.

The first number of a most useful work, "Specimens of Ancient Church Plate, Sepulchral Crosses," &c. Part I. 4to, (Parker, Oxford; Stevenson, Cambridge; Rivingtons, Burns, London,) the prospectus of which will be found in another part of the present number, has appeared. The design and execution are alike admirable; and we trust that from it some improvement may be expected in the shape of our sacred vessels. The ignorance of modern goldsmiths is extreme on this head: the hemisphere is the true shape for the upper part of the chalice. We wish however that the drawing had been more accurate. For instance, it is impossible to make out, from the awkward perspective into which it is thrown, how many semicircular projections there are round the base of the chalice. If it be intended that our artists should copy these ancient examples, this is very important.

We feel sure that our readers will agree with us in being much pleased with "Herbert Tresham, a Tale of the Great Rebellion," by the Rev. J. M. Neale, B.A. (Rivingtons.) The story is well put together, the incidents told with great power, and the principles sound and hearty. We rejoice to see the shameful apathy towards the memory of the holy martyr Laud, or the still more shameful timidity in vindicating that memory, both of which prevailed so extensively some time back, fast disappearing.

We ought sooner to have noticed "Family Prayers, being a complete course for Eight Weeks," &c., by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, (Seeley and Burnside.) We can see at a glance that the style of these prayers is not that to which we are accustomed; but we are willing to admit that, as regards private and family prayer, it may in the present state of the Church be desirable to have a variety of forms and styles, so differently are different people brought up. We are glad to find Mr. Bickersteth recognising the Saints' Days as worthy of notice in family devotions.

We call attention to "The Churchman's Calendar for 1843," &c. (Burns.) It is very prettily got up, and as to its other merits, it is enough to name Mr. Paget as the compiler. The extracts are all from approved writers of our Church.

"The Key of Faith," is the title of an exposition of the Creed, translated from the Latin of the Rev. John Ellis, D.D., by H. Handley, (Hamilton and Adams.) Dr. Ellis seems to have been on the whole a true Churchman, and we wish Mr. Handley had told us who he was.

"Synchronistical Annals," &c. (Parker, Oxford; Stevenson, Cambridge; Burns, London,) is a tabular view of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and the neighbouring sovereigns, according as they were contemporary with each other. The Prophets are also included in the plan. The book seems to have been got up with care, and will, we doubt not, be found very useful in schools.

We beg to direct the attention of our readers to a prospectus which accompanies the present number, announcing the appearance of the "English Journal of Education;" a magazine specially designed as a medium of correspondence among parochial clergymen, and all promoters of sound education;

Digitized by Google

parents, sponsors, schoolmasters, Sunday-school teachers, &c. It is in some respects a continuation of the "Educational Magazine," but on a more popular plan, and at a more accessible price. We need only add farther, that the responsible editor is the Rev. George Moody, of Gilstone.

We have to announce the publication of the 3d and concluding volume of Captain Marryat's "Masterman Ready." It fully sustains the character we have given of its predecessors; but we will not spoil the enjoyment of our juvenile readers by telling them how the story winds up.

Mr. Paget's "Warden of Berkingholt" has this moment reached us. We hope next month to give our readers a detailed account of it.

Two Sermons by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, (Rivingtons,) must command attention from the office, attainments, and character of their Right Reverend author.

From them we must descend to a sermon entitled "Characteristics of Puseyism," preached by a dissenting teacher of the name of Bevis, at Hoxton, (Snow.) It appears that "the peculiar circumstances of the locality" justify its publication. Poor Hoxton! We are afraid we cannot muster sufficient pity for its condition; in fact, we are more inclined to compassionate the place as having been partially under Mr. Bevis' tender mercies than for any other reason. Our readers will not wonder when we tell them that the sermon is arrogant and shallow; but they are perhaps unprepared to hear that it contains jokes, one of them having Holy Baptism for its subject, and the other being a facetious application of Scripture. We hardly thought that dissenting ministers near London and their admiring auditors were quite equal to this.

A very curious sermon has come before us: "Whitefield's Farewell Parochial Sermon, preached at Stonehouse, Ascension-day, 1737," (London, Simpkin:) it is published from the MS. for the first time: and what is remarkable, it is sound, sober, and catholic throughout. We quite agree with the editor, that "it will appear from a comparison of this sermon with those afterwards published by this zealous preacher, that there is a peculiar blessing and unction from the Holy Spirit which accompanies zeal, when fostered beneath the discipline of our truly apostolical Church; which, on the other hand, has a tendency to wildness and eccentricities, when separated from the influence of a system, where the Apostle's rule is faithfully observed," p. ii.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

TITHES AND OFFERINGS DUE TO THE CHURCH AND THE POOR, AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

We will begin the *new* year with a *new* title, and with the insertion of a *new publication*, from the *new* world—in the hopes that we may soften down the prejudices of the editor of the "British Critic" against our endeavours to re-introduce the *practical* adoption of an old *principle*. Addison says, that authors are to take their precedence according to the size of their publications; and accordingly, that the writer of a folio is to occupy the first place, and the writer of a quarto the second, and so on through the several gradations. The moralist seems to have forgotten the old adage, *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακὸν*. But whatever may be thought of literary precedence in other matters, a monthly reviewer must give place to a quarterly reviewer, inasmuch

Digitized by Google

as he would seem to have less opportunity of acting upon the spirit of the rule *nonum prematur in annum.*

The author of these papers does not undertake any regular discussion of his subject, he only proposes to himself to call attention to it, to throw out stray hints from time to time; and therefore he must be content to occupy a place where the ignoble vulgar, the common fry of scribblers, may be stationed. Yet he must express his astonishment, not that the "British Critic" should admire the inhabitants of La Vendée * for showing affection to their Church by the payment of tithes, but that he should consider that those are embarking in a visionary crusade, who would introduce a similar feeling among Englishmen of the present day, by calling attention to the Church of the Fathers, to our Standard Divines, and to our Ancient Laws. The subject is beset with difficulties:—reading, thinking, writing, and talking upon it have their respective uses; but there are three things chiefly required to bring to light the forgotten principle;—the first of these is THE OFFERTORY—the second is THE OFFERTORY—and the third of them is THE OFFERTORY;—and there are three things required to bring the offertory into practical operation,—the first of these is PERSEVERANCE—the second is PERSEVERANCE—and the third is PERSEVERANCE.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I will conclude this paper with an account of what is being done under the auspices of Bishop Doane in New Jersey—what was done in Old London—and what we hope again will be done in New London, under episcopal sanction. A view from the summit of St. Paul's Cathedral will show what was done by the "visionary crusaders" of former times. A view from the Brighton Railway will furnish anything but a pleasing contrast; it may tell us, however, the miserable effects of our having neglected to inculcate the positive duty of paying tithes as incumbent on all who would claim the blessings of communion with the Church.

A PASTORAL LETTER TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW JERSEY, IN BEHALF OF SYSTEMATIC CHARITY.

"Dearly beloved brethren,

"You will bear me witness, that, from the time that the Holy Ghost made me your overseer, I have not ceased to 'stir up your pure minds, by way of remembrance,' as to the Christian privilege of contributing of your substance for the extension of THE GOSPEL IN THE CHURCH. Nor can I withhold the acknowledgment of your prompt response to my appeals. At the Convention of the diocese, in 1833, the first in which I participated with you in our great trust for 'the common salvation,' the amount of contributions reported for Missionary purposes, within the diocese, was less than one hundred and thirty dollars (128.37). By the adoption of the plan of *Systematic Charity*, then recommended in the Episcopal Address, and known as the OFFERINGS OF THE CHURCH, the aggregate receipts of eight years, to the 27th day of May last, have been $11,714.77:† being an annual average of $1464.34; (or more than eleven times the revenue of the year last preceding;) while 'the Offerings,' in one instance, have risen, in a single year, (1837,) as high as $1814.45. According to these indications of Christian zeal and love, has been the growth

* See the 64th Number, Article I.

† Of this sum $2860.72, or very nearly one-fourth, came from the single parish of St. Mary's, Burlington; for no other reason, that I know of, but that the plan has been strictly and steadily carried out.

Digitized by Google

of the diocese. In 1833, there were 14 presbyters and deacons in the diocese; in 1834, twenty-four; in 1835, twenty-nine; in 1836, thirty-three; in 1838, thirty-nine; in 1841, forty-two: being, in eight years, a threefold increase. Within the same period, twelve have been added to the number of our organized parishes; and ten, that were 'as good as dead,' have been revived, and flourish. Seventeen have been added to the Churches of the diocese, and one is in progress; while, of the old Churches, five have been greatly enlarged, and five others been essentially improved and beautified. Finally, a larger number of Communicants is now reported from eight parishes, than from the whole diocese in 1833. Such has been the result of God's blessing on the means of his own appointment, within the portion of his vineyard where our lot is cast.

"As the Church has become better known, in her pure doctrines, well ordered ministry, and spiritual worship, the demand for them has been increased. An annual Visitation is never made at which new and important points for Missionary stations are not presented. The lowest estimate of our immediate duty, in this matter, is the appointment of at least one Missionary, to labour in every county of the State. This will require an addition of nearly twenty to our Clergy. These can be had, if, for a time, the means of their support shall be supplied. In three or five years, as many parishes, contributing, of their ability, to carry on the great and gracious work, will be, if God shall bless us, as he has, the sure result. The truth is, beloved brethren, we are now at the point which I have long foreseen.* The utmost has been done that the exertion, hitherto enlisted in the cause, could possibly accomplish. Without new efforts, and new means, we can advance no more: and in this, as in every good work, not to advance is to go backward. I ask you, as Churchmen of New Jersey, if this shall be? See how the Lord hath helped us, hitherto! See how the seed, which we have sown, has sprung up, and increased, and borne its golden sheaves! Say, then, if we shall now sit down, and fold our hands, and send no reapers to take in the blessed harvest! It is for you to say. I am your servant only, for the Saviour's sake. I can but plow, and sow, and till, as you shall give the means. When all is done, your prayers must be poured out with mine, from fervent hearts, to Him who gives the increase.

"But, I have not yet done all my duty. We are to look, not on our own things only, 'but on the things of others also.' As Churchmen of New Jersey, we are members of that 'One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church,' which Jesus Christ has put in trust with the whole world, 'to preach the Gospel' in it 'to every creature.' 'The field is the world.' And though our most immediate responsibility is for that, which, as one household of the faith, we personally occupy; we are joint partners, with the whole family that name the name of Christ, as in its privileges, so in its responsibilities. At a period, unexampled since the time of the Apostles, in opportunities for the Church; at a period, when not only the distant portions of our great commonwealth, but most of the elder families of Christendom, decayed and feeble, ask for light and consolation; and all heathendom lies bound in chains, the captive of the Prince of darkness, are we doing our proportion to make up the great supply? Let me rather say, Are we reaching forward, panting and breathless, to ensure our share of that most precious privilege, to be the fellow-helpers of the King of Saints? Are we clear, Churchmen of New Jersey, of that reproach which is now cast upon our noble Missionary organization, that it fails of its high purpose, and deserves no farther confidence? Shall we not have much to answer for, in word, and deed, and good example, if the communion, of which we are members, cast away from itself, before the world and God, and prove itself unworthy of it, that noblest of all names, A MISSIONARY CHURCH? I am not willing, that, in

* It will be seen that the rapid increase of the Clergy was in close proportion to the rapid increase of the Offerings. The maximum of both was in 1836-7. If the Offerings had gone on at the same rate, 1841 should have reached $4000. In that case, we might have reported fifty Clergymen.

Digitized by Google

the warfare of the Church against the world and sin, 'the Jersey line' should ever be a laggard. We owe it to our position, to our opportunities, to the unity and peace and prosperity with which God has blessed us, to make our proper station in 'the fore front of the hottest battle.'

HOW SHALL IT BE DONE?

"In the name and strength of God, by the living energy of faith, with the patient, constant, self-denying earnestness of love. 'According as a man hath, it is accepted of him.' The rule of Christian charity and duty is, 'every man, according to his several ability.' You have seen the amount which has been contributed, as 'the Offerings of the Church;' and the results, which, under God's blessing, have been accomplished by it. Not one of you, I boldly say, has ever been the poorer for his share of it; or felt the slightest inconvenience from his contribution. Meanwhile, the increase of the number of the parishes, and the increase of the parishes severally, have greatly added to the number of proper contributors to this treasury of the Lord. When the plan was laid before you, in 1836, the Scriptural warrant for it was given to you, in those words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, 'Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.'* The proposition was, that the sums, thus laid by 'in store,' should be brought to the Church, on the Sunday of the administration of the Holy Communion, and placed on the Holy Table, with the alms and other oblations of the people. What I have now to propose—and what I confidently believe, if faithfully carried out, will be blessed of God, to the full and constant supply of our Missionary Treasury—is, that, instead of monthly, or at rarer intervals, 'THE OFFERINGS OF THE CHURCH' BE MADE EVERY LORD'S DAY, *in connexion with the Offertory*, as appointed in the Communion Service.

"i. This was the primitive mode.

"ii. This is the simplest and most direct address that can be made to the parishioners.

"iii. This is the Church's proper action, in her due organization, under the direction of her ministers, on the call of her divine Head.

"This plan combines many advantages.

"1. Its *frequency* is an advantage. The contribution can never be forgotten.

"2. Its *constancy* is an advantage. The supply from it will be perpetual and sure. There is nothing to be trusted like a habit.

"3. Its *simplicity* is an advantage. It is intelligible by every one, and will commend itself even to little children.

"4. Its *moderation* is an advantage. Returning frequently, it, of course, calls, at each time, for comparatively little. Thus, it meets the convenience of all. 'If thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little.'

"5. Its *inexpensiveness* is an advantage. It will cost nothing for agencies, and be encumbered with no officers.

"6. Its *sobriety* is an advantage. It makes no exciting appeals; and creates no heat, to be followed by a more than corresponding coldness. It is the oozing of the water from the rock that fills the springs. It is the gentle dropping of the dew that clothes the vales with verdure.

"What are its disadvantages?

"1. It is disagreeable to be asked so often to contribute.—As if the Lord's Prayer did not ask *every day* for 'daily bread!'

"2. It is disagreeable to make the collection so frequently.—As if it were not better to be 'a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than to dwell in the tents of the ungodly!

* 1 Corinthians xvi. 1, 2.

Digitized by Google

"3. It is disagreeable to connect the giving of money with the worship of the Sanctuary.—As if there were any surer test of a heart given up to God! As if the Sanctuary itself could be built, or sustained, without money! As if the offerings, by God's own appointment, were not formerly brought to his own holy Temple! As if the silver and the gold were not all his!

"4. It is disagreeable to be detained so long.—As if five minutes, occupied in hearing sentences from Holy Scripture, and in prayer, were to be esteemed a hardship, for a soul that looks to an eternity of worship!

"Brethren, dearly beloved in the Lord, I have but little more to say. I need say but little more. My office compels me to acquaint myself with the destitution of the Saviour's 'sheep, that are scattered abroad in the midst of this naughty world.' I have only you to look to, for the means by which they may be gathered to his fold, 'and saved through Christ for ever.' If I seem importunate to any of you, it is that you may secure that precious privilege, of which He hath said, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' You will pardon me this wrong.

"A single word, as to the practical working of the plan, which I am very anxious should go into operation at the very beginning of the new year. I cannot give it more intelligibly, than by stating to you the course, which I design, if it please God, to pursue, in my own parish.

"On every Sunday in the year, immediately after the Sermon, in the Morning Service, I shall read from the Chancel, the sentences of the Offertory; during which 'the Offerings of the Church' will be collected, by the Wardens, or others. When they have been placed on the Lord's Table, I shall proceed with the prayer, 'For the whole State of Christ's Church Militant;' after which, if there be no Communion, I shall dismiss the people, with the Blessing.

"The Weekly Offerings of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, will be appropriated as follows:

"1. On the first Sunday in the month, to the relief of the poor of the parish.

"2. On the second Sunday in the month, to the Domestic and Foreign Missions of the Church, in charge of the Board of Missions.

"3. On all other Sundays, to the Missions of the diocese.

"i. When the Holy Communion is administered on a week day, the Offerings will be appropriated to the Missions of the diocese, unless otherwise notified to the congregation.

"ii. When a collection is deemed proper for any other than the objects specified above, special notice will be given, and the stated contribution for that day will give place to it.

"iii. All Offerings for the General Missionary treasury, may be designated by a mark on the envelope, as for Domestic or Foreign purposes, or for any special object of either department; and, where no such designation is made, the proceeds will be divided equally between the Domestic and Foreign Treasuries.

"iv. The Offerings of the diocese will always be at the disposition of the Bishop, with 'the Trustees of the Offerings of the Church,' appointed at each annual collection.

"Dear brethren, it is the season, throughout all Christendom, of the highest and peculiar joy. The Saviour, in whose coming we rejoice, became incarnate, that the world might *all* be CHRISTENDOM. What our 'hand findeth to do,' let us do gladly, that the chorus of the Angels may the sooner be made real; 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will to men!' Open your hearts, dear brethren, that God may send his Holy Ghost, and pour into all of them 'that most excellent gift of charity, without which, whosoever liveth is counted dead,' before Him. 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

"Affectionately your Pastor and friend,

"GEORGE W. DOANE, Bishop of New Jersey."

Riverside,
Eve of the Nativity, 1841.

Digitized by Google

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

By Bp. of Ely, *Nov.* 27.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—J. W. Distin, B.A. Pemb.

Of Cambridge.—M. A. Atkinson, M.A., W. Crouch, and J. A. Frere, M.A., Trin.; H. Goodwin, B.A., Caius; J. Grote, M.A., Trin.; L. Hogg, B.A., Emman.; A. M. Hopper, B.A., and R. Hull, B.A., St. John's; W. G. Humphry, M.A., Trin.; C. Ward, B.A., Magd.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—E. Clayton, M.A., Ch. Ch.

Of Cambridge.—F. L. Lloyd, B.A., F. Jackson, B.A., and J. A. Coombe, B.A., St. John's; H. L. Guillebaud, M.A., and J. Hemery, M.A., Trin.; J. R. Crowfoot, M.A., Caius; E. Thompson, B.A., and J. D. Ridout, B.A., Christ's; T. C. Peake, M.A., Sidney; S. Churchill, B.A., Pemb.

By Bp. of Winchester, *Dec.* 11.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. P. Carey, B.A. Wad.; C. R. Hay, B.A. Mert.; N. T. Travers, B.A. Linc.; F. C. Carey, B.A. Worc.; G. E. Cole, B.A. St. Mary H.; A. N. C. Machlachlan, B.A. Exet.

Of Cambridge.—T. Vincent, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—J. C. F. Vincent, B.A. Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. C. Ryle, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. E. Janvrin, B.A. Oriel; H. E. Pellman, B.A. Trin.; T. Coulthard, B.A. Queen's.

Of Cambridge.—W. Cooper, B.A. Pemb.; R. C. Hales, B.A. Magd.; G. E. Tate, B.A. St. John's; E. T. Smith, B.A. St. John's.

By Bp. of Chester, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—A. H. Ashworth, B.A., Oriel; C. R. Clifton, B.A., Merton; R. Fletcher, B.A., Brasen.; J. Groom, B.A., Wadh.; J. Prosser, B.A., St. Edmund's Hall; J. H. Stephenson, B.A., Queen's; W. T. Redfern, B.A., Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—J. S. Cranmer, B.D., St. John's; J. Twisaday, B.A., St. John's; C. B. Jeafferson, B.A., Pemb.; J. W. Markwell, B.A., Christ's; J. P. Power, B.A., Queen's; J. D. Raven, B.A., Magd.; J. B. Turner, B.A., Caius; W. Shackleton, B.A., Cath.; D. Waller, B.A., St. Peter's.

Of Dublin.—T. Cowan, B.A., Trin.; J. Richardson, B.A., Trin.; P. Reynolds, B.A., Trin.; A. L. P. Snow, B.A., Trin.

Of St. Bees.—J. Bellby; G Dowty; W. H. Jones; J. D. Lateward; G. Purcell.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—S. B. Arnott, M.A., St. John's; J. Fox, M.A., Queen's; E. Pigot, B.A., Brasen.

Of Cambridge.—R. Cargill, LL.B., Cath.; J. F. Coates, B.A., Cath.; R. Edwards, B.A., St. Peter's; W. G. Goodchild, B.A., Sid. Sus.; H. Holland, B.A., Queen's.

Of Dublin.—R. Butler, B.A., Trin.; T. Edgar, M.A., Trin.; J. Hebden, M.A., Trin.; R. Hill, B.A., Trin.; E. King, B.A., Trin.; B. Mashiter, B.A., Trin.; W. Norton, M.A., Trin.

Of Durham.—A. Seyton, Lic., Univer. Coll.

Of St. Bees.—J. Bonwell; C. M. Christie; J. M. Crockett; E. B. Squire; R. Thompson; W. Wells.

By Bp. of Chichester, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—S. Minton, M.A., Exet.

Of Cambridge.—J. M. Crippe, B.A., St. John's; G. D. Dawes, B.A., Trin.; J. H. Vidal, B.A., St. John's.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. H. Anderson, M.A., Univ.; G. Braithwaite, B.A., Queen's; T. D. Lamb, B.C.L., St. Mary hall; T. Lowe, M.A., Oriel; J. White, B.A., Linc.

Of Cambridge.—G. F. Daniell, B.A., and J. P. Tomlinson, B.A., Magd.

Of Dublin.—W. St. George Paterson, B.A.

Literate.—W. Harris, by letter dimissory from the Bishop of Llandaff.

By Bp. of Durham, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—T. R. Green, B.A., Linc.; W. H. Stokes, B.A. Wadh.

Of Cambridge.—W. B. Young, B.A., Emm.; F. H. Laing, B.A., Queen's.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—J. P. Parry, M.A., St. John's.

Of Durham.—W. M. H. Church, and R. Maugham, licentiates in theology, Univ. Coll.

By Bp. of Gloucester and Bristol, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—E. J. G. Haslock, B.A., Pemb.; E. H. Ballard, B.A., Wadh.; L. Carden, Univ.; C. Cripps, B.A., Magd. Hall; H. C. Key, B.A., Ch. Ch.; R. C. Pattenson, B.A., St. Mary hall; A. C. Rowley, B.A., Wadh.; E. East, B.A. Magd.; J. H. Griffin, B.A., New Inn.

Of Cambridge.—B. Webb, B.A., Trin.; J. G. Young, B.A., Trin.

Of Lampeter.—D. Morgan, scholar of St. David's Coll.; T. Tudball, graduate, (*l. d. Bath and Wells.*)

Literate.—R. N. D. Browne, (*l. d. Llandaff.*)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. G. S. Addison, B.A., Magd. Hall; R. Champernoune, B.A., Ch.Ch.; T. Derbay, B.A., Linc.; T. P. Little, B.A., Trin.; R. A. Pritchard, B.A., Magd.; W. H. Roach, B.A., Pemb.; E. M. Macfarlane, B.A., Linc.; E. Macken, B.A., Exet.; H. J. Marshall, B.A., Corp. Chr.; G. F. Master, B.A., Univ.; C. H. A. Napier, B.A., Ch. Ch.

Of Cambridge.—H. J. Bolland, B.A., Trin.; R. M. Hutchings, B.A., Trin.; R. Inchbald, B.A., St. John's; W. Joy, B.A., Trin.; J. S. Money, B.A., Emman.; F. Palmer, B.A., Trin.; Chas. Phillips, B.A., Trin.; W. T. Preedy, St. John's; J. C. Turnbull, B.A., Trin.; W. F.

Digitized by Google

Neville, Magd.; H. P. Wright, B.A., St. Peter's, (*l. d. Bath and Wells.*)

Of Dublin.—J. C. Smith, B.A., Trin.

Literate.—Wm. Stephens.

By Bp. of Hereford, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. Dunne, B.A., Worc.; H. J. Torre, B.A. Univ.; R. Williams, B.A. Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—H. Dew, B.A., Jesus; H. G. Johnstone, B.A., Trin.; T. R. Maskew, B.A., Sid. Suss.; W. T. T. Postles; L. Price, (*l. d. St. David's*); T. Pugh, (*l. d. St. David's*); T. Williams, (*l. d. St. David's.*)

Of Lampeter.—T. H. Jones, St. David's Coll., (*l. d. Llandaff.*)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—A. H. Winnington Ingram, B.A., Ch. Ch.; J. Roe, B.A., Worc.; W. Thorn, B.A., Univ.; J. G. Watts, Balliol.

Of Cambridge.—J. Bartlett, Queen's.

Of Lampeter.—J. Lewis, St. David's, (*l. d. Llandaff.*)

By Bp. of Hereford, *for the* Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—P. G. Bentley, B.A., Brasen.; R. W. Greaves, B.A., St. Edmund's Hall; J. R. Quirk, St. Edmund's Hall.

Of Cambridge.—J. M. Pratt, B.A., St. John's; J. Shelly, B.A., St. Peter's.

Of Dublin.—T. Mason, B.A., Trin.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—H. E. Devey, B.A., Pemb.; W. C. Dowding, B.A., Exet.; T. S. Hewitt, B.A., Worc.; G. S. Harding, B.A., Brasen.; C. J. Sale, B.A., Linc.; F. Cradock Twemlow, B.A., Oriel.

Of Cambridge.—R. Goldham, B.A., Corp. Chr.; H. Hutchins, B.A., Trin. Hall; J. Manners, M.A., Corp. Chr.; W. E. Mouseley, M.A., Trin.; E. Ollivant, M.A., Trin.; T. M. Pyke, B.A., Corp. Chr.; A. T. Paget, M.A., Caius; J. Spurgin, B.A., Fell. of Clare; J. Till, B.A., Queen's.

Of Dublin.—W. G. Day, B.A., Trin.

By Bp. of Lincoln, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. L. Armitage, B.A. Worc.; O. Smith, B.A. Oriel; T. J. M. Townsend, B.A. Linc.; R. Wetherell, B.A. St. Edm. H.

Of Cambridge.—R. A. F. Barrett, M.A. Fell. of King's; T. L. Edwards, LL.B. Trin.; J. H. Henderson, B.A. Trin.; J. C. Middleton, M.A. Fell. of King's; W. C. Newcombe, B.A. Trin.

Of Dublin.—A. H. Alcock, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Clogher.*)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—P. L. Drake, M.A. Magd.; J. N. Heard, M.A. St. Mary H.; A. T. G. Manson, LL.B. Magd.; A. G. Newbold, B.A. Magd. H.

Of Cambridge.—G. Bryan, M.A. St. Peter's; R. Freeman, M.A. Christ's; R. E. Harrisson, B.A. Christ's; L. D. Kennedy, B.A. Christ's; J. E. S. Legh, M.A. Fell. of King's; C. W. D. Moore, B.A. St. John's; T. M. Nicholson, B.A. Trin.

Literate.—W. Croome.

By Bp. of London, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. A. Bowles, B.A. St. John's; A. Burder, B.A. Magd. H.; H. Fyffe, B.C.L. New Inn H.; H. B. Burney, B.A. Oriel; W. Cobb, B.A. Ch. Ch., and G. Masters, B.A. Worc. (*l. d. Canterbury.*)

Of Cambridge.—P. C. Moyow, M.A. Trin.; R. B. Tritton, B.A. Trin.; T. A. Anson, B.A. Jesus; J. Tegg, B.A. Pemb.; W. Kerry, B.A. St. John's; E. Worledge, B.A. Clare H.; F. Pocock, B.A. St. Peter's; J. P. Beard, B.A. St. John's; E. Over, B.A. St. Cath. H.; J. H. Read, St John's; C. A. Halson, B.A. Pemb.; R. H. Kerby, B.A. St. John's; T. Sheepshanks, Trin.; W. E. Light, B.A. St. John's; J. H. H. Hallett, B.A. Caius; G. Bryan, B.A. Emm.; H. Park, B.A. Corp. Chris.

Of the Church Missionary College, Islington.—H. Baker, E. Reynolds, P. L. Sandberg, T. A. Lehmann, G. F. De la Fontaine.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—S. Clark, B.A. St. John's; N. Woodward, Magd. H.; W. Tylden, B.A. Ball. (*l. d. Canterbury.*)

Of Cambridge.—J. Davies, B.A. St. John's; H. Porter, B.A. Pemb.; D. F. Nigers, M.A. Trin.; E. H. Hunter, B.A. Trin.; T. Boggis, B.A. Emm; W. Wegson, B.A. St. John's; W. R. Thackeray, B.A. Pemb.; P. Hale, B.A. St. John's; J. Hitchcock, B.A. Christ's; G. M. Ged, B.A. St. John's.

Of King's College, London.—W. Hayes.

By Bp. of Oxford, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. Binney, B.A. Worc.; R. A. Coffin, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. C. Lake, M.A. Ball.; B. Jowett, B.A. Ball.; F. Hathaway, M.A. Worc.; T. B. Landon, M.A. Worc.; H. Tripp, M.A. Worc.; J. W. Mason, B.A. Jesus; F. S. Bowles, B.A. Mert.; J. Foster, B.C.L. St. Mary's H.; F. H. M. Blaydes, Ch. Ch.; J. Collingwood, B.A. Pemb.; E. R. Dukes, B.A. Ch. Ch.; H. Robinson, B.A. St. Alb. H.; S. H. Cooke, M.A. Ch. Ch.; W. Bowsfield, B.A. Linc.; J. C. Littlehales, B.C.L. New Coll.; W. Vansittart, B.A. Ch. Ch.; R. C. Puse, M.A. Ch. Ch.; W. Wetherell, B.C.L. New Coll.; S. Shadden, B.A. Pemb.; H. Hanmer, B.A. New Inn H.; C. Smith, M.A. Ch. Ch.; H. S. R. Matthews, M.A. Linc.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—P. C. Kidd, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. B. Fawkes, B.A. Ch. Ch.; A. W. Hadden, M.A. Trin.; E. Kothouse, M.A. Mert.; T. H. Newman, M.A. Magd.; R. N. Buckmaster, B.A. Ch. Ch.; J. B. Hughes, M.A. Magd.; H. M. Richards, B.A. Ch. Ch.; C. J. Collier, B.C.L. Magd. H.; S. B. Harper, B.A. New Inn H.; T. Pearse, M.A Magd.; J. Hannah, B.A. Linc.; H. Rendall, B.A. Brasen.; J. M. Holland, B.A. New Coll.; J. Hemsted, B.A. Magd.; W. P. Walsh, B.A. Worc.; W. Burnett, B.A. New Coll.

Of Cambridge.—C. Wood, B.A. Clare H.

By Bp. of Worcester, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—H. Bittleston, B.A. St. John's; G. W. Spooner, B.A. Magd. H.; C. H. Sale, B.A. Brasen.

Of Cambridge.—G. C. Hodgkinson, M.A. Trin.; J. Shelley, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—J. Valentine, B.A. Trin. and R. B. Rogers, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Clogher*); J. Stone, B.A. Trin. and C. J. Hort, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Dublin.*)

Digitized by Google

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—C. T. Arnold, B.A. Magd. H.; P. S. Ashworth, B.A. St. Alb. H.; G. H. Bunsen, B.A. Oriel; A. Clifton, B.A. Trin.; J. R. Crawford, M.A. Linc.; C. Dobben, B.A. Trin.; H. C. Foster, B.A. Magd. H.; T. C. B. Stretch, B.A. Worc.; J. H. Bromfield, B.A. St. Edm. H., J. G. D. La Touché, B.A. Trin., and W. J. Mulloy, M.A. Trin. (*i. d. Dublin.*)

Of Cambridge.—G. Elton, S.C.L. Caius; A. Rawson, B.A. Trin.; W. S. Symonds, B.A. Christ's; F. Taunton, B.A. St. John's.

By ABP. OF YORK, *Dec.* 18.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—S. M. Barkworth, B.A. Worc.; R. F. Wright, B.A. St. John's.

Of Cambridge.—W. S. Dumergue, B.A. Corp Chris.; B. E. Metcalfe, B.A. Sid. Sus.; W. Twyne, B.A. Magd.

Literate.—J. W. Heslop.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—G. Antrobus, B.A. Brasen.

Of Cambridge.—H. Deck, B.A. Corp. Chris.; J. Robinson, B.A. Jesus; W. Mitchell, B.A. Queen's; B. Wake, B.A. St. John's.

Of Durham.—W. Sweeting, B.A. Univ.

Of St. Bees.—H. F. Hugill.

Of Lampeter.—S. Danbey, St. David's.

Of Dublin.—F. Hayden, B.A. Trin.

ORDINATION APPOINTED.

BP. OF RIPON, *Jan.* 18. | BP. OF NORWICH, *Jan.* 29.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*County.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Ainslie, R.	Sixhills & Ludford Magna, v.	Lincoln	Lincoln	G. F. Heneage, Esq.	£256	491
Alderson, R. J. C.	Kirton, R.	Suffolk	Norwich	The Queen	400	624
Aldham, H.	Stoke Prior, v.	Worcester	Worcester	Dean & Chapter	*270	1100
Argles, M.	Gretton, v. & Duddington, c.	Northampt.	Peterboro'	Bp. of Peterboro'	268	1126
Arthy, J.	Caistor St. Edmund, R.	Norfolk	Norwich	Mrs. Dashwood	*447	225
Baker, T. T.	St. Stephen's Ch. Tovil.	Kent	Canterbury			
Barlow, J.	St. Andrew & St. Mary Bredman, Canterbury.	Kent	Canterbury	Dean & Chapter	*224	
Benson, C.	Lindridge, v.	Worcester	Hereford	D. & C. of Worcester	*658	1802
Bromfield, H.	Grandborough, v.	Warwick	Worcester	Trustees.		
Cartwright, R. B.	South Stoke, R.	Lincoln	Lincoln	Preb. of S. Grantham	685	438
Colvile, F. L.	Leek Wootton	Warwick	Worcester	Lord Leigh	*300	433
Covey, C.	Alderton, R.	Gloucester	G. & B.	Bp. of Glouc. & Bristol	*337	330
Crosewell, R. H.	St. Peter's, Stockport	Cheshire	Chester	.....	220	
Day, C.	Mucking, v.	Essex	London	D. & C. of St. Paul's	219	212
Dealtry, G.	Hinckley, v.	Leicester	Peterboro'	D. & C. of Westmins.	*388	7203
Dryden, L. E.	Whitnash, R.	Warwick	Worcester	Lord Leigh	313	260
Ebden, J. C.	King's Ripton, R.	Huntingdon	Ely	Lord Chancellor	179	279
Farrand, J.	Cumberworth, R.	York	York	J. Beaumont, Esq.	*148	2554
Fell, S. I.	Irton & Drigg	Cumberland	Chester	S. Irtin, Esq.	184	964
Foottill, E.	Gonaldstone, R.	Nottingham	Lincoln	R. Franklin, Esq.	*324	107
France, G.	Brookdish, v.	Norfolk	Norwich	W. B. France, Esq.	327	482
Grasett, H. J.	Edwin-Leach & Tedstone	Worc. & Her.	Hereford	— Higginson, Esq.	*156	153
Haste, G. C.	Barwick, v.	Norfolk	Norwich	D. Hoste, Esq.	40	35
Haughton, W.	South Wootton. R.	Norfolk	Norwich	The Queen	226	177
Holme, T.	East Cowton, v.	York	Ripon	St. John's Hospital	202	374
Hume, C.	Eye, P.C.	Northampt.	Peterboro'	Bp. of Peterboro'	161	1122
Jones, T.	Henley-in-Arden, P.C.	Warwick	Worcester	Inhabitants	104	1214
Kemble, W.	S. & W. Hanningfield, R.	Essex	London	W. Kemble, Esq.	*934	694
La Mothe, J. H.	Lezayre, v.	Isle of Man		The Crown	97	1979
Ludlow, A. R.	Compton Greenfield, R.	Gloucester	G. & B.	R. C. Lippincott, Esq.	*144	40
Oliver, S.	Lambley, R.	Nottingham	Lincoln	Rev. A. D. Flamstead	476	824
Piggott, J. D.	Radstone, P.C.	Northampt.	Peterboro'	W. Holbech, Esq.	90	203
Platten, J. C.	Flitcham, P.C.	Norfolk	Norwich	Earl of Leicester	54	223
Smith, H.	Appledram, P.C.	Sussex	Chichester	Lord Chancellor	34	158
Stoddart, J.	Lowick & Islip, R.	Northampt.	Peterboro'	Duke of Dorset	*685	956
Were, E. B.	St. Martin, Stamford Baron, v.	Northampt.	Peterboro'	Marq. of Exeter	*98	1274

*** *The Asterisk denotes a Residence House.*

Digitized by Google

APPOINTMENTS.

Argles, M. ..... Chanc. Dioc. of Peterboro'.
Athill, W. ..... Sur. Deanery of Middleham.
Beaumont, J. A. .. Dom. Chap. to Earl Fitzwilliam.
Browne, H. ..... Preb. of Chichester Cath.
Churton, H.B.W. Preb. of Chichester.
Davis, S. ..... Surrog. Dioc. of Winchester.
Deane, H. ..... Preb. of Salisbury Cath.
Fergan, J. S. L... Preb. of Chichester.
Granville, A.K.B. Dom. Chap. to Earl of Ripon.
Healey, J. ..... Surrog. Archd. of Leicester.
Hill, T. ..... Canon non-res. of Lichfield.
Hooper, F. J. B.. Rur. Dean of Wich, Diocese of Worcester.
Jones, D. ..... Dom. Chap. to Ld. Says & Sele.
Livius, H. S. .... Chap. Orphan Asylum, Bristol.
Meredith, R. F. . Dom. Chap. to Ld. Monteagle.
Smith, J. C. ..... Surrog. Dioc. of Winchester.
Whiston, R. ..... Head Master Cath. Gram. School, Rochester.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Atkinson, T., Cur. of Ch. Stretton, Salop, 36.
Biddulph, Z. H., Vic. of Shoreham, Sussex, &c.
Brewster, J., Incumb. of Eaglescliff, Durh. 89.
Buckstone, H. T. Rec. of Bradley, Derbys. 35.
Charlwood, C. B., 72.
Goode, A., Chap. to East India Company, 48.
Goode, F., Clapham.
Grosvenor, R., Fell. of All Souls Coll. Oxford.
Hinkson, S W., Curate of Farthingstone, 27.
Hird, L., Preb. of York and Vic. of Paull, 75.
Hughes, J., Vicar of Dudderhill, 88.
Hunter, R. B, Rec. of Whatton, Northumb.
Lingard, J., Hulme, Manchester, 44.
Murray, J., Curate of Halifax, 31.
Park, W. W., of Ince Hall, Cheshire, 36.
Prescott, W. H., 42.
Prettyman, J., Rec. of Sherrington, 57.
Richardson, W., Chap. to Sherburn Hospital, Durham, 33.
Rockett, C., at Cheltenham.
Thompson, J., Vic. Thornton Steward, Yorks.
Tovey, T. L., Curate of Chitterne, Wilts, 32.
Vicary, A. T. R., Rec. of St. Paul's, Exeter.
Wingfield, R., Vic. Ruabon, Denbigh, 68.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A Meeting of this Society was held at their Chambers in St. Martin's-place, on Monday, the 19th of December, 1842, Newell Connop, jun. Esq., the Treasurer, in the chair; there were also present, the Revs. H. H. Norris and Benj. Harrison; J. Round, M.P., J. W. Bowden, S. F. Wood, Benj. Harrison, Wm. Davis, Wm. Cotton, Esqrs., &c.

After the Secretary had read the reports of the Sub-Committees, the General Committee proceeded to consider the cases referred to them, and voted grants for the following purposes:—

Towards repewing the church at Long Stanton, Salop; enlarging by rebuilding the chapel at Kentish town, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex; building a chapel at North Moor Green, in the parish of North Petherton, Somerset; repewing the church at St. Sampson's, Cornwall; repewing the church at Bromham, Wilts; repewing the church of All Saints, Leicester; building a chapel at Brown Edge, in the parish of Norton-in-the-Moors, Staffordshire; removing gallery, and erecting new seats, in the church at Hinxton, Cambridgeshire; restoring a ruined church at Llandevand, Monmouthshire; building a church at Yeovil, Somerset.

The population of these places is 151,239 persons, for whom church-room is now provided to the extent of 21,850 sittings, of which 5166 are free; with the assistance of this Society, 2774 additional sittings will be added to the above amount of church accommodation, of which number 2162 will be free and unappropriated for ever. *One* of these parishes, St. Pancras, London, contains a population of 129,598 persons, with church-room for about 18,000 of that number; the united population of *four* other parishes is 18,383 persons, with church-accommodation for only 3050 of that number.

Certificates of the completion of the erection, enlargement, &c. of churches or chapels, in *twenty* parishes, were examined and approved, and the Committee issued warrants to the Treasurer for the payment of the sum awarded in each case. The population of these twenty parishes is 36,189 persons, for whom church-accommodation to the extent of 8721 sittings only was provided, previously to the execution of the works towards which the Society's aid was afforded, including 3817 free seats; the united population of six of these places was 23,596 persons, with sittings for only 5960 of that number. To this very scanty provision, 5162 sittings have now been added, 3613 of which are free and unappropriated for ever.

The number of applications for aid from the Society, received since the 31st

Digitized by Google

of March last, is 112; grants have been voted in seventy cases, and ten applications for aid are now under the examination of the Sub-Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry.

The Treasurer reported that the amount of outstanding grants is 48,505*l.*, while the sum at the disposal of the Society is only 41,816*l.*, shewing a deficiency of 6,689*l.*

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.—*Bristol.*—Among the alterations which have lately been effected in the parish church of St. Augustine, the most striking is the erection of a very elegant gothic pulpit and reading-desk, of carved oak, (at a cost of more than 150*l.*,) the gift of two of the parishioners. At the same time were presented to the church a most costly and beautiful set of books for the desk and altar services, by two other individuals of the parish. And lastly, a well-known benevolent lady of the same parish has just given orders for clothing, at her own sole expense, the whole of the children of the parochial school—in number 108.—*From a Correspondent.*

LONDON.—*Weekly Offertory.*—This primitive usage of the Church was simultaneously restored in the parish churches of Dunton, Orsetto, Stifford, and Aveley, Essex, on Sunday, the 6th inst. When it is considered how many things there are in connexion with the sacred edifices themselves which church-rates do not provide for, especially in these days, when the "screw" is so vigorously applied by dissenting and other agitators at parish vestries; when, moreover, it is considered how many wants are felt by the church at large, which nothing but *systematic* benevolence can adequately provide for; it is surely time for the clergy at large to return to this *rubrical* as well as primitive practice, the *Church's own* mode of gathering the pious offerings of her children, leaving to schismatics the bald heterodoxy, and the pride and vain glory of subscription lists.

Ordinances of the Church.—We have great pleasure in presenting our readers with the following Resolutions, passed by several of the Clergy of Chelmsford and its vicinity, after hearing the Bishop's Charge.

"At a Meeting of many of the Clergy attending the Bishop's Visitation at Chelmsford, assembled to consider of the steps which should be taken in order to carry into effect with one accord in their respective parishes the recommendations and directions of the Charge touching the Ordinances of the Church, it was agreed that the fittest course will be to revive immediately the following ancient practices according to the Rubric:—

"1st. That, at the conclusion of the sermon, the Clergyman do return to the altar, and there read one or more of the Offertory Sentences, then the Prayer for the Church Militant, then one of the Collects, and so conclude with the Blessing; and that for the more convenient following of this course, the Clergyman do preach in his surplice in the morning, as recommended in the Charge.

"2d. That divine service be performed on all the saints' days in the calendar; and that due notice be given on Sundays, after the Nicene Creed, of all saints' days and fast days in the current week, in some such form as the following:—'Friday, being the festival of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, is appointed to be observed as a holiday; divine service will be celebrated on that day at 11 o'clock; the even or vigil before that day is to be observed as a fast.'

"3d. That, according to the 18th Canon, referred to by the Bishop, the Clergyman do set the example to the congregation of bowing reverently whenever the holy name of Jesus is mentioned.

"4th. That no psalms or hymns be sung before the commencement of divine service.

"5th. That the Clergyman officiating do give out all psalms, hymns, and notices, himself.

"6th. That the prayers for those to be admitted to holy orders, be daily used in the Ember Weeks.

"7th. The whole of the marriage service being to be used, that the first part of it be read, as directed, in the body of the Church, the clergyman reciting the psalm as he walks to the altar.

"8th. That the Holy Communion be administered more frequently than heretofore.—N.B. In some of the parishes it will in future be celebrated *monthly*, and in some of the smaller parishes eight times in the year, with a prospect of still further advancement hereafter.

"9th. That whenever the Holy Communion is announced, the whole of the notice be read.

"10th. That the elements of bread and wine be put on the table by the Clergyman before the prayer for the Church Militant, as directed by the Rubric; the Clerk bringing them to the rails, or the Clergyman fetching them from the Vestry, as may be most convenient."

"*Chelmsford, October 20th*, 1842."

NORWICH.—*Woodbridge.*—A new stained-glass window has lately been erected in the chancel of the church, at the expense of George Thomas, Esq. It embodies emblems of the four Evangelists. On the top of the tracery is St. George's Cross. Underneath are four shields; the first, a yellow cross on white ground; the second, an emblem of the Trinity on white ground; the third, the scourge, the spear, and the sponge; the fourth, the crown of thorns. And in the lower part of the tracery, in the centre of the window, is a dove on blue

Digitized by Google

ground, with a glory round its head. The size of the window is about 14ft. by 8ft., and is of most exquisite manufacture, the colours being peculiarly vivid. It forms altogether a most beautiful addition to this fine church, and was manufactured by Mr. Willement, of London, who has lately furnished ornamental windows to the Temple church and St. George's chapel, Windsor.

WINCHESTER.—*St. Saviour's Church.*—It was the intention of several of the inhabitants of the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, to give a performance of Sacred Music in the church for the benefit of the Parochial and National Schools. Arrangements had been made with Miss Birch, Miss Dolby, Mr. Hobbs, Mr. Novello, and Mr. Surman. Large posting bills were prepared and published. We are happy, however, to say, that the intention having reached the ears of the Lord Bishop of Winchester, his lordship wrote to the Rev. William Curling, commanding that no such performance should take place. We trust these abominations will be as resolutely put down elsewhere.

YORK.—*Burton Agnes.*—In this ancient, but rural village, the seat of a baronet, and the residence of the archdeacon of the East Riding, is a neat parish church, of the gothic order, dedicated to Saint Martin, which appears to have graced that village for the last seven or eight hundred years; but in the lapse of years the interior has undergone many alterations, which had hidden from the view its original beauty. The archdeacon, with his usual zeal for the beautifying and restoring the churches in his archdeaconry, has restored this ancient edifice by clearing away the underdrawing, and exposing the roof and the handsome gothic windows; he has opened out the noble arch between the belfry and the church, and the columns which support the six arches of the north and south aisles have been restored to their original state. The ancient font, which had been cast away nearly a century ago, is put again into its own place. A neat organ has been set up. The alteration at the first was somewhat objected to by some of the parishioners, who thought the church would never look so well again; but now, on the contrary, they admire the archdeacon's taste, and think it is very much improved. The whole has been done at the archdeacon's own expense, excepting the putting in of two new plain windows. The chancel is reserved for still greater improvement and more marked beauty. The church was re-opened for divine service on Sunday the 4th inst., and the various chants were performed by the National-school boys, accompanied by the fine tones of the organ. The service was performed by the venerable archdeacon, and the Revs. J. Skinner and G. Boynton, and was more than ordinarily impressive.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Duties of Churchwardens. — "The churchwardens are by law the Bishop's parochial officers; as such they are put in charge of the fabric of the church, and all its furniture. The fabric they are bound to see kept in fit repair, and, with the churchyard, free from all profane uses whatever. The furniture of the church is also in their charge, and they are to provide whatever is needful for the public worship of God according to the rites of the English Church. Thus they have been called of old 'wardens of the goodes, workis, and ornamentes of the Church.' This is here the limit of their authority; they are to preserve, not to alter or to alienate; they have no power to part with any of the church goods, or to permit any addition to or alteration of the fabric within or without, unless they have the Bishop's license for such alteration. This I desire especially to press upon the wardens. If, without the sanction of the ordinary, they permit any changes to be made in the churches under their care, whether effected under the name of repairs or not, whether with or without the sanction of the vestry, they are doing an illegal act, for the penalties of which they render themselves responsible."

"In every existing pew within the body of the church which is not held by a faculty or by prescription, they can, as the Bishop's officers, and subject to an appeal to him, seat any parishioner. This power they are bound to exercise so as to accommodate the greatest number, regarding, as far as possible, the convenience of all, and not wantonly disturbing any who have been seated by their predecessors. But they have no power to build any new pew, or to enlarge one already existing, or to turn a free sitting into a pew, or to give permission to another party to erect one for himself,

Digitized by Google

or in any other way to encroach or suffer encroachments upon the common right of every parishioner to a place in the house of God. Neither they alone, nor the whole parish in vestry with them, possess this right; and if they attempt to exercise it, they make themselves responsible for an illegal act, with all the consequences of its illegality."

"It is of great moment that the law on this point should be clearly understood, as it will henceforth be strictly enforced by those whose duty it is to enforce it." — *From the Archdeacon of Surrey's Charge, Nov.* 1842. (*Second Edition.*)

Specimens of Ancient Church Plate, Sepulchral Crosses, &c.—It is proposed under this title to give in lithographic outline, specimens of ancient Church plate: sepulchral crosses (stone and brass); fonts, and other ecclesiastical antiquities, accurately drawn to scale. Several of the specimens will be descriptive of relics in the Channel islands, which, it is believed, are almost entirely unknown. This work is undertaken by two Clergymen, in the hope of encouraging a better taste than has for a long period prevailed in the designs and ornaments of the subjects illustrated; and with the intention of devoting the profits of the sale to the restoration of a parish church.

The work will probably not exceed eight or ten numbers. Each number will contain six plates, royal 4to. The first number (published January 1st, 1843,) contains—1. Brass to R. Parys, Hildersham, Cambridge. 2. Brass to Nicholas de Aumberdene, Taplow, Bucks. 3. Stone coffin lid, Bitton, Gloucestershire. 4. Stone coffin lid, Monkton Farleigh, Wilts. 5. Silver gilt chalice, St. Sampson's, Guernsey. 6. Font (E. English), Wellow, Somerset.

N.B. Every alternate number will be devoted entirely to specimens of Church plate.

The Rev. Robert Winning, Presbyterian minister of Kingscourt, county Cavan, lately preached a farewell sermon to his congregation, on his leaving them, purposing to unite himself to the Church of Ireland. The Reverend gentleman has been well known as the able advocate of the claims of the Irish Bible Society.

FOREIGN.

Church Music in France.—The following announcement appeared lately in "L'Univers," and we presume the arrangement has been carried out, though we have heard no particulars.—A grand musical solemnity is being prepared for Christmas in the church of Notre Dame, under the direction of M. Hubert, successor of M. Wilhem, as inspector-general of the singing classes in the commercial schools of Paris. Besides the children of the day schools, there will be the voices of 500 or 600 adults, who attend the gratuitous courses of vocal music established in all the arrondissements. High mass will be said in plain-chaunt. The Introit, Gradual and Communion, will be chaunted by the choir above named; and the Kyrie, Gloria, and Credo, in a chaunt of the severest character. At the Elevation a chorus of Palestrina, and at the Offertory a chorus of Marcello, will be the only portions not in pure plain-chaunt. "The restoration," says the *Univers*, "of the ecclesiastical chaunt is gaining ground, and one may half see the time in which any other style of music will be forbidden in all the churches of France."

CHURCHES CONSECRATED.

Skiptonbridge	Bishop of Ripon	Nov. 22.
Sedbergh, Ramshell	Bishop of Ripon	Dec. 2.
Northampton, St. Andrew	Bishop of Peterborough	Nov. 30.

We have received the following note in reference to a review in our last number:—

"Sir,—I am anxious to disclaim the praise which you gave me for originality in personifying the power of steam in my Holyday Tales. Two or three years ago I saw the same idea in a small periodical for the working classes, to which I would willingly render back the credit, but that I cannot tell the name of the publication, nor whether it still continues. Some one said of Gulliver's Travels that, when once the idea of little men and big men was hit on, all the rest followed of course; and so, perhaps, it might be said of the giant of steam; the principal merit consists in the first idea. Indeed, your observations show that the idea might have been worked up much better than it has been. If you do not consider it too trivial an affair, I should thank you to find room for this note in your next number; as I do not wish to appropriate to myself the credit of originality which is not my due.—Your faithful servant,

"*Lichfield, Dec.* 2, 1842. "W. Gresley."

Erratum.—P. 88, *note, for* Council of Tours, *read* 2d Council of Tours.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

FEBRUARY, 1843.

Lays of Ancient Rome. By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. London: Longman & Co., 1842.

THIS small volume came before the public with two great advantages, an attractive title and a well-known name; and accordingly the public has perceived its merits to the extent of already demanding a second edition. It is something that an ex-cabinet minister should present us with a volume of poems; the very position of the writer excites curiosity and attracts attention. If even Don Carlos were now published for the first time, its readers, a body of which no recent statistics take account, would be numerous—a natural interest would be felt in the solution of the problem, "What kind of poetry is not incompatible with a six years' leadership of the House of Commons?" But Mr. Macaulay's performances as a minister are not, perhaps, the chief ingredients in his brilliant and varied reputation. He is an orator of high powers—powers approaching to the highest. His speeches, indeed, do not, it is said, produce on his audience the effect that we, reading them before the fire next morning, should have anticipated. Yet he has spoken sentences of noble and perfect eloquence, which are each like a medal of enduring metal, stamped with a high thought at once and for ever; and but for this prevalent impression on one of the few points on which the "vox populi" at once pronounces and justifies its own judgment, we should feel some scruple in placing any one of his own generation above Mr. Macaulay as an orator. As a writer of prose, his remarkable powers are more universally acknowledged. Every year presents us, we are thankful to say, with several pieces of evidence on this point. When the great Northern Quarterly appears in its appointed season, and is laid on the club-tables of all London, how many are there who take it up, turn it over from "Judex damnatur" on one side to the blank blue and yellow on the other, still looking anxiously for some signs of the well-known, unmistakeable hand—the epigrammatic turns, the short, sharp sentences, the sparkling illustrations, the antithesis, always lively, and

Digitized by Google

often (not always) just—and finding none, resign the new number to the next candidate in contented disappointment. Serious statistics, scientific disquisitions on Brewster and Arago, settings forth of the narrow pedantry of Peel, and the world-embracing patriotism of Palmerston,—all are left for another day; "There is no article by Macaulay."

This, and much more than this, may be said of Mr. Macaulay. Brilliant is the very word—he has the brilliant reputation of a brilliant writer, and we, and many others, are grateful to him for much amusement and much instruction. If we were at present reviewing his reviews—an audacious juxtaposition, we confess—we might find something to say on the other side. We might observe with regret on the occasional sacrifice of truth to point—on the substitution of flashing cleverness for serious thought—on the risks and temptations to which any but the most earnest of writers is exposed by imagination, wit, and a dazzling power of language. But this lies out of our path for the present.

We should add, that Mr. Macaulay is not unknown, even as a poet. To say nothing of a prize poem, decidedly belonging to the better class of those unfortunate compositions, the glory whereof exists only for the senate-house or the theatre, there were the poems published, many years since, in "Knight's Quarterly Magazine," under the title, we think, of "Songs of the Civil War," and "Songs of the Huguenots." We believe they do not exist in print, except in such stray copies of that once-celebrated periodical as may be discoverable in book stalls, or in the libraries of its Cambridge contemporaries; still the poems are known to many, and heartily admired where they are known. The "Battle of Naseby," in particular, is a noble ballad. The fierce and brave fanaticism of its supposed author, "Obadiah Bind-their-kings-in-chains-and-their-nobles-with-links-of-iron, Serjeant in Ireton's regiment," is embodied with all that vigorous imagination, that lively power of realizing the past, which makes Mr. Macaulay's historical sketches in prose not only (unlike most sketches of the same character) decidedly readable, but even singularly interesting; while the tumult of the battle, the headlong onset of Rupert, and the decisive rank-shattering charge of the Ironsides, are given with a vividness and spirit which Scott would have admired, and need not have blushed to own. The "Battle of Ivry" deserves hardly less commendation. Both these poems have, in our judgment, a degree of merit which will preserve them. Nor can we forget the spirit-stirring ballad of the "Armada," in which the lighting of the beacon-fires is scarcely inferior to the memorable passages in the Agamemnon.

With Naseby and Ivry in our memory, we confess ourselves to have been in some degree disappointed with the "Lays of Ancient Rome." They are good, but not so good as we might have hoped; their merits are generally similar in kind, and not higher in degree; and they are not exempt from positive defects, one of which is

Digitized by Google

rather of a serious character—they are too long. Too long, and at the same time too few. If, in place of the four subjects, to which, out of the infinite variety presented for his selection, Mr. Macaulay has chosen to confine himself, he had given us eight, treated with similar spirit and more brevity, so that the eight poems collectively might have been pretty much of the same length with the existing four, we think it probable that the merit of the book would have been rather more than doubled. Many, and we ourselves among the number, would remonstrate with Mr. Macaulay on having, in some degree, disappointed the hopes created by his title, by touching upon so small a number out of so many noble themes for poetry; but no one will be found to complain of the shortness of the individual pieces. They exhibit much of that diffuseness consequent upon haste. We wish Mr. Macaulay had acted upon the principle once announced by an eminent and singularly judicious preacher, and employed more time in shortening what he had to say to us.

Before proceeding to notice these poems in detail, we will insert a few words of explanation for the benefit of those readers to whom the title, "Lays of Ancient Rome," may convey no very definite anticipation of what they are to expect. The correctness of Niebuhr's views respecting the nature of the early Roman history has, indeed, been established by the nearly unanimous assent of scholars; and it is probable that all future histories of Rome in our language will be, as all the recent works on the subject have been, based upon the assumption of their truth. Still, in the hope that this magazine passes through many hands which have never turned over the pages of Malkin or Arnold, we will state the nature of the opinions in question, the theory on which these poems are founded, and the aim they have in view.

The early history of Rome, as it is usually instilled into the youthful mind through the medium of Goldsmith or Pinnock, comes to us from the writers of the period of the empire—men who, in their habits of thought, in their way of living, their feelings and their language, were, at least, as far removed from the early inhabitants of the city of Romulus, as we from our Anglo-Saxon forefathers of the time of Alfred. The pains which are so generally and successfully taken to confuse all our notions of Greek and Roman history, by a blundering bracketing together of the men of a thousand years under the one ridiculous title of "Ancients," make this remark excusable, if not necessary. That Livy was not a contemporary of Tullus Hostilius, may appear a truism; that we are not to regard his writings as if they had proceeded from a subject of the early kings, is a truth the practical establishment of which has employed much learning and zeal. Well; the history, as we have it, comes to us, let us say, from Livy. From whom did it come to Livy? for he did not perceive it by intuition, nor did he invent it. From the early chroniclers. And from whom or what to them? This question is to be answered in

Digitized by Google

the words of Mr. Macaulay's title-page—from the "Lays of Ancient Rome."

Of these early chroniclers, the earliest wrote some 500 years after the date commonly assigned to the building of the city: personally he stood to those times in a relation similar to that of William of Malmesbury towards Hengist and Horsa. All the authentic and doubtless scanty records of the early history were destroyed at the burning of Rome by the Gauls, 150 years before. The later historians themselves have noticed the impossibility of reconciling some of the statements of the chronicles with known facts. It is demonstrable that events of the greatest importance have been misrepresented in them. In short, the ordinary grounds for trusting in the accuracy of a history, do not exist in the case of the glorious collection of legends called the "History of Ancient Rome." Let us now look at the character of this story, thus weakly supported by external evidence. Is it such as we should expect in a record compiled from the genuine memorials of the early ages of a rude and unlettered people—such, as in the cases where the later writer has followed a contemporary authority we actually find it —short, circumstantial, characterless, and dull; a very old almanack of history, noting the creation of magistrates, the overflowing of the Tiber, and the occurrence of that frequent prodigy—"Bos in Etruriâ locutus est"—all in the dry tone of mere chronology? In every respect it is the reverse of all this. It is full of beauty, of spirit, and of character; it passes briefly over the events of half a century, to relate those of a single day with epic fulness; it traces the line of the people up to their tutelary god, and continues, as it begins, in marvel.

To the more marvellous occurrences the suspicion of the earlier critics was exclusively directed; and to their attempts to reduce into sense and dulness the incredible and poetical, are we indebted for several very perfect specimens of stupid rationalism. Such errors are not likely to be repeated. Placed by the exertions of Niebuhr and others at the right point of view, we can detect at once and for ever the character of the whole story: we can perceive that the more miraculous incidents are not to be regarded as purple patches sewn upon the surface of a garment of different and sober texture, but that all the materials are similar, and have passed through the same hands; that, for instance, the impossible parentage of the twins is equally true and equally false with the possible incident of the appearance of the six vultures to one brother and the twelve to the other; that, in both cases, we are dealing not with historical fact, but with the creations of the imagination. Mr. Macaulay has, indeed, truly observed, that the early history of Rome is far more poetical than anything else in Latin literature; and the eloquent enumeration of many of the more striking incidents and stories with which he has supported this remark, is of itself sufficient to produce the conviction, that here are, at least, materials from which might have been constructed a truly noble and national poetry. Now, that there actually existed among

Digitized by Google

the early Romans a class of poems on those very subjects, is a fact established by unquestionable evidence which we need not here trace, but content ourselves with referring our readers to Mr. Macaulay's Preface, where they will find it clearly stated, and illustrated by some just remarks and ingeniously-adduced examples on the natural and universal growth of a similar poetry in corresponding stages of national development. These poems, which, like the Iliad and Odyssey, and the compositions of our own minstrels, were habitually sung at banquets and festivals, constituted the literature of ancient Rome. While that literature was yet in a state of incomplete development, it came in contact with the mature perfection of Grecian art, and perished before it. Cultivated enough to appreciate the superiority of those exquisite works, which as yet, at least, they were incompetent to rival, the Romans made them henceforth their models. They borrowed from the Greeks everything; structure, metres, mythology: the Latin literature became imitative, exhibiting even in its most perfect forms something of the tameness of plagiarism; and the intellectual advancement of Rome, thus directed into a prescribed and foreign channel, was probably checked for ever. The relation in which the Greek literature stood to Rome may be partly represented by the influence exercised by the writers of France over the German mind during a great part of the last century. The temporary submission of the Germans to their masters and models was indeed the more complete; and the native manufacturers of verse, wisely perhaps despairing of the fitness of their native material, preferred exhibiting in bad French the thoughts which, Frenchified to the utmost of their power, were become too civilised for the unmalleable German. Had the mental cultivation of the Germans been a few degrees less advanced, and their models a little less contemptible, the victory of the foreign taste might have been as permanent as it was complete, over a people for whom the Lay of the Nibelungen had been, and Goëthe was yet to be. The Romans, too, had their Nibelungen, or something like it, in the poems we have mentioned. To what degree they were losers in consequence of their devotion to Greek models—how far the very high degree of excellence they actually attained may have balanced the loss of originality and freedom—we might judge more easily had a single specimen of their early poetry been preserved to our time. No such specimen has been discovered, nor is there a hope of its discovery—not even if all the MSS. which lie hidden in Herculaneum and Pompeii were unrolled and deciphered, could we hope to find among them, like a fossil of a long extinct species among the bones of more modern genera, the original lay of "Porsena," or of the "Battle of the Lake Regillus."

It is almost certain, however, that, as has often occurred in similar cases, this poetry lived among the people long after it ceased to be the literature of the educated; and there is great probability in Mr. Macaulay's tantalizing conjecture, that, at the time when Cicero regarded them as irreparably lost, "a search among the nooks of the Apennines, as active as the search which Sir Walter Scott made among the descen-

Digitized by Google

dants of the moss-troopers of Liddesdale, might have brought to light many fine remains of ancient minstrelsy." Would that the future author of the Tusculan Disputations had been antiquarian enough to devote a long vacation during his studies under Diodotus or Philo, or even to sacrifice the advantage of attendance on the lectures of Antiochus, to such a "Liddesdale raid" into the high country of the Samnites, and among the precipitous valleys of the Hernici. With all our admiration for the great and thoroughly-cultivated statesman, orator, and philosopher, we should find it hard to name any single book of his writings which we would not, were the choice in our power, gladly exchange for a single genuine and complete Latin ballad, the work of some forgotten minstrel who lived before the Gauls burnt Rome. Even in a historical point of view, it is impossible to estimate the value of a document which might have shown us, as from their own mouths, and not at second hand, what manner of men they were who, when the view from her own walls extended far beyond the limits of the dominion of Rome, struggled year after year with their powerful neighbours for freedom and existence, with the same strong and wilful courage which won empire for their descendants—their descendants with whom they had probably little in common beyond the pervading principle of their national life, the determination to rest second to none. But if such an opportunity existed for Cicero, and we shall hereafter see that there is some reason for supposing it to have existed long after the time of Cicero, it does not exist for us. Not only have the Latin ballads perished, but we have but scanty sources from which to form any judgment of their character—of these, one of the principal is mentioned by Mr. Macaulay in the following sentence, which we quote for the sake of the graceful and classical illustration it contains: "The Latin ballads perished for ever. Yet discerning critics have thought that they could still perceive in the early history of Rome numerous fragments of this lost poetry, as the traveller on classic ground sometimes finds built into the heavy wall of a fort or convent, a pillar rich with acanthus leaves, or a frieze where the Amazons and Bacchanals seem to live. The theatres and temples of the Greek and the Roman were degraded into the quarries of the Turk and the Goth. Even so did the old Saturnian poetry become the quarry in which a crowd of orators and annalists found the materials for their prose." In this passage Mr. Macaulay does not mean simply to assert, that, by a process, which he goes on to detail with great clearness, and to illustrate by some singularly felicitous examples from our own and other early histories, the legends which formed the subjects of the Roman minstrels, passed from the ballad into the funeral oration or chronicle, and from the chronicle into the received histories. This is true, but not the whole truth. All readers of Livy, whose attention has been directed to the subject, are aware, that not merely the bare outline, but the general structure of the stories, and disposition of the minuter details, present a character which can only be fitly termed poetical, and that there are passages, though not of very frequent occurrence, of which the harsh,

Digitized by Google

antique diction, and the unmistakeably metrical rhythm, scarcely leave room for doubt, that in these cases the chronicler has transcribed, with little alteration, direct from the old ballad, and the historian from the chronicler. Such passages (if Mr. Macaulay will pardon us for using the converse of his illustration) stand forth in the graceful and eloquent pages of Livy, like the remnant of a Pelasgian wall interrupting a line of Corinthian columns. It is from a comparison of these relics, and of the few others elsewhere to be found, with what we know of Latin poetry in its transition state, and incidental notices of its earlier character, that we have, if possible, to construct for ourselves an idea of what Mr. Macaulay styles the old Saturnian poetry, that being the name by which its metre was generally distinguished. But there is much room for speculation on the subject even of this metre. The line generally given as a specimen is a perfectly constructed iambo-trochaic line, and, as such, we have no doubt at all, remarkably unlike the verses of the Latin ballads; unlike to a degree which is but imperfectly expressed in Mr. Macaulay's remark—that the licence taken by the early Latin poets seems to have been almost boundless. Very probably it was so; but there is strong ground for believing that much of the apparent licence of the verse arises simply from its being constructed, more or less, on the principle not of quantity, the only one followed by the writers of later Latin poetry, but of accent. Nor is this the only respect in which it appears to have resembled the poetry of modern Europe rather than that of the Greeks, or of their Roman copyists. There are strong indications of the systematic use of alliteration, as a component part of the metrical effect; and there are fainter, but still recognisable traces of the occasional presence of rhyme. Whether they approached more nearly to the romantic ballads of the middle ages than to the works of classical authors, in general tone and spirit, as well as in metrical structure, is a question which has been answered in the affirmative; but perhaps there is not sufficient evidence to warrant such an opinion. It has even been conjectured, that these Saturnian poems, or others constructed on similar rhythmical principles, lived in the memory of the Italian people, not only to the time of Cicero, but till the republic had long fallen, and the empire was far advanced in decline, and that from them was immediately derived the principle of rhyming and accentuated versification, which reappears in the early Christian hymns. It would be singularly interesting to speculate on the possibility of such a connexion between times so remote and spirits so opposed,—to find that the songs which celebrated the first steps of Rome in the march of conquest, gave form to the strains which were the heralds of her second and spiritual dominion,—that the founders of the empire of violence were thus connected with the regenerators of mankind by the single indestructible link of a popular poetry. With this conjecture, incapable, perhaps, either of proof or disproof, terminates our very conjectural knowledge of the Roman ballads. The scattered fragments above mentioned—the lines, half

Digitized by Google

lines, single words, perhaps—literally the *disjecti membra poetæ*—are the materials from which the antiquarian has (if he can) to reproduce the whole, just as Cuvier, from a fragment of a tooth, and two joints of a toe, reconstructed the skeleton of the Megalonyx.

Of this process, Mr. Macaulay has, with imperfect success, undertaken to be the Cuvier. It seems ungracious to complain of imperfect success where so much has been done well, and where all success must of necessity have been imperfect; but we think that Mr. Macaulay has not attained the degree of success in his confessedly difficult task which his qualifications for it might have commanded; partly, we think, from want of perceiving with entire distinctness some of its peculiar difficulties, which, nevertheless, to us appear sufficiently obvious. The attempt to reproduce the Lays of Ancient Rome, was one in which the poet, by himself, could do little, the antiquarian, by himself, nothing at all; the problem was, to combine in proper proportions the poet and the antiquarian. It must be recollected, that the poem, for instance, entitled the "Battle of the Lake Regillus," is not strictly a poem on that subject. We do not want, even from a man of genius, a copy of modern English verses on a theme which, with others of its class, we would rather leave in the hands of hexameter-writing school-boys; nor is this what Mr. Macaulay has offered us. The ideal which it was his task to realize, was not an ideal *battle*, but an ideal *poem*. Viewed with reference to nature, it was, like other poetry, imitation; but imitation at second hand. And as, in ordinary cases, the aim of the artist who imitates nature is, not indeed to produce in our minds a perfect illusion, but to affect us with some of the feelings which would be excited in us by the contemplation of reality, so here the object was to furnish the imagination with something which, though incapable of being mistaken momentarily for the original, it might not unwillingly accept, as at once truthfully reflecting, and aiding it to reduce into form, its own vague conception of those forgotten poems. That the very model to be imitated was itself partly imaginary, was so far advantageous to the modern poet, as it left him in possession of a degree of freedom which he should have been most careful to use with judgment; and the first step towards success which a critical judgment would have dictated would have been a strict avoidance of anything decidedly incongruous—anything which would at once withdraw the reader's imagination from the Lays of Ancient Rome, by reminding him of another and different model. The old Latin ballads were, perhaps, like the early ballads of England, Spain, or Scotland; but it is more certain that they were not at all like the most modern-sounding passages in the "Lay of the last Minstrel." The ballad-like tone which may be said more or less to pervade the longer poems of Scott, does not make them ballads; it produces just that degree of resemblance which is necessary to entrap a writer into the error of supposing, that, in giving us a reflection of the one, he has caught the tone of the other. Mr. Macaulay's, however, has not

Digitized by Google

been an unconscious imitation; in his preface, his debts to Sir Walter Scott are candidly acknowledged. We feel confident of almost universal assent to our opinion, that the least successful portions of these Lays are those which bear upon their face the strongest evidence of such a borrowing; and we are surprised that the very facility which tempts to the execution of such passages, did not suggest to so accomplished a critic, that, in an undertaking like his, a doubtful and difficult voyage, "Rokeby" and the "Lady of the Lake" should have been beacons to shun, not to follow. We have said above, that the problem to be solved by Mr. Macaulay, was the proper combination of the poet and the antiquarian. His Lays contain not a few passages of spirited description, or of graceful thoughts, happily expressed, in which, though there is little enough of the antique Roman, we recognise, at least, the hand of a poet; and for poetry in any shape we are, as it becomes us to be, thankful. Again, there are passages in which, keeping his mind imbued with the characteristic colouring of his original, altogether renouncing Scott, and following, if any one, Livy, he has, through a high and successful effort of imagination, caught and presented to us the very tone and spirit of the old legend; and such passages are not more decidedly the most correct than they are the most poetical. The imagination of the poet has given life and reality to the knowledge of the antiquarian, and the two are harmoniously combined. But does such a passage as the following description, from the "Lay of Horatius," of the approach of Porsena's army, show most of the poet, of the antiquarian, or of the imitative versifier?

> "And nearer fast, and nearer,
> Doth the red whirlwind come;
> And louder still, and still more loud,
> From underneath that rolling cloud,
> Is heard the trumpet's war-note proud,
> The trampling and the hum.
> And plainly, and more plainly,
> Now through the gloom appears,
> Far to left and far to right,
> In broken gleams of dark blue light,
> The long array of helmets bright,
> The long array of spears."

The next stanza but one exhibits the same influence. "I think we do all know that sweet (Roman?) hand." It is not judicious to remind us of Clan Alpine's war in the middle of Porsena's campaign—to suggest the thought of dark Sir Roderick rather than of dark Verbenna; and, in speaking of reedy Thrasymene, to make the mountain hold by Loch Katrine rise before us. We do not refer to these passages as fair specimens of the Lay of Horatius, but as examples to illustrate our meaning. They are by no meant the only ones of the kind which might be selected from it; but it would be unjust to give them without showing that it contains much

Digitized by Google

of a very different order. We shall proceed to give extracts, connecting them by our remarks.

It opens with a narration, rendered spirited by the introduction of renowned names and picturesque touches of local description, of the gathering of Etruria through all her cities, at the summons of Lars Porsena of Clusium. The whole land has sent forth its strength. The Ciminian forest is deserted by hunter and woodman; by Clitumnus there is no herdsman; by the Volsinian mere no fowler.

"The harvests of Arretium
This year old men shall reap;
This year young boys in Umbro
Shall plunge the struggling sheep;
And in the vats of Luna
This year the must shall foam
Round the white feet of laughing girls,
Whose sires have marched to Rome."

The graceful and imaginative expression of a thought far from novel, has made this one of the most pleasing stanzas in the whole of "Horatius."

Thirty Etruscan seers, in constant attendance on the great leader, have prophesied success—a great army has been collected, of Etruscans, of exiles from Rome:

"And with a mighty following,
To join the muster came,
The Tusculan Mamilius,
Prince of the Latian name."

There is something which pleases us much in that last half-stanza; it reminds us sufficiently of Livy, and not too much of our own ballads. But how was it at Rome in the mean time?

"But by the yellow Tiber
Was tumult and affright;
From all the spacious champaign
To Rome men took their flight.
A mile around the city
The throng stopped up the ways;
A fearful sight it was to see,
Through two long nights and days.

"For aged folk on crutches,
And women great with child,
And mothers, sobbing over babes,
That clung to them, and smiled;
And sick men borne on litters,
High on the necks of slaves,
And troops of sun-burned husbandmen,
With reaping hooks and staves;

"And droves of mules and asses,
Laden with skins of wine,
And endless flocks of goats and sheep,
And endless herds of kine,

Digitized by Google

And endless trains of waggons,
That creaked beneath the weight
Of corn sacks and of household goods,
Choked every roaring gate."

The Janiculum being taken, the Etruscan army is seen approaching, which gives the opportunity for the two rather indifferent stanzas we have noticed already. What follows is so good that it needed no such foil to set it off.

"Fast by the royal standard,
O'erlooking all the war,
Lars Porsena of Clusium
Sate in his ivory car.
By the right wheel rode Mamilius,
Prince of the Latian name,
And by the left false Sextus,
That wrought the deed of shame.

"But when the face of Sextus
Was seen among the foes,
A yell that rent the firmament
From all the town arose;
On the house-top was no woman
But spate towards him, and hissed;
No child but screamed out curses,
And shook its little fist."

But the Consul, like a practical man, is thinking, not of Sextus, but of the best means of preventing the Etruscans from getting into the city. The bridge must be broken down, but how are they to be stopped in the mean time? The answer of our old friend Horatius, if not quite equal to the manner in which he appears on the stage in Livy, is yet very good, and Roman, except in the rather injudicious phrase, "*Sir* Consul." Why bring us into the middle ages by introducing a word so markedly appropriated to them? Sir Consul was no more like Sir Knight or Sir King than the short blade and javelin of Rome to the long lance and huge two-handed sword of the Black Prince.

"Then out spake brave Horatius,
The captain of the gate;
'To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late;
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers,
And the temples of his gods.

"'And for the tender mother,
Who dandled him to rest,
And for the wife, who nurses
His baby at her breast;
And for the holy maidens
Who feed the eternal flame,
To save them from false Sextus,
That wrought the deed of shame?

Digitized by Google

"'Hew down the bridge, Sir Consul,
With all the speed ye may;
I, with two more to help me,
Will hold the foe in play.
In yon straight path a thousand
May well be stopped by three;
Now who will stand on either hand
And keep the bridge with me?'"

Lartius and Herminius join him, and the three oppose themselves, as in the legend, to the army. The supposed Roman poet characteristically contrasts those old heroic times with the evil days in which his own lot is cast, of harsh patricians and turbulent plebeians; but we have not room for these stanzas.

A detailed account of the conflict follows, occupying many stanzas, and not destitute of the spirit which it would cost Mr. Macaulay some trouble altogether to exclude from any thing he writes, but on the whole, decidedly unsuccessful—a set of verses to be read with little interest, and to be rejoiced over at their conclusion. Different sets of Etruscan chiefs successively assail the three Romans, but with a spirit of fairness so creditable to them, that we are surprised at not finding it recorded in the received histories, which, indeed, rather convey the contrary impression of gigantic odds, and carefully avoid assailing them with more than three at a time. Indeed, ultimately, the odds are on the side of the Romans, for the 90,000 Etruscans are so heartily frightened by seeing six of their best men killed, that there only remains one chief bold enough to assail the three. We are glad to say that the Romans imitate the noble conduct of their enemies, and leave Astur to Horatius, who, not without some difficulty, disposes of him. We notice this, because we really think that Mr. Macaulay, in this succession of single combats, has succeeded in reducing the heroism of the three Romans to a minimum. This, too, is the part of the poem in which the error of imitating Scott in stanzas which it would be easy to improvise, is carried to excess. The Romans are attacked by Aunus, by Seius,

"And Picus, long to Clusium
Vassal in peace and war,
Who led to fight his Umbrian powers
From that grey crag, where, girt with towers,
The fortress of Nequinum lours
O'er the pale waves of Nar."

The three stanzas which follow, especially the two last, are of the same character. We do assure Mr. Macaulay, that in these times of the widely diffused power of reading, writing, and versification, we should be quite satisfied, without proof, of the assertion, "I'll rhyme you so seven years together," if it were made to us by any one possessing a quarter of his talent, and none of his genius.

Again we object to the purely arbitrary invention shown in this part of the poem—the invention, first, of persons, or at least of

Digitized by Google

names of persons; then, as if the writer was struck with the impossibility of interesting us in his Etruscans without bestowing upon them something of a separate character, of some gratuitous fiction respecting the former history of this or that individual, which may aid in redeeming him from the reproach of being merely First Etruscan, Second Etruscan, and so on. Thus, for instance, the 39th stanza gives an interesting anecdote of "Aruns of Volsinium, who slew the great wild boar;" and then an account is given of the great wild boar, from which it only appears that he conducted himself much in the traditional manner of such unruly animals, from the days of Meleager to those of the felon sow of Rokeby. Mr. Macaulay was, perhaps, right in supposing that we do not care much for Aruns of Volsinium, simply as such, but we care no more for him after the narration of his boar-killing exploit than before; and he remains to us at the end of the stanza, what he was when we first made his acquaintance in the middle of it, a mere Sixth Etruscan. We entertain a similar objection to the equally arbitrary invention shown in describing the details of these combats. Mr. Macaulay may refer us to the example of Homer; and it is much more easy to set up such a defence than to trace out the reasons which make it as inapplicable as in this case we feel it to be. If Homer relates, blow for blow, and wound for wound, the battles of his heroes, it is because such was the manner, and no other, in which, when such details had not come down to him as part of the legend itself, his imagination naturally worked out the deficiencies of the traditionary outline. Invention there was, no doubt, in plenty; but the greater part of it was unconscious invention, such invention as the poet could not help; not deliberate, self-convicted fiction, proceeding from the writer so unnaturally as to call forth at once the "incredulus odi" of the reader. It would have been more judicious to have adhered to the striking and simple conception conveyed by Livy's narrative, of three men on this side, and on that an army: to bring this out strongly, as Mr. Macaulay has in some passages done, and not proceed to destroy its effect by a heap of details, as we regret to say he has also done. The following stanza does not appear to us to express this conception happily or melodiously; the four first lines are good, but the conclusion is in Mr. Macaulay's bad manner, and a bad specimen of that manner.

"But all Etruria's noblest
  Felt their hearts shrink to see
On the earth the bloody corpses,
  In the path the dauntless Three:
And from the ghastly entrance
  Where those bold Romans stood,
All shrank like boys who, unaware, (!)
    Ranging the woods to start a hare, (!!)
Come to the mouth of the dark lair (!!!)
  Where, growling low, a fierce old bear (!!!!)
    Lies amid bones and blood."

Digitized by Google

We sincerely trust and believe that these alarmingly raw-head-and-bloody-bone lines are the worst Mr. Macaulay has ever written, or ever will write. There is something perfectly irresistible in the long-continued scale, ever rising with the rhyme, from the tranquil "unaware" to the comparative animation of "hare," thence to the truculent "dark lair," culminating in the growl of the "fierce old bear," and sinking down, under cover of that fearful crash, into its bed of bones and blood. The temptation, moreover, to transpose the two quadrupeds, "a fierce old hare," is one of which, Mr. Macaulay may be sure, the many boys, full grown or not, who read these poems, will not be "unaware." We should doubt the goodness of that man's heart who could read the passage aloud, from the boys to the bear, without laughing. Let Mr. Macaulay make the experiment himself, and we are confident that in his next edition he will alter or exclude the stanza.

From this point to the end, the poem exhibits great and almost uniformly progressive beauty and spirit, leaving us indeed little to desire except some degree of condensation. We quote the following spirited stanzas, chiefly as an example of invention, *not* liable to the objections we have attempted to explain above. Sextus is an old acquaintance; his name conveys to us the idea of a definite person; and he must, we think, be a favourite with Mr. Macaulay, who is particularly happy in his frequent introductions of him. They are always judicious, effective, and appropriate, like the following:—

"Yet one man for one moment
  Strode out before the crowd:
Well known was he to all the Three,
  And they gave him greeting loud:
'Now welcome, welcome, Sextus;
  Now welcome to thy home:
Why dost thou stay, and turn away?
  Here lies the road to Rome,'

"Thrice looked he at the city;
  Thrice looked he at the dead;
And thrice came on in fury,
  And thrice turned back in dread;
And, white with fear and hatred,
  Scowled at the narrow way,
Where wallowing in a pool of blood
  The bravest Tuscans lay."

We pass over the animated description of the shouts of the Romans to recall their champions, (taken, by-the-by—but to this we have no objection—almost word for word from the summons of Locksley to the Black Knight and Cedric, when the loosened pinnacle of Front de Bœuf's castle is tottering over their heads,) the swift retreat of Lartius and Herminius, the crashing fall of the bridge, and its swift sweeping away by the angry river,—and find Horatius in a position which no man probably occupied before or since,—awkward, yet worthy of him. These three stanzas are extremely good;

Digitized by Google

Sextus and Porsena are both in character: there is much beauty in the reference to the warrior's home on the Palatine,—so near, yet with death between; and this touch of family affection is, like the utter disregard of his enemies, and the prayer to the river, worthily paraphrased from Livy, thoroughly Roman.

"Alone stood brave Horatius,
But constant still in mind,
Thrice thirty thousand foes before,
And the broad flood behind.
'Down with him,' cried false Sextus,
With a smile on his pale face:
'Now yield thee,' cried Lars Porsena;
'Now yield thee to our grace.'

"Round turned he, as not deigning
Those craven ranks to see:
Nought spake he to Lars Porsena,
To Sextus nought spake he:
But he saw on Palatinus
The white porch of his home,
And he spake to the noble river
That rolls by the towers of Rome.

"'Oh Tiber! father Tiber!
To whom the Romans pray,
A Roman's life, a Roman's arms
Take thou in charge this day.'
So he spake, and speaking sheathed
The good sword by his side,
And, with the harness on his back,
Plunged headlong in the tide."

But the Tiber was in flood, and to swim it was a sore struggle for a wearied, wounded, and armour-laden man.

"Never I ween did swimmer,
In such an evil case,
Struggle through such a raging flood
Safe to the landing place.
But his limbs were borne up bravely
By the brave heart within,
And our good father Tiber
Bare bravely up his chin."

At length he is safe on the other side, and passes from our sight, beneath "the river gate, borne by the joyous crowd;" and then the poet passes with an abruptness, itself natural and striking, to tell how his countrymen rewarded the hero, and how his fame yet lives in their stories. We quote the whole of this conclusion to the poem. It is all good. There is great beauty in the latter stanzas, which describe the winter nights' employments of the brave yeoman of the Roman Campagna; but the two first are admirable. By simply stating the traditional fact, but by stating it in the right tone and right spirit, by the sudden emphatic reference to the daily experience of the poet's hearers, by the use of earnest, simple, antique, yet unaffected diction, (we are but giving prosaically the means which it

Digitized by Google

required a high effort of poetic imagination to combine into the result,) Mr. Macaulay has in these two plain grave stanzas attained his object; and in giving us something like a real echo of the old Latin poem, produced decidedly and by far the best passage in his own. The lines strike the reader's imagination, ring in his ears, and cling to his memory; and we feel that the writer's heart burnt within him with something of the fire which the Roman minstrel had felt from childhood upwards, when reading the story written beneath the statue "in letters all of gold:"—

"They gave him of the corn land,
That was of public right,
As much as two strong oxen
Could plough from morn till night:
And they made a molten image,
And set it up on high,
And there it stands unto this day,
To witness if I lie.

"It stands in the Comitium,
Plain for all folk to see,
Horatius in his harness,
Halting upon one knee:
And underneath is written,
In letters all of gold,
How valiantly he kept the bridge
In the brave days of old.

"And still his name sounds stirring
Unto the men of Rome,
As the trumpet blast that cries to them
To charge the Volscian home.
And wives still pray to Juno
For boys with hearts as bold,
As his who kept the bridge so well
In the brave days of old.

"And in the nights of winter,
When the cold north winds blow,
And the long howling of the wolves
Is heard amidst the snow;
When round the lonely cottage
Roars loud the tempest's din,
And the good logs of Algidus
Roar louder yet within;

"When the oldest cask is opened,
And the largest lamp is lit,
When the chestnuts glow in the embers,
And the kid turns on the spit;
When young and old in circle
Around the fire-brands close;
When the girls are weaving baskets,
And the lads are shaping bows;

"When the goodman mends his armour,
And trims his helmet's plume;
When the goodwife's shuttle merrily
Goes flashing through the loom;

Digitized by Google

With weeping and with laughter
  Still is the story told,
How well Horatius kept the bridge
  In the brave days of old."

The subject of the next poem is a noble one,—the great battle by the Lake Regillus, in which, aided by the confederation of the thirty Latin cities, the Tarquins made their fiercest and last struggle for the kingship of Rome; and in which, according to Niebuhr's probable restoration of the original legend, not only the whole of that detested house, but their principal opponents also, were slain. The old lay he considers to have been a kind of Mort of Heroes, in which the entire generation of those who had been warring with each other since the crime of Sextus was swept away. It represented itself to the Roman mind as the great termination of a great struggle,—a mighty retribution,—an establishment, but at no light cost, of freedom. The story that the twin gods, Castor and Pollux, had on this occasion fought for Rome in visible form, reminds us of the legend of the tutelary demigods who fought side by side with the Athenians at Marathon, and indicates a feeling like that with which the Greeks regarded that great deliverance. The day of battle was sacred to the Twin Brethren: it became—

"The proud Ides of Quintilis,
  Marked evermore with white;"

And in after years received an addition to its celebrity, in the magnificent procession of the knights from the temple of Mars without the wall, to that of the Twins in the Forum; a ceremonial of which the original institution is supposed to have given occasion to the lay of the poet whom Mr. Macaulay represents. To criticise in general terms this poem, would be to repeat much of what we have said on the "Lay of Horatius." Like that, it contains too much of uninteresting and gratuitous invention; and like that, and more than that, it is too long. Its best passages are perhaps not quite equal to the best, but its worst are much better than the worst, in "Horatius;" a great part of it is rather second rate, but still redeemed from mediocrity by spirited expression, and equable and easy versification; everywhere we are in converse with a writer of taste and talent, and occasionally with a genuine poet.

The subject is introduced by an animated reference to the solemn feast in honour of the great Twin Brethren, who, as on this day, came swift over wide seas and mountain lands,

"From where with flutes and dances
  Their ancient mansion rings,
In lordly Lacedæmon,
  The city of two kings,
To where, by Lake Regillus,
  Under the Porcian height,
All in the lands of Tusculum,
  Was fought the glorious fight."

Digitized by Google

The name of the lake naturally introduces the contrast of the present appearance of the famous field, its pleasant cultivation, its peaceful occupants, with what it was on that day of stormy battle,—a thought common enough, but too natural to be worn out, and expressed here with vigour and beauty. It reminds us of some parts of Scott's "Waterloo," where the same thought is given, but with less strength and less poetry. We prefer, however, giving the stanzas which commence the story; there was something, we are sure, very like them in the ancient lay. All will notice the grave Roman reference to the consuls of the year, the stately introduction, and measured but earnest address of the herald.

"Since last the Great Twin Brethren
Of mortal eyes were seen,
Have years gone by a hundred
And four score and thirteen.
That summer a Virginius
Was Consul first in place;
The second was stout Aulus
Of the Posthumian race.

"The Herald of the Latines
From Gabii came in state:
The Herald of the Latines
Passed through Rome's Eastern Gate:
The Herald of the Latines
Did in our Forum stand;
And there he did his office,
A sceptre in his hand.

"Hear, senators and people
Of the good town of Rome:
The Thirty Cities charge you
To bring the Tarquins home;
And if ye still be stubborn
To work the Tarquins wrong,
The Thirty Cities warn you,
Look that your walls be strong."

The consul Aulus answers in a "bitter jest," which might have been bitterer if it had been briefer: the herald departs, and the Romans appoint a dictator. In the lines beginning "So Aulus was dictator," we also recognise one of the passages of the ancient lay, transcribed from it straight into the chronicle. As might be expected, it reads rather like a chronicle, yet we like its grave, terse, antique simplicity. If it does not exhibit poetic imagination, it exhibits perfect good taste; and such as it is, we prefer it to the flowing and facile verses which succeed it, giving at too great length, a catalogue interspersed with picturesque touches, of the confederate towns which sent their contingents to the Latin army. The following passage, however, is imaginative and beautiful; and again we have to call, not only our readers', but Mr. Macaulay's own attention to his success, when he is dealing with a real traditionary character. On the left of the Latins,—

Digitized by Google

"Their leader was false Sextus,
That wrought the deed of shame;
With restless pace, and haggard face,
To his last field he came."

Men said he was haunted by visions:

"A woman fair and stately,
But pale as are the dead,
Oft, through the watches of the night,
Sate spinning by his bed;
And as she plied the distaff,
In a sweet voice and low,
She sang of great old houses,
And fights fought long ago;
So spun she, and so sang she,
Until the East was grey,
Then pointed to her bleeding breast,
And shrieked, and fled away."

The lines in italics are really beautiful. The description of the "Ancient King" and the band of exiles round him is good; but, if our readers wish to measure the difference between the imagination, when it realizes its own creations, and when, for want of thorough interest in its subject, it is unable to do so, let them compare this part of the poem with the picture in "Naseby" of the advancing line of the cavaliers:

"It was about the noon of a glorious day of June,
That we saw their banners dance, and their cuirasses shine:
And the Man of Blood was there, with his long essenced hair,
And Astley, and Sir Marmaduke, and Rupert of the Rhine."

The battle, however, begins with a vivid general description; but it soon passes off into a detail of personal conflicts, not always spirited, and, in the frequent cases where even scholars connect no meaning with the names introduced, as uninteresting as actions between A. and B. are to any but lawyers. We may again be referred to the acknowledged imitation of Homer; and again we answer that the cases are not parallel—that this kind of invention is not an imitation of Homer; and that it is better for a modern to confine himself in a battle to general effect, and keep clear of personal conflicts, except where we are personally interested in the parties either by tradition or otherwise. We might illustrate our meaning from Mr. Macaulay's own poems, but we prefer instancing the manner in which Scott has treated the tale of "Flodden Field." It is true that we see more of Marmion than of Surrey, and that Marmion is a fictitious character; but it is also true that we have been learning, in the whole course of the previous cantos, to regard him as a real person, and that he has become such to us long before the opening of the last canto. Then there are the squires of Marmion, with whom we are also well acquainted; and then there are the traditional and historical names: Surrey and King James, Douglas and Stanley. Is there a single unknown person introduced for the mere purpose of striking a blow? No. All is one undistinguishable tumult and storm of battle.

Digitized by Google

The banner of Marmion wavers, and our friend Eustace plunges, to rescue it, into the midst of the nameless crowd. A wounded knight, "dragged from beneath the horses' feet," is borne past us from the *melée*—it is Marmion. In a poem like that before us the author has perhaps no time to individualize his characters; if so, he ought not to have brought them in, mere men of straw to knock and to be knocked down. With the exception of the traditional characters, he should have striven only to impress us with the one grand indefinite idea of the "battle of the warrior, with confused noise and garments rolled in blood."

But, after all, can the following passage be said to resemble Homer? We have placed opposite it the best parallel we have been able to find in a modern author, who is also supposed to have followed a Greek original.

MACAULAY AFTER HOMER.	PHILLIDORE AFTER PALAMEDES.
"First Titus gave tall Cæso	"Black Queen takes
A death-wound on the face:	White Knight.
. . . . .	. . . . .
Aulus slew Rex of Gabii,	White Queen takes
The priest of Juno's shrine;	Black Bishop.
Valerius smote down Julius,	White Castle takes
Of Rome's great Julian line.	Black Castle.
. . . . .	. . . . .
Valerius struck at Titus,	White Castle checks
And lopped off half his crest;	Black Queen.
But Titus stabbed Valerius	Black Queen takes
A span deep in the breast."	White Castle."

We hope Mr. Macaulay will not find our simile unpardonably fair. The best of these passages of arms is that in which Mamilius, "Prince of the Latian name," and Herminius, fall by each other's hand; but we prefer quoting the description which follows, of the flight of the terror-stricken charger of Mamilius from the field; in which there is much beauty, though rather too many lines:

"Fast, fast, with heels wild spurning,
The dark grey charger fled:
He burst through ranks of fighting men,
He sprang o'er heaps of dead—
His bridle far out streaming,
His flanks all blood and foam,
He sought the southern mountains,
The mountains of his home;
The pass was steep and rugged,
The wolves they howled and whined;
But he ran like a whirlwind up the pass,
And he left the wolves behind.
Through many a startled hamlet
Thundered his flying feet;
He rushed through the gate of Tusculum,
He rushed up the long white street:
He rushed by tower and temple,
And paused not from his race
Till he stood before his master's door,
In the stately market-place."

Digitized by Google

At last, Aulus having cut down Titus Tarquinius, we have no more traits of individual heroism; and henceforth the poem flows on with spirit to its conclusion. Two strange horsemen are seen on the right hand of the dictator:

"So like they were, no mortal
Might one from other know:
White as snow their armour was,
Their steeds were white as snow;"

and their appearance puts fire into the heart of the Romans. The line of the Latines wavers, and Aulus orders a general charge:

"Charge for the hearth of Vesta!
Charge for the Golden shield!
Let no man stop to plunder,
But slay, and slay, and slay:
The Gods, who live for ever,
Are on our side to-day;"

And a charge not less effective than that of Waterloo follows: Aulus is before his men, but the two strange horsemen are far before him.

"Behind them Rome's long battle
Came rolling on the foe;
Ensigns dancing wild above,
Blades all in line below.
So comes the Po, in flood-time,
Upon the Celtic plain;
So comes the squall, blacker than night,
Upon the Adrian main.
Now, by our sire, Quirinus,
It was a goodly sight,
To see the thirty standards
Swept down the tide of flight.
So flies the spray of Adria,
When the black squall doth blow:
So corn-sheaves, in the flood-time,
Spin down the whirling Po.
False Sextus to the mountains
Turned first his horse's head,
And fast fled Ferentinum,
And fast Circeium fled.
The horsemen of Nomentum
Spurred hard out of the fray:
The footmen of Velitræ
Threw shield and spear away:
And underfoot was trampled,
Amidst the mud and gore,
The banner of proud Tusculum,
That never stooped before."

* * * * *

We omit an obituary of twelve lines, containing no name to which we attach any idea, except indeed that of Tullus of Arpinum: an ancestor, we presume, of the great orator.

"And in the back, false Sextus
Felt the good Roman steel:
And, wriggling in the dust, he died,
Like a worm beneath the wheel.

Digitized by Google

And fliers and pursuers
Were mingled in a mass;
And far away the battle
Went roaring through the pass."

With these lines, which seem in very truth to roll the battle away from us, we close our extracts from the "Lay of the Battle of Regillus."

Some readers may care little about the Tarquins and the Valerii, but all know the touching story of Virginia, and its connexion with the downfall of the tyranny of the Decemvirs. We are glad that Mr. Macaulay has given us one lay founded on the most striking incident in the long struggle between the patricians and plebeians. There is something, we may remark, perfectly wonderful in the toleration shown by the Roman people towards some of their great families, and especially towards the tyrannical Claudii. In an excitable Greek city, the chief among these haters of their countrymen would, on less provocation, have poured forth their blood in the streets, or by the hand of the executioner; while the survivors of the house would have been driven forth, to wander till death in foreign lands, or to perish in some exterminating battle. But the Roman plebeians, in the early ages of the republic, appear to us to have been more uniformly just in their demands, and therefore, perhaps, more moderate in their mode of enforcing them, than any other political party recorded in history. They never forgot that their oppressors were, after all, Romans. They never forgot their own deep reverence for ancient names, for order, and for law. The horrible proscriptions of later times showed what the Romans were capable of when this feeling of citizenship and of reverence had been shaken.

But we return to the "Lay of Virginia," which Mr. Macaulay has put into the mouth of a plebeian poet, nearly eighty years later, immediately after a contested election of Tribunes. It has been a fierce struggle. The Claudii, and other great families, have done what they willed with their own, (and that was not a little in those times,) but the men of the Commons have carried it; and the song which tells of the blackest deed of the Claudian family, of patrician baseness and tyranny, and plebeian honour, will find willing auditors among the triumphant party. The opening of the poem is just what it should be; with all the partisanship and passion which the minstrel would naturally feel. How good, and how *popular*, is the comparison to the obnoxious *King* Tarquin.

"Ye good men of the Commons, with loving hearts and true,
Who stand by the bold Tribunes, that still have stood by you,
Come make a circle round me, and mark my tale with care,
A tale of what Rome once hath borne, of what Rome yet may bear.
This is no Grecian fable of fountains running wine,
Of maids with snaky tresses, or sailors turned to swine;
Here, in this very Forum, under the noon-day sun,
In sight of all the people, the bloody deed was done;

Digitized by Google

Old men still creep among us who saw that fearful day,
Just seventy years and seven ago, when the wicked Ten bare sway.

" Of all the wicked Ten still the names are held accursed,
And of all the wicked Ten, Appius Claudius was the worst;
He stalked along the Forum, like King Tarquin in his pride,
Twelve axes waited on him, six marching on a side—
The townsmen shrank to right and left, and eyed askance with fear
His lowering brow, his curling mouth, which alway seemed to sneer.
That brow of hate, that mouth of scorn, marks all the kindred still,
For never was there Claudius yet but wished the Commons ill."

The tyrant is attended by a despicable fellow, his client Marcus. In describing him, the poet evidently had in his eye some zealous bawler of the day before, from the wrong side of the hustings.

" Such varlets pimp and jest for hire among the lying Greeks,
Such varlets still are paid to hoot when brave Licinius speaks."

The fair girl, Virginia, passes through the Forum, singing—

" With her small tablets in her hand, and her satchel on her arm,
Home she came bounding from the school, nor dreamed of shame or harm.
And past those dreaded axes she innocently ran
With bright, frank brow, that had not learned to blush at gaze of man.
* * * * * * * *
And Appius heard her sweet young voice, and saw her sweet young face,
And loved her with the accursed love of his accursed race.
And all along the Forum, and up the sacred street,
His vulture eye pursued the trip of those small glancing feet."

The next morning came—

" And blithly young Virginia came smiling from her home,
Ah! woe for young Virginia, the sweetest maid in Rome!
With her small tablets in her hand, and her satchel on her arm,
Forth she went bounding to the school, nor dreamed of shame or harm.
She crossed the Forum, shining with stalls in alleys gay,
And just had reached the very spot whereon I stand this day,"

When Marcus seized her, and made his claim. The people gather about Marcus and Virginia; he appeals, with villanous plausibility, to the law—" I seek but for mine own"—and quells them with the dreaded name of his patron.

" I wait on Appius Claudius: I waited on his sire:
Let him who works the client wrong beware the patron's ire!"

Thus far, if merit is to be measured by life and dramatic truth, the poem is the best in the volume, but henceforth it falls off. Icilius rushes forward, and " Poured thick and fast the burning words which tyrants quake to hear"—that is, makes a long speech, which, if here correctly reported, might have been heard by the most timid of tyrants without causing them to quake—at least, with the fear of any other infliction; its immediate effect, however, does not appear, for the lay consists of fragments, and the speech is followed by—asterisks. Probably this is meant to signify the fact, that it

Digitized by Google

cleared the Forum, which appears the most likely consequence. The contrary supposition would indicate in the Quirites the possession of a degree of patience which ought to have gone far to sustain them under even the Claudian tyranny.

After the curtain of the asterisks is again drawn up, we find that the final decision of Appius has been given. The speech of Virginius to his daughter, which follows, we do not much like to criticize; though much too long, it is not destitute of beauty and pathos; but it is felt to be far below the situation, which is pathos itself. What poet, indeed, could ever have done justice to Virginius but the one most wonderful of poets? and he never made the attempt. The four lines, which Mr. Macaulay makes Virginius, holding up the dripping knife, address to Appius, are good, yet hardly equal to Livy's seven words—"*Te, Appi, tuumque caput, sanguine hoc consecro*"—"Thee, Appius, and thy head, with this blood I consecrate to doom." The tumult which follows is described with spirit; yet there is too much of it. Moreover it is a lame and impotent conclusion—and, for ought that here appears, it *is* the conclusion—to see the villain who has just caused such a tragedy, merely hooted and pelted out of the Forum! That, to be sure, was something for the chief magistrate, and haughty noble; and, moreover, he would, as he deserved, have been torn in pieces, but for the efforts of his clients and retainers. Yet it is unsatisfactory; and knowing, as we do, that the Roman people did, in fact, pursue Appius Claudius—probably to death—with righteous and solemn vengeance for his judicial violation of the law, we think that the poet of the "Lay of Virginia" ought to have concluded in a deeper and more earnest tone than can be exhibited in the most vivid description of a Forum row. He might have told us how the father of Virginia rode into the camp, with the bloody knife yet in his hand. How he told his story; how the army tore up their standards, and marched straight upon Rome; and, instead, he has told us, at great length, how Appius got yelled at, shaken, a little hurt, and heartily frightened. Yet we must not forget that he speaks in the character of a man hot from a contested election, in whose eyes, as the triumphant return of the favourite candidate is the fitting apotheosis of perfect virtue, so the difficult arrival of the unpopular character at his own door, hooted, bruised, bloody, and muddy, is the aptest punishment for the most monstrous crimes. The two last lines, with their hit at the Claudius of the day, a vehement anti-reforming noble, sound like the hearty fling of the last stone, hardly warded off from the head of the pelted politician by the slam of the door in the faces of the patriots.

> "As Appius Claudius was that day, so may his grandson be!
> God send Rome one such other sight, and send me there to see!—

We like these lines, and we like our plebeian poet, who is a thoroughly good hater, and on good cause; but we think that, in reference to the principal topics of his poem, he had better alter its

Digitized by Google

name to one perfectly electioneering in tone, "The Lay of the Long Speech of Icilius, and of the Sore Pelting of Appius Claudius."*

We have left ourselves little room for noticing the "Prophecy of Capys," the last of these poems, and, if not the best, certainly the one of most evenly-sustained merit. It is generally free from faults, it contains passages of great beauty, and the construction is natural and poetical. Beginning with the legendary founders of Rome, it connects them, through the medium of a prophecy delivered to Romulus upon the future destinies of his people, with the great event which the lay is especially composed to celebrate—the recent great victory over Pyrrhus and the Tarentines. The pleasing, half-idyllic character of the commencement is well contrasted with the full song of national triumph with which the poem closes. The whole sketch of the hereditary character of the people sprung from the war god and nursed by the wolf, is vigorous, fierce, and Roman; and so is also this passage, referring to the more recent glories of Rome. Even so might a Roman poet speak of the new and terrible elephants—

"The Gaul shall come against thee
From the land of snow and night;
Thou shalt give his fair-haired armies
To the raven and the kite.

"The Greek shall come against thee,
The conqueror of the East,
Beside him stalks to battle
The huge earth-shaking beast;
The beast on whom the castle
With all its guards doth stand,
The beast who hath between his eyes
The serpent for a hand.
First march the bold Epirotes,
Wedged close with shield and spear,
And the ranks of false Tarentum
Are glittering in the rear.

"The ranks of false Tarentum
Like hunted sheep shall fly;
In vain the bold Epirotes
Shall round their standards die;
And Apennine's grey vultures
Shall have a noble feast
On the fat and the eyes
Of the huge earth-shaking beast."

Equally characteristic is what follows; the exulting contempla-

* We recollect to have heard that an eminent orator and politician, who lately held a distinguished situation in India, during his residence in that country visited a gentleman, also in high office, who, anxious to receive his guest with all distinction, met him with a terrific procession of drums, tomtoms, and other oriental discordances: and that when the tumult, dying off, permitted the voice of the honoured stranger to become audible, his host was shocked by the light and in some sort vilipending remark, "I haven't heard such a row since I was returned for Leeds." If we had ever been returned for Leeds, this is exactly the remark we should make on the last half of the Lay of Virginia."

Digitized by Google

tion of the endless array of trophies and captives—the fierce address to the Tarentines,—

> " Ho, dogs of false Tarentum!
> *Is not the gown washed white?*"

the half-contemptuous wonder at the miracles of Grecian art which the Roman sword had made its own, and the long drawn-out swell of triumph with which the poet tells how, from Atlas to Orontes —from the northern ice to the sands of the tropics—

> " Shall be great fear on all who hear
> The mighty name of Rome!"

a line which aptly concludes the Prophecy of Capys, and the Lays.

We have reviewed these poems more in detail than we might, perhaps, otherwise have done, had not the name of their author drawn upon them so much notice, and so much undiscriminating praise. We have censured honestly, and praised freely, and Mr. Macaulay has well earned both. The original conception of these poems was a fine and bold one, and not likely to have occurred to any one except a man of cultivated scholarship and fine imagination. We think he has not executed it altogether successfully, but we think he has the power to do so; and we shall be sorry to see it marred by the workmanship of inferior hands. We greatly fear every magazine for the next two years may exhibit a Lay of Ancient Rome, till the mass of poetry collected far exceeds in bulk, as in demerit, all the ballads which could have ever been endured by the memory of ancient minstrels, or the patience of modern readers. It is Mr. Macaulay's duty to save us from this infliction, by keeping alive his right as original discoverer and sole patentee of the subject. If he will give us more of these noble legends, treated in a manner as like as possible to the best parts of these four, with fewer improvised passages, and more concentrated vigour—if he will carefully reconsider what he has already written, and above all, not shrink from exercising upon it, like the sternest of Roman fathers, the life and death power which an author has over his own offspring,—he may yet earn for himself a higher name than that of Essayist, and a place in the poetry of England for the " Lays of Ancient Rome."

The Warden of Berkingholt. By the Rev. F. E. Paget, M.A., Rector of Elford. Fcap. 8vo. London: Burns. Oxford: Parker. Rugeley: Walters. 1843.

Mr. Paget has favoured us with another of his very interesting and instructive volumes. In some respects, perhaps, many of his readers will like " The Warden of Berkingholt" better than the former productions of the same author, as it contains more incidents, and these very cleverly developed. Not that we consider an interesting plot, and variety of incident, at all essential to this sort of composition. The object in view is to inculcate a moral lesson. In the present instance it is the

Digitized by Google

author's aim to set forth the true principles and practice of charity, in contradistinction to the hard utilitarian theories of the present day, and the unworthy practices adopted by many persons and societies, in order to raise money professedly for charitable purposes, when it is evident that self-gratification or self-exaltation are the real objects in view. Mr. Bosanquet has enforced these topics in an admirable essay, Mr. Baugh, in an eloquent sermon,* and Mr. Paget, in a very interesting fiction. We question whether, practically speaking, the fiction may not be found as efficient as the sermon, or the essay; and this we say without in the least intending to disparage either of the last mentioned. At all events, the Warden of Berkingholt will be read by many persons who probably may not see the others. And here is one principal advantage of setting forth important truths in a variety of modes, namely, that they obtain diffusion through the mass of the community; whereas, if they were presented only in the shape of serious writing, their circulation would be far more limited. The object of the fiction, then, being moral effect, it is obvious that the impression left on the mind of the reader ought not to be so much the cleverness of the story, or the interesting nature of the incidents, as the conviction of the truths inculcated, and the desire to act according to them. The writer of this sort of book determines in his own mind what are the points to be inculcated, illustrated, or explained; he has his object clearly before his mind's eye, in all its branches and relations. Many parts of the lesson which he desires to enforce, he finds may most readily be set forth, by introducing a living character which shall embody the sentiments, whether good or bad, which he wants to exhibit. Where a part of the subject requires to be declared dogmatically, then a speech or a letter from some principal character, or reflections by the author himself, will be a ready mode of communicating the knowledge intended. When a subject is liable to objection or difference of opinion, then a conversation between those of opposite views is the most obvious method. As regards the structure of the whole, it is quite sufficient if the narrative carries the reader pleasantly on, which is easily managed in a short volume. If the tale is so interesting as to carry the reader on too fast, and prevent him from dwelling on the argument or conversation, that is clearly a fault, because it defeats the object in view. Each chapter ought to have in itself enough of interest to arrest the mind of the reader so as to enable him to master the argument or retain the impression intended to be communicated. The skill of the writer is principally exercised to avoid being too inter-

* "Christian Duty of Almsgiving;" by the Reverend Folliot Baugh. Rivingtons, 1842. Published at the request of the Bishop of London.

Digitized by Google

esting, or too dull. The former error would hurry the reader onward without giving him time to digest the moral truths presented to him. The latter would, of course, be a great obstacle to the book being read at all.

Mr. Paget has been very successful in this, as in his former volumes, and has so mingled truth and fiction, that the one assists the mind in grasping and digesting the other. His conversations are well sustained, and lively. If we were disposed to find objections, we should say the dialogue contained in the chapter headed "Unfashionable thoughts on fashionable ways," though abounding in very excellent sentiments, yet might with advantage have been compressed into a smaller compass, especially as it comes in just when the reader is most interested in the progress of events,—which is an illustration of what we have just been remarking, that this species of writing should not have too interesting a plot,—at least, the interest should not be too long suspended, because, when it is so, the mind of the reader is not disposed to give due weight to the important truths which intervene, or is inclined even to skip them altogether. Too great interest, however, is obviously an error, if error it be, on the right side; and some persons might be disposed to doubt the correctness of our criticism. The characters are drawn with skill and vividness. Mr. Livingstone, the hard-hearted and hard-headed utilitarian, contrasts well with the over-benevolent Aunt Amie. Mr. Clinton, the warden, is an admirable compound of the high-minded gentleman and the pious clergyman. Beatrice, the fine lady, is well introduced, as the representative of the folly and extravagance of fashionable life. We heartily wish that all members of the fashionable world were as ready to acknowledge their folly and curtail their extravagance. The subordinate characters, especially Susan Allen, are very well conceived; and the adventures and heroism of the latter, when left in charge of her mistress's house, is one of the best told stories about robbers we have read.

In this list of the dramatis personæ we have purposely omitted mention of Mary Clinton, the Warden's daughter, whose character is so exquisite and natural that we are sure our readers will thank us for presenting it to them entire.

"Dr. Clinton's daughter was as lovely in mind as she was in person; deeply religious; thoroughly anxious to do her duty in the state of life to which it had pleased God to call her; to be the stay and comfort of her father's declining years—and to give herself up, with more than common devotion, to alms deeds and works of charity. Noble and generous in disposition, tenderly, perhaps too sensitively, affectionate, amiable, and gentle, she was a singularly attractive and fascinating being, and not the less so because her features were full of that beauty of expression which writes the mind upon the countenance. The defect in her character was one which so often accompanies a high and enthusiastic spirit. Had her education and bringing up been less careful, she would have been the

Digitized by Google

mere creature of feeling, acting upon the impulse of the moment, and continually liable to be controlled by whatever excited or dazzled her imagination. To her father's watchful eye, this tendency in her disposition had been a fruitful subject of uneasiness; but in process of time, he had so gently, and (with God's blessing) so effectually led her onward in the path of self-discipline that she had, to a great extent, mastered her fault. * *

To a mind so constituted, ultra-protestantism, and the low rationalizing views of the popular religion of the day, could have presented little or no attraction, even if she had not been early taught their miserable defects as a system of religion. But her's was precisely the mental constitution which has been found to be most liable to be led into excess by the adoption of those principles of Catholicism of which the last ten years have seen the revival, and before which the false theories of (so called) Evangelicalism are melting away.

"To Mary Clinton, indeed, there was little or nothing new in the opinions which have so often of late been condemned as novelties. She was the child of one who had maintained and advocated High Church principles throughout the whole of a long and consistent life, and consequently she had imbibed sound Catholic notions from her youth up, and almost without being aware of it. But it was impossible that such an event as the Oxford controversy should take place without becoming a matter of absorbing interest to one of her nature. And then, as day by day, she heard of the cruel and unmanly calumnies which were heaped upon the authors of the Oxford movement; as she watched their meek and silent following of their Lord's example; as she heard of their holy and harmless lives; as one falsehood after another which had been circulated about them was disproved; as she witnessed with shame and pain the unchristian tempers, the flagrant dishonesty, nay, (alas! that it must be said) the WICKEDNESS of the opposite party, her feelings,—the feelings of a heart abhorring the spirit of persecution, and holding what is dishonourable to be infamous, were all arrayed in favour of those whom she perceived were unfairly used,—(it is thus that in multitudes of cases the violence of ultra-Protestant tactics has defeated itself); then, from sympathising with the Tract-writers, she thought it would be cowardly not to defend them whenever she heard them assailed, and this led her to speak, when often it would have been more maidenly and wiser to have remained silent. The more she heard and read, the deeper was the hold that the Catholic system gained upon her imagination."—Pp. 34—37.

She was, in short, in danger of falling into extreme views on these subjects, but for the judicious admonition of her father, the warden.

Mr. Paget avails himself with great skill of any incidents or circumstances which may serve to illustrate his subject. The warden is showing a party of friends the arrangements of his hospital, which is on the model of that of Great Cross, near Winchester. [By the way, the Bishop of Winchester will be rather surprised to hear that "there *are* three hospital *nuns* at Great Cross;" it is evidently a misprint; indeed, we ourselves saw the deserted apartments on a recent visit.]

"In the centre rose the conduit which supplied water for the use of the establishment,—a quadrangular structure passing into an octagon at its midway height, each alternate angle being bevelled off, so as to admit the erection of a stone lion of considerable size, ("*sejant affronté*," as the heralds would say,) supporting in his paws a staff surmounted by a square vane of metal perforated in various patterns and gilt. On each of the four sides was a richly canopied niche, with a lion's head projecting from the back, and

Digitized by Google

from the open mouth issued a stream of sparkling purity, which fell into a basin beneath, and immediately disappeared. Under the battlements on the top of the building ran a cornice, on which stood forth in high relief the appropriate text in the Latin of the Vulgate, "Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst." And above the battlements rose the bulb-shaped dome, (so often introduced in Tudor Architecture,) crowned at its summit with the well-chosen emblem,—a 'pelican in her piety' pecking her breast, with her brood clustering round her.

"'Rather a handsome building, aunt,' observed Mr. Livingstone, 'in spite of those grotesque monsters: but it only shows one how lavish and careless of expenditure the old fellows used to be in former times, and what poor notions of comfort they had. Why, for half the sum that this conduit must have cost, they might have erected a pump in every set of apartments.'

"Mary Clinton coloured and bit her lip,—but like a good girl she held her tongue, and discreetly kept to herself her opinion of the utilitarian theory.

"'I didn't know that pumps were invented in those days,' replied Mrs. Beckett. * * *

"'Without entering [observed the Warden] into a discussion upon the antiquity of pumps, I think I can give you a reason why the conduit was preferred. The existing arrangement accorded with the spirit of the times in which it was made, which Mr. Livingstone's proposal would not. The spirit of the present day is exclusiveness: the temper of our fathers was to consider themselves *in all things* as members one of another. With us, as it has been truly said, the individual is every thing; the common almost nothing. Of old it was not so. The Church carried her hallowing influences into the minutest, as well as into the most important matters. She laid down principles, and men were content to abide by them, and to carry them out thankfully wherever the opportunity was afforded them. She taught that love was the fulfilling of the law; and, therefore, in every institution with which she was connected, love of man for the love of God, was the warm and living current which circulated through every limb, issuing from and returning back to herself, as the source of vital strength. Selfishness was no part of her system; it was excluded at every outlet, and by every barrier which the wit of man could devise. She taught her sons through the possession of common privileges and common blessings, to feel their common responsibilities, and discharge their common duties with brotherly charity and mutual good will. And see how carefully this system was enforced and carried out in this place. We are, by our statutes, all brethren; we address one another by no other name than that of 'Brother.' We have a common garb, and the same common provision. We have our seats in common in our common house of prayer. The common meal is partaken in our common refectory; the sick among us have all the same care and comforts bestowed on them in the common infirmary, and our dead lie side by side in the same burial-ground. So far as it is possible, we have and are all things in common. And, therefore, Livingstone,' concluded the Warden, 'you must forgive me if I prefer our old conduit to your more convenient arrangement; since I verily believe that it was erected in accordance with the principle of which I have been speaking, and that it is not without a latent meaning (to be found by those who look for it) that the brethren of St. Swithin's are all supplied from the same spring, and that we cannot draw water from our common fountain without having at least the opportunity of being reminded, in Scripture phrase, of our common need and common hopes.'"—Pp. 45—50.

Now an essay-writer might have said that charity was like a fountain, at which all might come and quench their thirst, without money and without price; and that selfishness was like a pump, which a man had in his back yard for his own

Digitized by Google

exclusive use; (Mr. Pugin, if we remember right, has, in his "Contrasts," represented the pump with its handle chained); but it is obvious that the Didactic Tale admits of a much more lively method of illustration, of which Mr. Paget knows well how to avail himself. In fact, the essential feature of Didactic Fiction is the *acting out* the moral essay with all its illustrations and accompaniments.

Another feature in Mr. Paget's writings is his turn for satire. Now commonly, a satirical person is a very disagreeable one, and a satirical writer often not the most amiable. But this is not the case with Mr. Paget. His satire is generally of so good-natured and humorous a vein, that, while it inflicts the sting of its ridicule, it at the same time gives the least possible pain. Saint Antholin's is one of the best specimens of good-humoured, but at the same time, effective satire, which could be named. The objects also of Mr. Paget's satire, are almost invariably the affectation and follies of men; even when he brings very disagreeable and reprehensible persons under his lash, the intention seems more to give warning to others, by the loud cracking of the whip, than to cause pain to the individuals lashed. Moreover he is so impartial in his application of the thong, that if one party fancies himself aggrieved in one page he will find himself recompensed by a good laugh at his opponent in the next. The following is no bad specimen of Mr. Paget's style of satire.

"The delinquency and cruelty of Venham (the master of the workhouse) were not to be concealed: out it all came—a horrible story of profligacy and the abuse of power, with the details of which these pages need not be sullied: and so Mr. Venham was summarily ejected from 'his pride of place,' and bade a precipitate adieu to Berkingholt. But he is a clever fellow; has friends at Somerset House; and as it is known that he has discovered a very nutritive preparation of glue and saw-dust, which is quite as palatable, quite as wholesome, and a hundredfold cheaper than any 'cheap food' yet placed on the workhouse dietaries, he may be looked on as a rising man, and will probably live to be a Poor Law Commissioner himself, if the law continues as it is, and the poor do not take the matter into their own hands in the interim."

The hyperbole reminds us of having somewhere read of one lamenting the fate of an idle, drunken, but good-natured servant, turned out of his place. "Ah, poor fellow! he has ever since been sinking lower and lower; I fear it is all over with him. The last tidings I heard of poor —— were, that he was a lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish auxiliary legion!" This was at the time when the papers were full of General Evans and his ragged regiments. Now, we have not the slightest objection to this figure of speech—call it hyperbole, or caricature, or what you will. Some people no doubt will say, Mr. Paget writes caricatures. Let it be admitted—they are very good ones; and tell for as much as they are worth, which is a good deal. At the same time, what some would perhaps call

Digitized by Google

caricatures, are, after all, sober realities; for there are few things too ridiculous to be really said or done.

Having made these remarks on Mr. Paget's turn for satire and caricature, we proceed to give some instances of it as applied to the extreme religious parties, which vex our Church—for Mr. Paget lashes each in its turn, with a most impartial hand.

"Churchmen have now and then been distressed of late years by the intolerable folly of the disciples of the Tractarian School, who, in their vanity and love of notoriety, have made it the apparent object of their lives, to render themselves as unlike their neighbours as possible—not in holiness, self-devotion, and *secret* acts of self-denial; but by making themselves conspicuous in externals—bowing, and crossing, and performing all manner of notable antics—and thereby distracting their neighbours' attention, instead of aiding their devotions—wearing not crosses only, but crucifixes, as conspicuous as possible—writing notes to their tailors and green-grocers, and dating them 'St. Ethelburga's Day, or 'the morrow of the bones of St. Symphorosa,'* lighting and extinguishing candles at their prayers; hitting, in short, upon every conceivable singularity that seems to savour of Popery, and at the same time is likely to direct attention to themselves."—Pp. 19, 20.

Further on, the chapter headed "Real and Unreal," there are observations to the same effect:

"'Every body,' says the Warden, 'who takes the least interest in religious matters identifies himself with one side or other, and with a zeal, which often appears to be in an inverse ratio with the capacity of judging. This is, of course, the case with the score or two of lank under-graduates at Oxford, who give their friends so much anxiety at college, and come home full of crude crotchets of nonsense, which they call Catholicism, but which, for aught I can see, is as like Popery as one thing can be to another. And yet, after all, these youths who frighten their maiden aunts with paradoxes, and pass for heresiarchs with the Evangelical curate, and (what, of course, to speak seriously, is far, far worse,) who are guilty of unsettling the minds of their contemporaries, or the younger members of their families, for no better purpose than that of showing off their own (supposed) cleverness,—these, I say, are about the most unreal, unpractical persons that can be met with. They know absolutely nothing of the true character of Popery, or the temper of their own minds. The ambition, or rather the vanity of each is to be thought a leading man (I had better have said *boy*) in some silly little coterie of would-be theologians of two-and-twenty. In such company their chances of pre-eminence are in exact proportion to the extent of their absurdity. Accordingly it becomes necessary for them to learn what extreme opinions are, in order to assert them. Hence they get a smattering of the controversy into their heads, but their hearts are where they were. Obedience, self-discipline, self-denial, soberness, and the *practical* parts of the system have no charms for them, I promise you.'

* In reference to Saints' days, we do not feel satisfied with the omission of the black letter days in Mr. Paget's "Churchman's Calendar for 1843." The Church does not order them to be observed: true. Neither does the Church order them *not* to be observed. It is one of those questions in which people ought to be allowed to act according to their judgment. Many of our old churches are dedicated to holy men of ancient times. Why should not individuals or even parishes observe, if they please, the days of St. Clement, St. Ambrose, St. Lawrence, St. Chad, or St. Swithin, who are known to have been good and holy men in their generations. At the same time we quite hold with Mr. Paget as to the blameable affectation of dating letters to indifferent persons on Saints' days not observed by our Church: and were rather amused last year at receiving a letter on a very grave subject dated St. Valentine's day.

Digitized by Google

"'You speak severely, papa.'

"'Do I speak without having had opportunities of judging? No, Mary, you know that I do not. Nor do I mean to say, that there is not abundant reason to hope that the mass of those who are training at Oxford, will not be an honour and a blessing to their generation. Nor again, considering what the amount of religious education is, with which boys go up to college, would I say that allowance is not to be made, and pity shown towards the vain blockheads of whom I am speaking. They often commence their university career hardly able to say their catechism, and of course not able to understand it. Well, they find those around them, seniors and juniors, talking about existing controversies, and so they feel they are bound to talk too. If they happen to be very vain and very weak, they are probably, as I have said, very ambitious of notoriety likewise, and they find a royal road to this in the adoption of some practice which, from its singularity, will direct all eyes towards them. They will wear a crucifix, or prefix a cross to their signatures, or make bowings and crossings, in order to attract observation, or when they ought to be reading for their 'little-go,' and learning diligently to decline τύπτω, their admiring friends will find them deep in Thomas Aquinas or Ribadineyra's Flos Sanctorum. Then, when the long vacation comes, they will be altogether missing for a fortnight, and by the time their distracted parents have advertised for them in the *Times*, and three county papers, it will be found that they have been ruralizing with Dr. Wiseman at Oscott,—and so, in due course, they return home with a Reliquary, and the last number of the Dublin Review in their portmanteau, and an unbounded idea of their own importance. Is the religion of such persons *real?* Are they dutiful to parents? humble-minded? lowly? self-denying? diffident? Have they *one* of the requisites for a great and good man? I trow not.'

"'I hope, papa, there are not many such,' said Mary.

"'I trust not,' answered her father, 'for though they may easily injure, they can never benefit, any cause. They must be a burden and disgrace to whomsoever they permanently attach themselves, whether to Rome or England. But these are extreme cases.'"—Pp. 137, 139.

Now, whether any of these young men *really* study Thomas Aquinas, or the Flos Sanctorum, or date their letters, "St. Ethelburga's day," or "the morrow of the bones of St. Symphorosa," is of small importance. Mr. Paget intends to throw ridicule on a species of affectation which has sprung up amongst us within the last few years; and though it may be said that his description is a caricature, yet we trust it will be received as a just and good-natured reproof by those who need it.

In the same style Mr. Paget directs the power of his ridicule against the ultras on the other side—the popularity hunters of the platform, or the pulpit—the wandering stars, who gad about to Bible Meetings, astonishing the natives of the provinces—affecting to labour for the glory of God, while, whether they know it or not, every body of sense perceives, that what they seek, is, their own vain glory and aggrandisement;—these persons also may profit, if they will, by Mr. Paget's pungent, but not bitter, remarks. We have a very rich account of a Bible Society Meeting, which, though the party satirized will, of course, consider a caricature; and though it is improbable that *all* the incidents described ever occurred at any *one* meeting, yet it will scarcely be denied that every circumstance has really taken place somewhere or other. First, as regards the bill of announce-

Digitized by Google

ment, which is printed at full length, in all varieties of type and colour; though we never saw so very *outré* a specimen, or such a queer list of names, or such "a splendid combination of talent," as the Rev. Rory O'Flannigan, of Liverpool, Lothario Swainham, of Cheltenham, Joseph Miller of Manchester, and a variety of others; yet we are quite sure we have often seen—oftener, perhaps, a few years ago than at present—bills and placards, very much in the same character. The play-bill system is, however, certainly on the decline; and we trust that Mr. Paget's satire will give it the *coup-de-grace.*

This inviting prospectus brings, as it is intended, a large company of the T. P. (truly pious) to the place of meeting at Berkingholt Church, the holy table of which, with part of the chancel, is boarded over, and turned into a platform for the accommodation of the stars of the evening. [By the way, we cannot refrain from offering the humble tribute of our thanks to the Bishop of Winchester, for his timely interference to prevent a similar desecration of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark; and expressing a hope that his example may be followed in other quarters.]

The characters introduced by Mr. Paget on the platform, can scarcely be called caricatures. The speeches which are put into their mouths, their compliments of the ladies, (at which we wonder the ladies themselves are not disgusted,)—their abuse of sound churchmen, laudation of their dear brethren, the dissenters, "whose zeal, whose activity, whose warm charity, whose Christian liberality, need no praise of mine," says Mr, Swamp, "and who, in spite of trivial differences, upon which bigots dote, join hand in hand for the support of our admirable Society;"—the wit of the Rev. Joseph Miller, whose face, observes the Record,* is large and broad, and whose humorous anecdotes, and pointed witticisms, though often somewhat coarse, are received with invariable rapture by applauding audiences; no one, in fact, so often sets Exeter Hall in a roar;—all these things, and a variety of other traits introduced at the Berkingholt Ladies' Association of the Clackington Auxiliary Bible Society, though making, on the whole, an amusing burlesque, by their thick collocation, are, nevertheless, *bonâ fide* facts, which may be continually heard and seen at such reunions.

"It will be asserted," says Mr. Paget, p. 270, "that this was an extreme case; that few of the Clergy would permit their churches to be desecrated, platforms to be raised over their altars, and so forth. Granted; but such things—ay, and far worse things—more offensive, more disgusting, more profane, *have been done*, and, in some places, it is to be feared, (though the number, it is hoped, is small, and continually decreasing,) such things *are doing* continually. And any one who supports the Bible Society, is liable not only to be invited to bear his part in such scenes, but to be mingled with persons whom our Church, in her canon, pronounces to be excommunicate."

* Mr. Paget is wrong in attributing this description to "the Record:" it is to be found in "Random Recollections of Exeter Hall."

Digitized by Google

Now, as regards the satirical passages in the work before us, we have great hope that they may be productive of good. People do not know what fools they are making of themselves, unless they are told of it. A good-natured friend who will perform this kind office, is invaluable. Still we should not be surprised if some persons, (the Record, for instance,) should seriously take to heart Mr. Paget's ridicule, and protest that he was profanely laughing at sacred things. And, truly, if to show up the affectation, vulgarity, and vanity, which commonly is seen on the platform, be to meddle with sacred things, their accusation will be just; but as we verily believe, that the Bible might be distributed, and other charitable objects effected, quite as effectually without all this nonsense; and that the evil of such meetings is far greater than the good, we heartily thank Mr. Paget for the flagellation which he has bestowed on them.

In following the vein of Mr. Paget's satire, we have rather lost sight of his principal object.

"And now, gentle reader, that this tale is concluded," he says, "what are the objects with which it was written? Mainly these;—you have been warned of the sadly defective state of public opinion among us as respects our responsibilities in the matter of Christian almsgiving. You have been reminded that the law enjoined upon you as a Christian, is, 'Give to him that asketh thee.' (Matt. v. 42.)"

He might have added the following passage from Tobit, in confirmation of the gospel precept, "Give alms of thy goods, and never turn thy face from any poor man; and then the face of the Lord will not be turned away from thee."

As regards the main subject, we feel greatly obliged to the author of the "Warden of Berkingholt" for the effectual manner in which he has advocated the cause of genuine charity, and the exposure of its various counterfeits, as well as his unsparing condemnation of the hard-hearted selfishness and frivolous thoughtlessness in these matters which prevail in the present generation. Still there are practical difficulties in the present day, as regards the literal compliance with the duties of charity, which cause great perplexity to those who desire to follow out the precepts of holy Scripture. Take the following instance: We know a gentleman, who shall be nameless, whose occupation leads him twice each day along a certain path. This gentleman used in times past to give in rather thoughtlessly to the utilitarian dogmas which were so confidently maintained,—that it was positively wrong to give alms to beggars. However, he often had misgivings that this could not be the true practice of a Christian; and the perusal of Mr. Bosanquet's little Treatise on Almsgiving convinced him that his former practice had been erroneous. Thereupon he resolved to alter his conduct, and made a practice of carrying with him a good supply of halfpence, sixpences, and shillings, to bestow on the beggars whom he should chance to meet on his daily walks, according to their

Digitized by Google

respective merits. In a few days the gentleman began to perceive an unusual increase of beggars; and their number went on advancing until he could seldom walk along his daily path without encountering forty or fifty miserable objects, expecting their daily dole. It was soon known amongst the beggar-tribe that a certain good-natured gentleman was to be met at a certain time, in a certain place. Each miserable lodging-house poured out its inmates, and all the idle vagabonds in the neighbourhood collected to the spot, so that his liberality really threatened to be quite a nuisance to the public. Our friend was soon obliged to limit his almsgiving, and resolved to make inquiry into the objects of his charity; but this proceeding was found to be impracticable, from the impossibility of his devoting so much time to this purpose. A week's strenuous refusal of relief to all applicants soon reduced the number of beggars to their former number. But it is not our friend's object to return to his former utilitarian practice. He is convinced that no universal rule on this subject can be maintained; and when he has cause to think that an applicant for his charity is an idle vagrant, or a sturdy impostor, no amount of importunity will extract a farthing from his pocket. Of the hoary mendicant, or the tattered mother, with her sickly starving children, he does not too strictly inquire what is the cause of their distress, unless he has time thoroughly to investigate the case; and his inquiries of this sort have sometimes brought to his knowledge scenes of real misery, which it would appal the heart to relate; while, on the other hand, it must be confessed that his detection of imposture has not been unfrequent. One plan which this gentleman has adopted may deserve mentioning, indeed we are glad to see that Mr. Paget mentions it with approbation; that is, when a sense of duty obliges him to refuse any applicant, he sets apart the sum which he would have given him, had he not judged him to be an impostor, and adds it to his contribution at the next communion. If our friend does not make the practice an excuse for neglecting inquiry, and absenting himself from the dwellings of the poor, we think it pious and commendable. And, in reference to this mode of offering alms, we gladly quote Mr. Paget.

"We are bound to give ALL we can; to reduce our pleasures and our luxuries, till we feel that our gifts cost us something. We are to give,—not as the rich in this country give,—but as the poor, who will rise against them in the Judgment day,—are in the habit of giving. There is great and growing distress on all sides: the wages which the poor receive for their labour will hardly supply them bread. Such a state of things cannot last for ever. Acts of Parliament cannot mend it, political economy cannot mend it. There is only one thing, under God, which can—the Church. Give her the means of relieving the wants, temporal and spiritual, of the population, and the evil is remedied at once. Her machinery is all prepared, she has simply to revert to her ancient ways. Let the Apostolic usage of each person setting apart their *weekly* contribution be revived. Let the Offertory be restored, and we shall have funds for immediate emergencies: let the statute of mortmain be repealed—were it but for ten years

Digitized by Google

—and we should have Churches and endowments once more, such as would be commensurate with the needs of our population. But above all, let the clergy inculcate upon the people, daily and hourly, strenuously and unshrinkingly, through good report and bad report, the duty of Christian Almsgiving, to its *full* extent, and upon its proper grounds;—the love of Christ Who died for us, and of His Church, Who is the mother of us all;—and we should cease to adopt false standards of liberality; men will be ashamed of guinea donations, and blush to see their names in a printed subscription-list. When they are once taught to see *what* they have received, and *how freely* they have received it, they will not, surely, be long before they freely give."—Pp. 296, 298.

In proof of the inexhaustible value of the offertory, we quote the following extract from a small work recently published by the Rev. Heneage Horsley, Dean of Brechin:—

"I was at divine service on Good Friday, at Mr. Dodsworth's church, (Christ Church, Regent's Park, London,) at the conclusion of the sermon he gave some brief but clear and satisfactory reasons why it was proper to *offer our alms* on this most solemn fast,—the anniversary of our Lord's death,—as well as on the festivals of the church, although there was to be no celebration of the Holy Eucharist on that day. When he had finished, the Wardens went round to receive the offerings; and when the plate was brought to the pew in which I sat, I own I was astonished at the amount within it. On inquiry, after service, I was informed that the weekly contributions average the amount of 1,000*l.* per annum. Since my return, I learn by letter from Mr. Dodsworth that the annual amount is fully 1,300*l.*

"From these funds Mr. Dodsworth has been enabled to accomplish his objects. Free church accommodation has been extended; instead of the three clergymen four are continually employed; the poor's rate has been lessened; and, in addition to these benefits, it may be mentioned, that *all other modes of collection for the ordinary purposes of the church and parish have been done away with altogether.* All modern means of soliciting christian alms are dispensed with; there are no plates, with persons of quality, male and female, presiding over them, placed at the doors; no subscription papers circulated, with the names of donors emblazoned thereon; no searching after popular preachers, to stimulate into an occasional fit of charity by highly wrought pictures of distress. Nothing of all this: but a return to the ancient, simple, and sober practice of weekly collections, encouraged and increased, not by flights of human eloquence, but by the only true religious and right-principled stimulant—the solemn declarations and exhortations, the blessed promises and awful denunciations, of Almighty God himself,—for such are the sentences that are read at the Offertory service."*

We earnestly hope that the Bishop of London's injunction to his clergy, that the Offertory be no longer omitted, as it has been most unwarrantably, is but a step towards the restoration of that truly scriptural and apostolic practice,—the weekly collection.

---

* The Dean has gained his impressions of Christ Church from attending on a day which is rather an exception to the usual services there. There is a weekly offertory because there is a weekly communion, but the alms are not collected from the whole congregation except on Good Friday and Ash-Wednesday: on other occasions, when a general collection is deemed requisite, the plates are held at the church doors. Church accommodation has not been extended in the district, though it is contemplated; and the poor's-rate has not been lessened, because Christ Church is only a district of the immense parish of St. Pancras, and the church collections and poor-rates do not affect each other in any way. The Dean's statement is quite correct as to the increased number of curates; and we believe that few places receive more efficient pastoral superintendence.

Digitized by Google

History of the Temple Church. By G. C. ADDISON, *Esq. Author of "The Knights Templars."* London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman. 8vo. Pp. 127.

A Glance at the Temple Church. By FELIX SUMMERLEY, *Esq.* London: Bell and Wood. 12mo. Pp. 14.

The Ecclesiologist, Nos. 16, 17. *November*, 1842.

A Hand-Book for the Architecture, Sculpture, Tombs, and Decorations of Westminster Abbey. With Fifty-Six Embellishments on Wood, engraved by Ladies; and Four Etchings, by D. Cox, Jun. By FELIX SUMMERLEY, *Esq.* London: Bell and Wood. 1842.

Three Lectures on the Cathedral Service of the Church of England. By the Rev. JOHN JEBB, A.M. *Prebendary of Donoghmore, in the Cathedral Church of Limerick.* London: Rivingtons; Burns; and Houlston and Stoneman. Oxford: Parker. Leeds: T. W. Green. 1841. Pp. 30.

"*The Times*" *Newspaper, October and December*, 1842.

Some Observations upon Cathedral Reform. By the Rev. CHARLES MILLER, M.A. *Vicar of Harlow, Essex.* London: Rivingtons. 1840.

IN a previous number, we confined our remarks on the subject of the Temple Church, principally to the architectural character and internal arrangements of this splendid edifice, and endeavoured to draw the attention of its munificent restorers to some few, but not unimportant, anomalies which still required correction. We are happy to learn, from various quarters, that some of our expectations on this head are likely to be realized, which encourages us to hope that the restoration of this choice historical relic of the devotional taste of our ancestors will be rendered complete. But there is another topic of no less importance, which we have yet to advert to, and on which we deem it our duty to offer some remarks; we mean, the performance of divine service according to the ritual of our Church. If there be a building peculiarly appropriate to the solemn performance of our sublime offices in all their parts, and in all the perfection of their choral accompaniment, that building surely is the Temple Church.* Its musical services will be looked to by many as a model for the regulation of other choirs; and on this account alone, if there were no other, we are particularly anxious that mistakes be avoided from the commencement, which, if ever adopted, or, at least, suffered to continue for any length of time, might become a dangerous precedent, and be multiplied *ad infinitum*. We therefore make no apology for

* Supposing the common style of music to be admissible in modern Churches, yet surely it must be out of place in the restored Temple Church. As a matter of mere consistency, surely the Gregorian chants, with the anthems of Palestrina or Bird, are more in character with the other arrangements of the building than the secular style of Kent, Greene, or Mozart.

Digitized by Google

presenting to our readers the following extracts from the communication of one of our contributors, on whose accuracy we can place entire reliance.

* * * * "Impressed with these feelings, we attended divine service in the Temple Church on Sunday last. On our arrival at the outer gateway, a notice was pointed out to us by the porter, to the effect, that none were admitted, unless benchers, and those provided with tickets. Notwithstanding this hint, we persevered, although not provided with the requisite token, and proceeded to the porch, where we found a crowd collected around the iron grating, which serves as its external inclosure, anxious—nay, clamorous, for admission. After some minutes' delay, the iron gates were opened, and a few permitted to enter; when they were again closed on the impatient crowd outside. In a few minutes they were again partially opened, and, in this manner, the whole party were gradually admitted, in batches. Although we arrived at the gate by eleven o'clock, when service commences, we were not able to obtain an entrance before the concluding verses of the *Te Deum*.*

The *coup-d'œil* which presented itself on our first entrance from the porch to the nave was truly striking and impressive. The square church (or chancel) was nearly full; and, although politely requested to take a seat in it, by one of the attendant vergers, we preferred taking our place in the nave or round church, which, we were gratified to find, was no longer separated (as when we last visited the church) by the clumsy organ-screen, and its cumbrous appurtenances, but has been once more restored to its original destination and proper use, a place of prayer. A seat was placed near us by one of the attendants, and, although we preferred our standing posture, we could not avoid mentally contrasting the civility shown us, with the treatment which it has been our misfortune to meet with elsewhere. Having read in the Journals of the day, that the service was to be what is commonly called cathedral, or choral, we soon found that this was a mistake—at least, that it was only partly of this character. The prayers, for instance, were said in the usual low or reading tone, and were, consequently, almost inaudible. Some of the responses were, indeed, sung (and admirably sung) by the clerks, with, however, a very unnecessary organ accompaniment. The parts sung at matins included the *Kyrie*, and the responses to the versicles; but when we expected to hear each succeeding prayer and collect closed by the 'full voiced choir' with the solemn *Amen*, we found, to our great disappointment and surprise, that their tongues were suddenly paralysed, and that the sympathetic organ equally refused its office. In consequence of this incongruous omission, (although we had our prayer-books in our hands,) we found it impossible to ascertain when each prayer was ended, and another begun. At times, indeed, we had a faint notion that we could distinguish the solitary *Amen* of the ancient 'parish-clerk;' but it was a doubt. We had naturally supposed that, upon the institution of a regular choir, his occupation was gone, but we were mistaken; and it has been since intimated to us, upon inquiry, that it was solely for the purpose of finding some occupation for an old servant, that the musical services were thus curtailed, and the *reading* of the *Amen* retained, but that, at his death, or resignation, the choral service will be rendered complete.† But why not compromise the affair, by granting him a pension, or, at least, find some employment for him which did not clash with the office of the clerks, properly so called. We observed that the clerks wore surplices, and the vergers gowns and bands.

"The Litany, we were happy to find, was Tallis's, the petitions of which were *read* by the officiating minister, as were also the prayers at matins,

* Since the above was written, we understand that a new regulation has been adopted, according to which the public are admitted (without tickets) at the commencement of divine service, but no one allowed to go in or out after the end of the first lesson.

† Since this was written, there has been instituted a double choir, but the *Amens* are still only *read*—by the choristers!

Digitized by Google

from one of the stalls; but even here, while all the other responses were sung by the clerks, the singing of the *Amen* was omitted, and the ancient parish clerk called into requisition. It was a sad falling off—a step from the sublime to the ridiculous.*

"After the Litany, the *Sanctus* was sung by the clerks as an Introit; when the Communion Service was commenced by the Celebrant, and one assistant. We could neither see the altar table, nor its gorgeous crimson velvet antependium, with its embroidered gold cross, and sacred monogram, as there was, unfortunately, no open space in the centre between the nave and the altar, and the platform of the latter is raised only two low steps above the floor of the chancel; consequently, we could not ascertain whether the Holy Communion was to be administered or not. The *Amens* were again left with our old friend, the parish clerk, and the only parts sung were the responses to the commandments, and the *Gloria tibi, Domine.* The Creed, *Sanctus,* and *Gloria in Excelsis,* were all *read.* In fact, the choir, whose duty it was to sing them, were absent during the saying of this latter hymn—that hymn, of which one of our venerated bishops observes, 'If ever we be fit to sing this angel's song, it is when we draw nearest to the state of angels, namely, at the receiving of the sacrament. After the receiving of the holy sacrament, we sang an hymn, in imitation of our Saviour, who, after his supper, sang an hymn, to teach us to do the like. And when can a psalm or hymn of thanksgiving be more reasonable and necessary, than after we have received this heavenly nourishment?.....Can any man receive this cup of salvation, and not praise and bless God with his utmost strength of soul and body?'†

"We had nearly omitted to mention, that there was no anthem sung at matins; but after the Nicene Creed had been thus *read,* with the solitary accompaniment of the voice of the parish clerk, an anthem, taken from the beginning of the 76th Psalm was remarkably well sung by the choir, while the preacher retired to the vestry to deposit his surplice; for the sermon was delivered by a preacher in a black gown, who concluded by pronouncing the benediction (*pax Dei*) from the pulpit. We now naturally supposed that service was over, and were about to retire, when, in consequence of the departure of some of the congregation, we, for the first time, obtained a view, not of the altar table, (for this, under any circumstances, was impossible, from its awkwardly low position, and the heavy stone balustrade by which it is obscured,) but of the communion plate. Upon a nearer approach, we perceived that the altar-cloth was spread,‡ and heard at the same time from one of the vergers, that the Celebrant, and his assistant, who had retired to the vestry, were about to return to resume the service, as soon as the congregation were departed. We were thus beset with rubrical violations. We shall, for the present, content ourselves with referring to the one which has been just briefly adverted to, the pronouncing of the benediction twice; first, after the sermon, and again at the close of the service. It is but fair to add, that the interpolation of the benediction after the sermon, as it is truly styled by Bishop Mant, is not peculiar to the Temple Church. We believe it is far from uncommon, although, in general, it is more usual to adopt after the sermon the apostolical benediction, which,

---

* A similar omission occurred at the funeral service of the late dean of Westminster.

† In the Roman liturgy this hymn occurs in the commencement of the communion service; but in a manuscript of the Irish liturgy which is still extant, and is supposed to be as old as the 7th century, the *Gloria in Excelsis* occupies the same position which it does in the Book of Common Prayer, viz. among the thanksgivings after Communion. See Palmer's Orig. Litur. vol. ii. p. 158, and O'Connor's Rerum Hibern. Scriptores, vol. i. p. 130.

‡ The white cloth very correctly covers the slab of the altar only. It is surrounded with a border of rich Brussels lace.

Digitized by Google

however, if intended as a signal for the congregation to retire, is as improper, though not so glaring an interpolation as the former.*

"While the offertory, and the *super oblata*, or Prayer for the Church Militant was reading, (not by the Celebrant, but his assistant,) the collection was made in a wooden box, which was delivered to the Celebrant to be humbly presented on the holy table; but the oblation of bread and wine was not *then* made by the officiating minister, according to the Rubric; it had been already on the altar, before the commencement of matins. There were about thirty communicants. After all had participated, we waited, in order to join the minister, if called upon, according to the Rubric, in the ceremony of the consumption of the remains of the consecrated elements; but we found, to our inexpressible grief, that this solemn rite, constituting (to use the words of the Preface to the book of Common Prayer,) one of the laudable practices, not of the Church of England only, but of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, was most unaccountably neglected. No sooner was the blessing pronounced, than one of the attendants opened the gates of the sanctuary, when the clergy retired to the vestry, leaving the holy vessels,

* The following is, we believe, the passage in Bishop Mant's Charge, to which our correspondent alludes. We recommend its careful perusal to all who are anxious to comply with the Church's requirements.

"The Church indeed so stedfastly 'keeps her ground,' that her order for the ministration of the Holy Communion gives no license for, and does not expressly recognise, the departure of any of the congregation before the ministration; so that a question arises, at what period of the service they, who do not purpose to communicate, may most conveniently depart. Since the circulation of my last Charge to the clergy of Down and Connor, this question has been proposed to me: and I take the present occasion for stating the answer, which after much consideration appears to me the best.

"A custom commonly prevails for the non-communicants to leave the church immediately after the sermon, or rather immediately after the sermon has been followed by a collect and the blessing. The blessing, introduced at this period, is a manifest interpolation: it interrupts the due order of the Church, and gives to the non-communicants a sanction and an approval, which, as the Church has not provided, so she certainly does not intend. With respect to this time of departure also, I can trace no authority for it in the Rubric; for it directs that, after the sermon, 'then shall the priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the offertory, saying one or more of these sentences following,' which sentences are to be accompanied by the offertory, and succeeded by the prayer for the Church militant. Thus far there is no intimation of a separation of the entire congregation. But the Rubric further directs, that 'if there be no communion, all that is appointed at the communion shall be said' until the end of the prayer for the Church militant. Guided by analogy then I should judge, that, if there be a communion, forasmuch as there is no intimation to the contrary, still the service should proceed without interruption until the end of the aforesaid prayer.

"But thereupon succeeds an exhortation, which is addressed specially to them 'who mind to come to the Holy Communion,' and is prefaced by the Rubrick, that 'at the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament, the priest shall say this exhortation.' Here then should seem to be the most convenient period for the departure of those, who do not 'mind to come to the Holy Communion.' A pause being allowed for the more convenient placing of the communicants, that pause affords opportunity for the non-communicants to withdraw. And perhaps it were well, if, when the circumstances of the sacred building allow such a change, the communicants were at this period to come forward from their accustomed places in the body of the church, and be collected together in the chancel. But however this be, the former answer to the proposed question remains in force, namely, that the interval between the end of the prayer for the Church militant and the beginning of the exhortation to the communicants, is the best period for the non-communicants to withdraw: a withdrawal, be it borne in mind, for which they only are responsible in thus declining to profit by the godly provision, in which the Church earnestly invites all her people to unite, and most feelingly expostulates with those who refuse."—*Two Charges by the Bishop of Down and Connor, January and July*, 1842.

Digitized by Google

with their consecrated contents, uncovered and unattended to. What became of them we know not."

Thus far our correspondent, and we confess ourselves equally in the dark on the subject to which he last alludes. One thing is however certain, that, whether the remains of the sacred elements are *reserved*, as in some parish churches,—become the perquisites of the clerk and sexton, as in certain proprietary chapels which we could name,—are swept into a pensioner's hat, as has been the practice in a church not a hundred miles from Temple bar,*—are given to a few poor women, who drink to the clergyman's health with the contents of the chalice,—or finally, are left, as at St. Paul's Cathedral,† to be disposed of by the *non-communicant* vergers, the Rubric which commands the remains of the consecrated elements to be reverently consumed is not complied with; and this omission is the more reprehensible, inasmuch as the Rubric which enjoins the practice was added at the last revision of the book of Common Prayer, in order to guard against the possibility of this very abuse, as well as to silence the calumnies of the Roman Catholics, who had accused the Church of England of profaning the consecrated elements. It was designed that the Priest should, to use the words of Bishop Cosin, "consecrate the bread and wine, in such a near proportion as shall be sufficient for the communicants, but that the consecrated elements be consumed in the church before the congregation depart." It is clearly implied by the present Rubric that the people remain until this solemn ceremony be completed. These elements were never designed to be consecrated in such quantity that they could, under any circumstances, become a gift to the poor, as they are sometimes made, but are to be given to such of the "communicants," indifferently, as the Priest shall then call to him, and this for the sole purpose of consumption.

* We are happy to learn that this practice has been given up in the church to which we refer, in consequence of the remonstrances of some of the laity who were scandalized at the profanation.

† The following is our authority for this statement:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"SIR,—I trust you will make no concession to the Bishop of Llandaff in respect of the communications of your correspondents about St. Paul's. The facts they have stated are, unhappily, notorious to every one who attends that cathedral. I believe no censure can be too severe for the manner in which the service of God has been there conducted. I have preached there several times, and have been deeply distressed at the discouragement given to communicating there. I should say that the governing powers intimate at least that they would not celebrate the Lord's Supper, *if they could help it.* But here are some facts which I should wish the Bishop to answer:—

"First,—Why does the dean or canon in residence, together with the minor canon (not to mention the singing men, &c.) quit the choir at the end of the sermon and retire to the vestry, leaving Mr. Lingard and his coadjutors to sweep the church of worshippers, if they can? If they cannot, upon word being brought to the dignitary in the vestry, he returns into the choir and proceeds to the altar. Why does he not go thither in the first instance? Why does he not show that he is ready, nay anxious, to do the duties of his office? The Bishop knows very well, that he, the canons, minor canons, &c., are bound by the Rubric to communicate *at least* every Sunday:

Digitized by Google

We have thus dwelt upon the subject, as we know that the present lax practise in this respect has been the cause of much scandal in other dioceses as well as that of London. We are aware that there are some of the clergy, who do not hesitate to affirm, notwithstanding the fourth canon, that the directions of the Church are in this instance superstitious or idolatrous,—and yet continue to minister at her altars! On such we know that our observations will be thrown away. It is not indeed without much pain that we expose these profanations, and we only do it in the hopes that these lines may attract the notice of some who value and love the ritual of the Church, and have it in their power to enforce its observance.*

---

and they form a sufficient congregation of themselves, not but what there would always be others, if a ready spirit were shown by them.

"Secondly,—When there is a communion, why do the dean or canon, and minor Canon, leave that portion of the sacred elements which has not been consumed to be disposed of by the officers of the church who have not communicated? Every time that I have received the communion in that cathedral I have seen these functionaries bow to the dignitary within the chancel rails, and then depart out of the choir till the service is over. Is this decent, I would ask, or ought the consecrated elements to be left in their charge?

"Thirdly,—I wish to know from the Bishop, whether the following fact be true which was mentioned to me by the distinguished clergyman to whom it happened (I give you privately his name as well as mine.) No doubt it was a cold day in January of the year 1841 or 1840. When the preacher got into the pulpit, the canon in residence, the minor canon, singing men, and choristers left the choir, and, I suppose, the church; the rest of the congregation had the proper feeling to remain. I need not add, that no communion was offered that day.

"Fourthly, and lastly,—I have another fact for the Bishop. When the king of Prussia went to St. Paul's Cathedral at the beginning of the year, why was no communion allowed to take place? The altar was not even covered with the white cloth and holy vessels as on other occasions. The Bishop of Llandaff was himself present. Why did he send away that great congregation without giving them the opportunity of receiving a Christian man's greatest blessing? Why did he suffer the King of Prussia, a religious man, to go away with the impression, that however much the Anglican Church may value a subordinate means of grace—preaching, she lightly regards the chiefest means of all,—the reception of her Saviour's body and blood?

"I suppose the Bishop will think me trifling, if I inquire why the elements are not placed on the altar at the time and by the person appointed by the Rubric, that is, by the chief minister, before the prayer for the Church Militant?

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"*Dec.* 8. "ANOTHER PRESBYTER."

* The following is the Rubric here referred to.

"And if any of the bread and wine remain *unconsecrated*, the curate shall have it to his own use; but if any remain of that which was consecrated, it shall not be carried out of the Church, but the Priest and such of the communicants as he shall then call unto him, shall, immediately after the blessing, reverently eat and drink the same." To this is added in the Scotch Liturgy of 1637: "And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then, if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine, the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of the consecration, 'OUR SAVIOUR IN THE NIGHT THAT HE WAS BETRAYED TOOK,'" &c. If the officiating minister were to economise the elements according to this suggestion, the objection sometimes made as to the impossibility of consuming the large quantity of consecrated bread and wine, (which, for want of attending to a rule of this kind is now too often suffered to remain,) could not exist. In fact, we know several churches in which the minister so manages as to have scarcely any overplus; he, in

Digitized by Google

Our correspondent with his family again appear at the vesper service of the Temple Church.

"We were," he adds, "invited to a vacant seat in one of the transverse benches which fill the chancel, where we were happy to find that kneeling places had been provided, although we found it impossible to avail ourselves of them while those who occupied the seats in front of us chose to retain their sitting posture. It was clear that unless all the congregation could be induced to kneel in those parts of the service where it is directed by the Rubric, the costly provision which has been made for this necessary object, must prove utterly unavailing. The choral parts of the service, always excepting the incongruities of which we have already complained, and which were renewed in the performance of evening prayer, were beautifully and expressively sung, although we could not help wishing that the tones of the organ were not quite so loud as to drown the voices of the clerks. The anthem was sung, not in its place, but after the conclusion of evening prayer, which was followed by a sermon."*

As some of the subjects which are here introduced by our correspondent are occupying much of the public attention, we take this opportunity of offering some remarks which their present consideration forces upon us. Why, for instance, is it, that the privilege of praying in the nave is denied to the worshippers in many of our cathedral and collegiate churches? Before the great rebellion the naves were thronged with worshippers, while the chancels were reserved for the clergy and the members of the choir, and none of the laity admitted unless at the time of communion. These practices

---

this case, is not under the necessity of calling any of the communicants to assist him. It is still, however, their duty to remain until the elements be consumed in their presence. Even among the foreign Protestants, the elements are not only consumed by the minister and communicants, but the former rinces the chalice with water, and conveys it to the sacristy. The following is the original Rubric of 1552, which the present one was designed to explain. "And if any of the bread or wine remain, the curate shall have it to his own use." On this, Bishop Cosins made in 1661 the following observations, on which the present more stringent direction seems to have been founded. "Which words some curates have abused and extended so far as to suppose, that they may take all that remains of the *consecrated bread and wine itself* home to their houses, and there eat and drink the same with their other common meats; at least the Roman Catholics take occasion hereby to lay this negligence and calumny upon the Church of England, whereas the Rubric intends it only of such bread and wine as remains *unconsecrated*, &c.; and, therefore, for the better clearing of this particular, some words are needful here to be added, whereby the Priest may be enjoined to consider the number of those which are to receive the Sacrament, and to consecrate the bread and wine in such a near proportion as shall be sufficient for them; but if any of the *consecrated* elements be left, that he and some others with him, shall decently eat and drink them in the church, before the people depart from it." Bishop Sparrow also in his "Rationale," referring to the former Rubric which was that in use in his time:—"*If any of the bread and wine remain, the curate shall have it to his own use,*" observes, "that is, if it were not consecrated, for if it be consecrated, it is all to be spent with fear and reverence, by the communicants in the church." Those who strictly interpret the word "reverently," consume the remains of the consecrated elements on their knees, a posture which doubtless tends to remove all misconceptions as to the object of this consumption, which the ignorant might otherwise be liable to misinterpret.

* We understand that some of the churches of the diocese have adopted the practice of Westminster Abbey, where the anthem is sung in its place after the third collect, and is immediately succeeded by the sermon. After this the five concluding prayers are said, of course.

Digitized by Google

lingered on till they were lost in the apathy succeeding the Revolution. Such of our readers as wish for more full information on this subject, will find it in the recent numbers of the "Ecclesiologist."

From the various notices in reference to this subject with which our table has been recently loaded, we conceive we cannot do better than select the following passage from the notes of an observant traveller who lately accompanied some friends to Westminster Abbey.

"We wished, before leaving, to attend divine service in this magnificent minster, but what we witnessed and suffered upon this occasion left any but a pleasing recollection in our minds. We approached the western portal, but instead of finding it open to invite the passer-by to join in christian worship, it was barred and bolted, and doubly barricaded with an iron grating. The antique doors had indeed the appearance of not having turned on their rusty and massive hinges for at least two centuries. We thought of trying the northern porch, when our eyes happened to light on a board near the western door bearing the following ominous inscription in tolerably large capitals, 'THE DOOR INTO POETS' CORNER AT THE EAST END OF THE CHURCH IS OPEN.' Forbidden thus by those who "hold the keys" from even approaching the people's entrance, and casting a wistful look at the splendid, but now, alas! useless northern porch,* we proceeded to the further extremity of the minster, and found our way through one of the valves of a door on the east end, (originally intended, we presume, exclusively for the clergy,) to this sacred corner—sacred, I mean, to the muses. The part of the church to which this undignified name is thus given by the dean and canons, is, in fact, no other than the southern transept. Here, instead of the solemn associations which would have attended our entrance by the low western gateway, the emblem of humility, or would have filled the mind with increased awe and recollection in passing up the stately nave, we were met by the profane idols of poets and literati; in fact, with emblems of all kinds save those of devotion. On our first entrance, we were reminded that

'Life's a jest, and all things show it;
I thought so once, and now I know it.'—*Gay's Epitaph.*

We heard the solemn pealing of the organ, but

'The high embowed roof,
With antique pillars, massy proof,'

was in a great measure hidden from our eyes. The choir was crowded to suffocation, and the southern transept nearly so, with devout and attentive worshippers, while a few persons who still lingered in the nave, having been admitted thereto from a passage in the southern transept for the moderate sum of three-pence, were politely requested to withdraw, as service was about commencing, and to pray in the nave was an unheard-of profanation, beyond the experience of any living verger. Before service commenced, a curtain was dropped over the gates which divide the choir from the nave, in order, we presume, to shut out the very notion from any one who might still have lingered there that he was in the house of God, or participating in any degree in the service, as well as to prevent the solemn chanting of the choir from being heard in the body of the church.†

* This refers to the week-days only. On Sundays the porch door is opened for a quarter of an hour before service, but closed the instant it commences.

† In St. Paul's Cathedral there have been seats provided for such as choose to worship outside the organ-screen; but under no circumstance is any one allowed to pray outside a bar placed at the entrance to the *choir*, which extends some feet

Digitized by Google

We ventured to ask whether we might not be indulged in the privilege of praying in the nave in preference to Poets' Corner, but received the significant answer that it might be 'viewed' after service. In fact, we learned that it was designed for exhibition, not for prayer; that prayer was confined to the choir and 'Poets' Corner.' In each of these places numbers were obliged to stand, as the seats were all occupied. To this we made no objection, but should have been delighted with the privilege of standing in the nave. It appeared to us quite unaccountable that this magnificent space, which might have been filled with worshippers, should have been allowed to remain empty, while the whole chancel, including the space between the stalls and the sanctuary, was so crammed with people, that neither the officiating minister nor the members of the choir could obtain even a sight of the altar.* If we had been admitted to the nave, we could, notwithstanding the intervention of that impediment to devotion, the organ screen, have heard and seen as well as in 'Poets' Corner,' which was grotesquely blockaded to an enormous height with a modern oak panelling. It was, however, forbidden by the dean and chapter; they best know why."

We agree with our traveller that it would be an improvement to admit the worshippers to the nave, even in the present state of the minster,—indeed, we do not know by what right they are excluded from that portion of the building which was designed at a costly expenditure for their express use. But we trust that the opening of the nave to the public, which we understand is in agitation, will lead to the further improvement of removing the organ from its present improper position, and of replacing it in a more appropriate part of the building. The benchers of the Temple have in this respect set a noble example, which we trust to see followed in all our cathedral churches. It has already been done with remarkably good effect in Canterbury. One great and immediate advantage will follow from this change, viz. that the voice of the officiating minister will be heard, as it is in all foreign churches, in the remotest extremity of the building, which, by the way, is an additional argument in favour of chaunting the service, wherever it can be accomplished. This edifying practice, we are sorry to find, is sadly neglected in some of our cathedral and collegiate establishments. When these improvements are introduced, but not till then, we shall cease to be taunted by foreigners and others with the utter

between the organ-screen and the nave. The choir is consequently overcrowded. But, in order, we presume, that those worshippers who are outside the organ-screen, may have as little benefit as possible from the service, as soon as the first lesson commences, not only are the choir gates closed, but a glass door is superadded and closed at the same time with the gates. We believe that after this no one is permitted to enter the church, on the plea that the choir is full. When we last attended divine service at St. Paul's, there was, fortunately for those who could not get admittance into the choir, a pane broken, which enabled us to enjoy the service. Perhaps this hint may lead to its being mended, or the glass doors removed, unless, indeed, Mr. Knight Bruce should adopt his summary mode of trying the legality of thus shutting out sight and sound from the worshippers at St. Paul's Cathedral.

* We understand that, in consequence of this arrangement, the clergy have sometimes great difficulty in forcing their way through the crowd to the altar!

Digitized by Google

uselessness of our cathedral naves; nay, we believe that they will be thronged with worshippers, of whom two hundred are reported to have formerly attended the daily six o'clock morning service at Durham. We believe that there is no early choral service at Westminster or St. Paul's. In the former of these the morning prayer is read in Poets' Corner. It is, however, continued in the cathedral of Winchester, where the services are still kept distinct, the matins being sung at seven o'clock, the Litany at ten, and the Communion Service immediately afterwards. But whether Winchester is one of those cathedrals in which the Rubric which enjoins weekly communion on the clergy has been suffered to fall into desuetude, as in Westminster Abbey,* we have not had an opportunity of ascertaining. We are reminded of this subject by the recent controversy in "The Times," which has excited such an interest in regard to the weekly administration of the Holy Communion in some of our cathedral churches, and to the issue of which the whole Anglican community is now anxiously looking. We are not concerned with it as a matter of detail, or a mere controversy between the verger of a cathedral and an anonymous writer in a newspaper. It is a question which affects not the metropolitan only, but all the cathedral bodies in England; one, in fact, in which every member of the church of Christ is vitally concerned. It must therefore be approached with that awe and seriousness which so solemn a subject necessarily demands.

The question is, whether the clergy in cathedral churches are bound by the Rubric to receive the Holy Communion every Lord's day? In order to explain this question it is necessary

---

* The following is our authority for this statement regarding Westminster Abbey:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE CHURCH INTELLIGENCER.'

"*Dec.* 14, 1842.

"SIR,—Will you allow me to ask if the 'Prayer to be said in the Ember weeks for those that are to be admitted into Holy Orders' ought not to be used at *Evening* Prayer? I ask the question because I was this day at Westminster Abbey, and the Prayer was omitted.

"Further, is not Westminster Abbey, 'a Cathedral or Collegiate Church,' of the kind mentioned in the Rubric after the Communion Service?

"I have for two or three years been a very frequent attendant at Morning Prayer on Sunday at the Abbey; but, to my frequent disappointment, have never once even seen any *preparation* for, much less been allowed the opportunity of receiving, the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's body and blood.

"The Bishop of London has, it is said, approved of the two symbolical lights on the altar to be lighted also, but only when there are other lights. In the Abbey, in Evening Service, they are *never* placed on the altar, but seven or eight candlesticks, with or without candles, may be seen placed on the floor of the most holy place, near the holy table.

"Moreover, except in the stalls, there is only one bench where it is possible to kneel during prayer.

"Oh that alterations could be made here as well as at St. Paul's!

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

—*Church Intelligencer*, Dec. 28. 1842. "AN OLD SUBSCRIBER."

Digitized by Google

to go at some length into the history of this Rubric. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that from the first planting of Christianity in England by the apostles, or their immediate successors, to the year 1552, there was not a church in England, cathedral or parochial, in which the holy sacrament was not weekly, if not *daily* offered. In primitive times, indeed, according to the scriptural rule, the whole congregation united in this, "the most appropriate and distinguishing act of christian worship."* But in the course of centuries piety waxed cold, and the number of communicants became rare, unless on the greater festivals. The officiating minister was at length frequently obliged to administer the Eucharist to himself alone, a practice which was never contemplated by the framers of any of the ancient liturgies, and which is inconsistent with the very terms in which the prayers of the Communion office are couched. As an instance of this, it will be sufficient to observe, that in the Roman and Gallican liturgies, not to speak of the Oriental, while there are many portions which are appropriated to the celebrant only, and are therefore confined to the singular number, all those parts which refer to the reception of the Holy Communion are in the plural. In fact, the administering the Communion without the presence of communicants was an unforeseen case, for which no provision was made by the church. So matters stood at the period of the unhappy contests in the sixteenth century, when the Anglican church, which with the rest of Western Christendom had been long subjected to the Roman see, began to make an admirable use of the liberty which she enjoyed by reason of her deliverance from this usurpation, and to return to her ancient and primitive usages, usages which had been once those of the whole catholic church. It was therefore provided in the first liturgy of King Edward VI., which was compiled from the most ancient and purest sources, that "there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, except there be *some* to communicate with the priest." It was further provided, that in order "that the receiving of the Sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ may be most agreeable to the usage of the primitive church, in all cathedral and collegiate churches there shall always some communicate with the priest that ministereth." Such was the rule with regard to cathedrals; but as the circumstances of parochial churches required the application of a different principle, it was ordained that on Sundays and Holydays "some one at the least of that house in every parish, to whom, by course, after the ordinance herein made, it appertaineth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or *some other whom they shall provide to offer for them*, shall receive the Holy Communion with

* Charge delivered by the Lord Bishop of London, 1842.

Digitized by Google

the priest; the which may be the better done, for that they know before when their course cometh, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receiving of the Sacrament, and with him or them who doth so offer the charges of the communion, all other who be then godly disposed thereunto, shall likewise receive the Communion, and by this means the minister having always some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnize so high and holy mysteries, with all the suffrages and due order appointed for the same. And the priest on the week-days shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, except he has some that will communicate with him."

The passage, however, which we have marked in italics was one of those which excited the strong animadversion of Bucer, whose observations led to the principal alterations which are found in Edward's Second Prayer Book, that of 1552. "I should wish," observes Bucer, "that the fifth rubric, 'that some one at least shall communicate with the minister, and that if he whose course it is to do so is unwilling to communicate himself, he shall provide another to communicate in his place;' and the sixth rubric, that each person communicate at least once in the year,' be left out, and that there be substituted a grave exhortation to the pastors to teach and exhort their flocks, as at all times to live in Christ the Lord, so also to receive this benefit from the Lord and from the Sacraments of the divine Supper, as often as they are celebrated; and to show them with what contempt Christ is treated by those who neglect it. Now if it be allowed that one may provide a substitute to communicate for him, it follows that those who are in better circumstances may hire some poor person to communicate for them at the Lord's table; and in what respect does this differ, except in cheapness, from purchased masses?" This remark, as has been observed, induced the compilers of Edward's Second Prayer Book to leave the times of the administration of the Holy Communion, in parochial chnrches, to the discretion* of the curate, who was at the same time forbidden to administer the Communion, even when there were not above twenty persons in the parish of discretion to receive it, "except four (or three at the least) communicate with the priest." Bishop Cosins truly observes, that these rubrics and the first exhortation† in Edward's Second Book of Common Prayer,

* "Now what we have here to do, in all these cases, is only to be considerate in the use of this liberty, and not to transgress the bounds within which our discretion is restrained, nor give any occasion to a remark that was often in the mouth of a great christian ritualist, viz. that what was left to the discretion of a Minister, was also left to his indiscretion."—*Archdeacon Sharpe on the Rubric.*

† The exhortation above referred to as being added at Bucer's instance, commencing with the words, "We be come together at this time," was placed immediately after the Prayer for the Church Militant, to which position the original exhortation, "Dearly beloved in the Lord," which followed the Creed or Sermon in Edward's First Book was also removed. In this exhortation those present were admonished,

Digitized by Google

"to be used at certain times when the curate shall see the people negligent to come to the Holy Communion," were added upon Bucer's special instance, and in consequence of his "Censure;" but we beg the reader to mark that the main design even of Bucer's empiricism, was only that which the Church herself had in view, the making the Holy Communion her perpetual and standing office, in which we "commemorate the one great and final Sacrifice, in the manner appointed by our Lord, and continually present unto God that memorial with prayer and thanksgiving, and an offering of our substance and of ourselves, both soul and body; and to apply to ourselves, through faith, the results of the one propitiatory sacrifice."* The following are Bucer's own reasonings in his "Censure" on the first Book of Edward, which we take the liberty of translating for the convenience of the English reader. "The persons

rather than stand by and not communicate, to "depart hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed." Among the other modifications which took place at the last revision, this sentence was omitted; and upon the complaint of the Presbyterians, (who had now become dissatisfied with Bucer's alterations,) that "the first and second exhortations were more fit to be read some days before the Communion, than at the very time that the people are come to receive it," one of them was converted into a previous warning, and they were directed to be read "after the Sermon or homily ended." This was, in fact, going back to the practice of Edward's First Book, which contained both an exhortation to present, and a warning of future communion, to be given, if necessary, after the creed and Sermon. It had been, however, therein wisely prescribed that "in cathedrals, and wherever there was daily Communion, it shall be sufficient to read it once a month, and that in parish churches on the week days, it may be left unsaid." It will be borne in mind that at this time the order, for at least weekly Communion, in all parish churches, was peremptory. Another alteration was, that whereas, in Edward's First Book, the "Dry-Service" was allowed to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays only; the direction was now extended to the Holydays, and we are informed by an eminent ritualist, who must be allowed to have understood the sense and practice of the Church in his time, which was before the last revision, that "under the notion of Holy Dayes in this place, such Sundays are also to be comprehended on which there is no Communion, *in country villages where congregations are thin;* for Sundays are put into the catalogue of holy dayes in the Act of Parliament and order of our Church." It is also evident that the revision of our Common Prayer Book at the last review, while leaving the administration of the daily Communion to the discretion of the Curate, contemplated that it should be administered in all parish churches every Lord's day; for when the Presbyterian Brethren, in 1661, desired that the "Minister be not required to rehearse any part of the Liturgy at the Communion Table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's Supper," the reply of the Bishops was as follows: "That the Minister should not read the Communion Service at the Communion Table, is not reasonable to demand, since all the primitive Churches used it. . . . . The Priest standing at the Communion Table, seemeth to give us an invitation to the Holy Sacrament, and minds us of our duty to receive the Holy Communion, *some at least every Sunday;* and though we neglect our duty, it is fit the Church should keep her standing." Nor was any intimation of departure now given to non-communicants, only the rubric referred to by Bishop Mant directing the "convenient placing of the Communicants at the time of the celebration," was added before the third exhortation. These three exhortations are termed by Dr. Nicholls, 1 The warning to Communion; 2. The exhortation to Communion; 3. The exhortation *at* Communion.

* Charge, by Charles James, Lord Bishop of London, 1842. Bucer, in maintaining the propriety of administering the Communion, at least every Lord's day, terms it "that sacred rite, in which the majesty of God, the death and resurrection of his Son, and the salvation of mankind, are celebrated and represented."

Digitized by Google

present should be urged by all methods to communicate. But there are some who agree with us in this, and yet do not use the true means of effecting it. For some with this view celebrate the Lord's Supper as seldom as three or four times a year, others dismiss all the people who had assembled at the preaching of the gospel, and the prayers, in order to celebrate the Lord's Supper in presence of the communicants only. For, inasmuch as the Lord commended to his disciples the use of this Sacrament, for the solemn celebration of his memory, surely it is our duty to celebrate it at every solemn assembly, that is, *on every Lord's day.* Likewise inasmuch as the Apostle (1 Cor. xi.) delegates the celebration of the Lord's Supper to the Christians as frequently as they met, and as we read that the Apostolic Church continued in the *breaking of bread*, as well as in the Apostles' doctrine, (Acts ii.) it follows that the primitive Churches received from a certain tradition of the Apostles, the practice of exhibiting the Lord's Supper on all Sundays and festivals, nay, as often as the Church assembled."

The rubrics here referred to regarded parochial churches only; with respect to cathedrals, no change seems to have been contemplated, for whereas in Edward's First Book it is assumed that in "cathedral churches" as well as "*other places*," there is "daily communion,"* the rubric in the Second Prayer Book, (which is the same with that still in force,) provides that "in cathedral and collegiate churches, where there be many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the minister [priest, 1662] every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary."

It had been provided in Edward's First Book that, "Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, (after the Litany ended,) as well as on other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the church, and none disposed to communicate with the priest, he shall put upon him a plain albe, or surplice, with a cope, and say all things at the altar, &c., until after the offertory: with one of the concluding collects, and the accustomed blessing. This was the origin in the English Church of what has been called the *Dry-Service*,† or the Communion Service without Communion." There is said to have been a precedent for such service in other parts of Europe. The earliest notice of it, however, which we have is in the year 1200. But the practice was prohibited by several councils, although it is said to have still prevailed at Turin so late as the year 1587.‡

* "In cathedral churches or other places, where there is daily communion, it shall be sufficient to read this exhortation once in a month, and in parish churches, upon the week days, it may be left unsaid."—Rubric after the first exhortation, —"Dearly beloved in the Lord."

† *Missa Sicca*, called also the *Sailor's Mass*, from the difficulty of administering the Communion on board ship.

‡ *See* Palmer's Antiquities of English Ritual, vol. ii. p. 164. Third Edition.

Digitized by Google

Although none had been more opposed to this practice than some of the ritualists of the Latin church, it equally fell under the censure of Bucer. "This," he says, "is a dumb-shew of the Lord's Supper, borrowed from the anti-christian Romanists. It therefore serves in its own way to confirm in the minds of the superstitious their impious faith in the mass. This I have heard from pious, learned, and serious men, from whom even noble women had the open audacity to seek for *memories*, (as they call them,) when communicants were wanting. . . . And what grounds are there in the word of God for the minister's saying, either in his ordinary dress or in the plain linen albe, and in other places than at the Lord's table, the other prayers, psalms, and lessons, which have the same dignity and divine power in themselves, and yet saying that semi-mass in missal vestments, and at the Lord's table?" This observation of Bucer's does not, however, seem to have been entirely attended to; the principal alteration made in this respect was, that whereas the semi-mass, (as Bucer called it,) in Edward's First Book, ended immediately after the Offertory, when the concluding collect was said and the blessing pronounced; the same service in Edward's Second Book included the Prayer for the Church Militant, the position of which in Edward's First Book was after the Preface, immediately between the *Sanctus* and the Prayer of Consecration, but was in the Second Book removed to its present place, after the Offertory.

It may be necessary here to remind the reader, that the Communion Service consisted originally of two parts, the one appropriated to catechumens, or learners, at which all persons were permitted to be present, and which consisted principally of Hymns, Exhortations, and the reading of the Scriptures; while the latter part, at which none were permitted to be present but the faithful, included the Confession of Faith,* the Consecration, and the Reception of the Holy Communion. "In the course of ages, however, the ancient exclusion of catechumens and infidels became obsolete, because the Christian religion was universally prevalent. Thus it was in England, as in most other countries. The distinction between the *missa-catechumenorum*, or that part of the Liturgy which catechumens might attend, and the *missa-fidelium*, or that part where the faithful, or Christians only, were present, gradually became extinct. Hence we find, that in the middle ages the sermon, or instruction to the people, was sometimes delivered after the Creed and Offertory; thus excluding the Creed from that part of the office which was originally intended for the faithful only. This custom of the Church of England is

* "The Creed was placed in the part which followed the dismissal of the catechumens and learners, and before the solemn prayers, or Canon. After their dismissal, the Creed was recited, as a further test of the orthodoxy of those that remained and professed to be faithful."—*Palmer's Antiquities of the English Ritual*, vol. ii. p. 55.

Digitized by Google

still visible in our Liturgy, where the sermon follows the Creed instead of preceding it, according to the primitive rule."*

From the circumstances above stated, the exclusion of any who desired to be present had ceased for many centuries before the Reformation, and it became the practice all over the East and West, for the communicants to receive in presence of the congregation. Such is still the rule and practice on the continent, as well in the Western Church as among all who have separated from her communion—among Catholics and Protestants. Such is equally the *rule* of the Anglo-Catholic Church, in whose Liturgy there exists no form of dismissal until the final blessing, nor even any reminiscence of the ancient practice of the dismissal of the catechumens.† Such was also the *practice* in the Church of England until a comparatively recent time. The sovereigns of England, to this day, receive the Holy Communion in presence of their subjects.‡ But subsequently to the Revolution,§ in those periods when the laxity of some of the prelates would have altered the Creeds and neutralized the presbyterate, it became fashionable to depreciate the Sacraments of the Church, and undervalue her privileges. Then it was that rubrical violations commenced; the practice became common of curtailing the service by pronouncing the blessing from the pulpit, instead of returning to the altar to continue the service, according to the Rubric and ancient usage. The Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, which was in the early periods of the Reformation still administered in nearly every parish church in England on every Lord's Day,‖ became gradually less and less frequently celebrated. The office

* Palmer's Antiquities of the English Ritual, vol. ii. p. 55. In the Roman Liturgy there is still a reminiscence of the ancient practice, the sermon coming between the Gospel and the Creed. The Anglican Church, by changing the position of the sermon, abolished the last vestige of the distinction between the two parts of the office.

† In Edward's First Book, the communicants were directed to remain in the choir, and all others to leave it after the Offertory, except the priest and clerks. The congregation remained in the nave.

‡ The only other persons present, who are permitted to communicate, are the officiating Prelates, and the Dean of Westminster.

§ We are informed by Bishop Burnet, that immediately after the Revolution clergymen were maintained by subscription to "read prayers in so many places, and at so many different hours, that devout persons might have that comfort at every hour of the day; that there were constant Sacraments every Lord's day in many churches, and that there were both greater numbers and greater appearances of devotion at prayers and Sacraments, than had been observed in the memory of man."—*Hist. of his own Times*, vol. ii.

‖ See Le Strange's Alliance of Divine Offices. This learned ritualist, referring to the Apostolical Canon, "Let every one of the Faithful that comes into church, and continueth not in prayer, and the participation of the blessed mysteries, be excommunicated," observes, "This notwithstanding, for matter of fact, clear it is all did not conform, St. Chrysostom reproving some upon this very score," [nearly in the words of the Exhortation in Edward's Second Book,] "why standest thou behind and doest not partake of the table?" Bucer wished to have every person in England, who did not communicate every Sunday, excommunicated; but the only alteration made in consequence, was the extension of the obligation to communicate from "once" to "three times" in the year, of which Easter was to be one.

Digitized by Google

appointed by the Church for the *daily* communion being now left to the discretion of the Curate was discontinued altogether. On Sundays and Holydays, the "Dry-Service," intended by the Church to be used only when communicants could not be obtained, now resumed the place of the solitary mass of the priest; and although either of these practices would have been justly considered a great evil by our Reformers, we are not here called upon, even if we were competent, to decide which is the greater.* The Dry-Service at length came to be employed on the most solemn occasions, even at the consecration of churches. The Holy Communion was in some places administered monthly, in others quarterly, in others annually. The practice of non-communicants retiring after the sermon, commenced, although the Rubric gave not the slightest intimation of such practice. This custom soon gave rise to the feeling that this was the proper place to retire. A notion became prevalent that it was more holy to retire than to assist. The clergy themselves entertained the opinion that the congregation ought to be dismissed after the sermon, first on communion, and then on non-communion days; and finding no form for the purpose provided by the Rubric, they invented or interpolated one.† And, as a natural consequence of this unauthorized attempt on the part of private individuals to improve the Liturgy, now that there is so general a desire manifested to return to the old paths, there is no question which the clergy find more perplexity in deciding, than, whereabouts is the proper place to dismiss the congregation? For there is certainly no vestige of such dismissal after the sermon. And, such is the force of long habit, there are, we believe, but few who have discovered, that, as no form of dismissal is to be found in the Liturgy, it is obvious that no dismissal whatever is contemplated by the Church.‡ We have found it necessary to premise these obser-

* In St. Paul's Cathedral, the Rubric for weekly clerical Communion is said to be superseded by a chapter regulation to the effect that preparation will be made for communion every Lord's day, which will be administered if a certain number of the congregation require it. But it appears that on Sunday, January 30th, the day on which the King of Prussia assisted at Divine Service, no preparation was made, the Eucharistic office was suspended, and the "Dry-Service" substituted for the Memorial of Christ's death.

† Even the *Dry-Service* was generally mutilated (*whenever a sermon was preached*) by omitting the prayer for the Church Militant. This prayer is still omitted at the Temple church.

‡ See Bishop Mant's Charge, above cited, p. 237.

Some are of opinion that the Church of England is more conformable to the primitive Church in her present practice, than she is in her rubrics. But independently of the fact, that "we are not to take as our rule and government the early Church, but the Church of England, as she speaks in plain and obvious cases by her rubrics and canons," (*Bishop of London's Charge,*) we presume that in the primitive Church, all baptized persons (not in the class of penitents) were expected to be present. There were also the *consistentes*, or those permitted to remain, "standing with the Faithful, joining in prayers with them, but abstaining from Communion," (L'Estrange.) In this class were included the penitents who were

Digitized by Google

vations, in order to facilitate the more perfect understanding of the service of the Church, and the question now in dispute.

We proceed to consider how the Rubric for weekly Communion has been observed.

There can be no question, that until the Revolution the Rubric was *bonâ fide* observed, which enjoined upon the cathedral clergy the reception of the Holy Communion at least every Sunday. Even in parish churches, a century since, the practice was not yet obsolete. In London alone, in the year 1714, there were at least fourteen churches in which the Communion was weekly celebrated; at present we believe that there are scarcely half-a-dozen; and in some of these the Service is so mutilated, or vitiated by rubrical violations, that some of its great objects are lost sight of. The Communion Service, for instance, in some places, occurs before the Morning Prayer, thus becoming the first instead of the second service. Its very order is sometimes reversed, by commencing with the latter part of the office, viz.—the Offertory, before Morning Prayer, and finishing with the former part of the service *after* Morning Prayer is over. But what is the present practice of our cathedrals? We believe that in most of them the weekly Communion has been discontinued, and given place to the monthly. We occasionally, indeed, read of a revival of weekly Communion, as was effected by Dean Swift, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in the last century, and by the present Archbishop of York, in 1841.* We have heard that in some cathedrals there is exhibited what Bucer would probably have called a *simulacrum* of the Holy Communion, while in others there is a *bonâ fide* celebration; we mean one in which all the clergy participate, as in Exeter and Durham. We were lately ourselves disappointed in finding that the Holy Communion is no longer weekly celebrated in the Collegiate Church of Manchester. The practice of weekly Communion, as we had learned from Bishop Jolly's work on the Eucharist, had existed in 1813;† but we ascertained from one of the canons, that

passing the last year of their ecclesiastical censure. But, whatever may have been the rigid discipline of the anti-nicene Church, the rubrics of the Church of England are in strict accordance with the present practice of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, which has the "power to decree rites and ceremonies," as well as "authority in controversies of Faith," Article xx.

* "Injunctions made and given the 22nd day of February, in the year of our Lord God 1841, by us, Edward, by God's Providence Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan, unto the Dean and Chapter and Canons of our cathedral and metropolitan church of St. Peter's in York.

"Imprimis, we ordain and enjoin that the Holy Communion be celebrated in the cathedral and metropolitan church of York, on all the great festivals of the Church, for which proper prefaces are appointed, and on every Sunday, in compliance with the directions set in the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer."—*British Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 574.

† The following interesting extract of a letter on this subject, from the late Bishop Walker, of Edinburgh, will be found in the work referred to:—

"September 1813, I stopped at Manchester, on a Saturday, on my way from London to Edinburgh. On Sunday I went to the Great or Collegiate Church of that

Digitized by Google

it had been discontinued in the time of Bishop Law, and altered to once a fortnight. It is, however, still a *bonâ fide* Communion, as the dean and canons *all* communicate on these occasions, as the Rubric directs. We have reason, indeed, to fear, that in former times many of those who were entrusted with the management of our cathedrals were ignorant of their uses. "Every cathedral," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "in its first institution was as the temple to the whole diocese, where the worship was to be performed in the most decent, constant, and solemn manner; for which end it was necessary to have such a number of ecclesiastical persons there attending as might still be ready to do all the offices which did belong to the Christian Church,—such as constant prayers, and hymns, and preaching, and celebration of the sacraments; which were to be kept up in such a church as the daily service was in the Temple; not only for the satisfaction of all persons who desire to know what the manner of our worship is, but that all devout persons may certainly know whither to go at certain hours, to offer up their prayers and thanksgivings to God, and that in the most public and solemn manner. And upon this ground, the institution of cathedral churches among Christians was a very pious and reasonable thing." In compliance with this design, we find that there was a time when ample provision was made for these sacred purposes. There were formerly at St. Paul's, for instance, twenty Canons, who all resided under the Dean: these had twenty Vicars under them; but they themselves, as many as were priests, served the altar in turns. This state of affairs had, however, long ceased to exist; and, at the close of the seventeenth century, we conclude that grounds existed for the following injunction, issued by the Bishop of London:—"In this cathedral church, in which there are several who have been admitted into holy orders, all, on every Lord's day at the least, shall receive the Holy Communion, as prescribed by the Liturgy of the Anglican Church; and no excuse for absence shall be allowed, except it be approved by the Dean and Chapter."

---

town. The Holy Communion was administered, as I believe it is there every Sunday. One of the clergy, who observed me disposed to remain, came and questioned me, and when he was satisfied with my answers, he took me forward to the altar, before the service commenced, that I might receive clerical communion. Soon after, the warden, or presiding presbyter, attended by two or three others, came to the altar from the vestry, the warden taking the north side, and his assistants the south side of the altar. The sentences were then read, and the offertory made, which the warden placed solemnly upon the altar. I then observed that the elements were not upon the altar, but covered on a side table, in the south corner, within the rails. One of the assistant clergy went, immediately after the offertory was placed upon the altar, uncovered the elements, and brought them to the warden, into whose hands he delivered them; and the warden, having solemnly placed them upon the altar, said, with a loud voice, Let us pray for the whole state, &c. This was, indeed, impressively solemn; but it was really no more than what the Church enjoins and requires of every priest, in performing this most solemn service."

Digitized by Google

"This regulation," says Mr. Miller, "respecting the Eucharist is deeply interesting, as directing attention to a part of the Rubric which seems practically forgotten." How long this practical forgetfulness has existed, we have at present no means of ascertaining. But if the Rubric has been unfortunately long obsolete at St. Paul's, it is scarcely fair to cast all the odium of such neglects on the present authorities, and especially on the Dean, who, we have reason to believe, found matters in a much worse state than they now are, on his accession to his present dignity. Our concern, however, is with the present practice, which will be best understood from the recent correspondence in "The Times." To this we are now about to refer, premising, however, that the only portions of it to which we are bound to give implicit credence, are those authenticated by the signature of the Dean himself and the officers of the cathedral.

The state of the case is as follows:—On the 13th of October, the following letter appeared in "The Times," from an anonymous correspondent, whom the editor states to be, to his own knowledge, a "beneficed Clergyman of the London diocese."

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"Sir,—You have commented strongly on the desecration of some of our cathedrals and parish churches under the pretence of the performance of sacred music, in which, by the way, papists and Jews have had no inconsiderable share. Perhaps you will also notice the fact stated below; which, though anonymously* given (for what Clergyman will venture to offend a bishop?) is yet so susceptible of proof or denial, that it obviously would not be communicated to you except under the entire conviction of its truth.

"It is sometimes said of St. Paul's Cathedral, that it is the great parish church of every Englishman; and certainly no Clergyman can enter it without regarding the administration of its services as the model for his own imitation. Yet the following scene deeply shocked one who, a few weeks ago, attended on its worship, and is, it is believed, repeated almost every Sunday. He had been present at the prayers; and seeing the table spread for the Holy Communion, he remained, in the hope of partaking of that holiest ordinance of our religion. The Clergy, however, headed by the Dean, retired; and while he was waiting, under the impression that they would speedily return to commence the service, the verger came to him, and civilly suggested that he should retire, as, otherwise, he said, some Clergymen [Clergyman?] would be under the necessity of returning to perform the sacred office. Not, indeed, that the Bishop or any of the superior Clergy would have troubled themselves in the matter, but some ill-paid and hard-working Minor Canon must have reluctantly remained. Under these circumstances, our Clergyman went sorrowing away. *And this was in the metropolitan church.* It is probable that if you will print some short statement to the foregoing effect, it will obtain either an admission or denial of its truth. In either case, it is to be hoped, that, after such notice, the *apparent* spreading of the Lord's Table in St. Paul's Cathedral will never be a solemn *mockery*, but an holy and religious *reality;* otherwise, the inference will be, that the Dean

* "We [viz. *Times*] have sufficient authority for the statement of our correspondent."

Digitized by Google

and Chapter, content with their dignities and emoluments, think it beneath them to administer that Holy Sacrament.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"PRESBYTER."

To this letter the Dean forwarded the following reply, with its annexures:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"Sir,—Your paper of this day contains an article conspicuously printed, under the title 'St. Paul's Cathedral,' and signed 'Presbyter,' which is of such a nature as compels me to notice it instantly, and to request that you will make known the author. It brings charges of the most serious kind against the authorities of the Cathedral and the officiating Clergy, materially affecting their character, which, if true, ought to be laid before their Visitor; and, if false, the author of the calumny ought to be exposed.

"It is stated that '*a few weeks ago* (and the scene, it is believed, is almost every Sunday repeated) a person who had been present at prayers, seeing the table spread for the Holy Communion, remained in the hope of partaking of that holiest ordinance of our religion. *The Clergy, however, headed by the Dean, retired;* and while he was waiting, under the impression that they would speedily return to commence the service, the verger came to him, and civilly suggested that he should retire, as, otherwise, he said, some Clergymen would be under the necessity of returning to perform the sacred office. Not, indeed, that the Bishop or any of the superior Clergy would have troubled themselves in the matter, but some ill-paid and hard-working Minor Canon must have reluctantly remained. Under these circumstances, our Clergyman went sorrowing away.'

"Now, Sir, as Dean of St. Paul's, I surely have a right to call for the particulars of this statement, as to time and person; for you say in a note that 'you have sufficient authority' for it. As far as a man can answer to a charge thus vaguely made, without date or name, I deny it positively. I deny it on the ground that under the regulations of the Church the thing could not possibly have occurred. I leave the insulting sneers against the Bishop and the superior Clergy unanswered. I might confidently appeal to those who have witnessed the ministrations of myself and of my brethren for the last ten years, whether they think us deserving of such an imputation upon our characters; but I verily believe this to be unnecessary, and that the malignity of the writer is so evident as to defeat his own purpose.

"Still, when a matter of fact, involving so grave a charge, is thus publicly alleged as resting *upon authority in your possession*, I not only have a right, but it is a sacred duty in me, to call for investigation. It is provoking enough to be perpetually assailed with paragraphs intended to hurt the reputation of an institution which we anxiously endeavour, beyond the example of former times, to regulate so as may best serve the holy purposes for which it was designed; but to be accused of wilful and habitual disregard of our most sacred duties when personally attending in the church must, if the accusation be unnoticed, either leave the public to think it well founded, or at least that we are indifferent to public opinion, even when charged with offences which merit universal reprobation.

"I again earnestly entreat you to give up your authority, as due to the cause of religion, not less than as an act of common justice to the individuals accused.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"E. LLANDAFF.

"Hardwick-house, near Chepstow, Oct. 14.

"'St. Paul's Cathedral, Oct. 13, 1842.

"'My Lord,—In reference to a letter which appears in 'The Times' newspaper of this day, I feel it my duty to assure your Lordship, that the order of Chapter, requiring the Minor Canon in waiting to remain in the choir on

Digitized by Google

Sunday mornings, after Divine service, till it is ascertained whether a sufficient number of communicants remain for the administration of the Sacrament, is and has been strictly complied with, and to repudiate, in the strongest terms, on the part of the body to which I belong, the insinuation that our duties in the cathedral are reluctantly performed.

"'I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"'Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"'J. T. Bennett,

"'Warden of the College of Minor Canons.'

"'To the Right Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's.'

"'St. Paul's Cathedral, Oct. 13, 1842.

"'My Lord,—The attention of us, the undersigned Vergers of St. Paul's Cathedral, having been called, by the Canon in residence, to the accompanying letter in 'The Times' newspaper of this day, we beg leave most respectfully to assure your Lordship that no such declaration as is therein contained was ever made by us to any individual, on any occasion whatever.

"'J. Lingard.

"'John Rice.

"'James Sykes.

"'E. M. Cummings.

"'The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Llandaff.'" *(Times, Oct. 15.)*

"The Times," however, declined, as a matter of course, to give up the name of his correspondent, when a second letter, from another beneficed Clergyman, signing himself "*Presbyter Anglicanus*," appeared in "The Times" of 18th October, giving an account of a similar event which occurred to himself in St. Paul's Cathedral, varying, however, in some of the circumstances. "Presbyter," who was not himself present on the occasion to which he refers, does not state at what part of the service it was that the Dean, &c., retired; but "Presbyter Anglicanus" supplies this deficiency.—"Some time ago, whilst my own church was undergoing repairs, I went one Sunday morning with my family to St. Paul's, and *after the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the Blessing*, the Canons, &c., retired; and I was informed by one of the vergers, that unless I could prevail upon other members of the congregation to remain, so as to make up a *sufficient number* of communicants, the Holy Sacrament could not be administered. However, upon making personal application to some who, like myself, seemed to be reluctantly retiring, I was successful in forming the requisite number absolutely *necessary*, according to the opinion of the verger. *Two* only of the Canons returned to the altar; whereas there were at least six, including Canons, Minor Canons, and Prebendaries, who attended the prayers and sermon." And he goes on, after citing the Rubric, to ask—"What reasonable cause have they, who can administer that Holy Sacrament, if there be in their opinion a sufficient number willing to communicate, but who cannot, if there be not that sufficient number? Is the order of the Chapter to supersede the explicit directions of the Church, laid down in her Rubrics? One would think that the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's would not

Digitized by Google

require to be *obliged* to avail themselves of the greatest privilege which, as Christians, they can enjoy on earth—the partaking of the blessed body of Christ, which the Church contemplates being celebrated, at least in her cathedrals, every Lord's day. Surely to have the altar each successive Sunday decked out, and then for the Priests and Deacons to refuse, through the vergers, to administer that Holy Sacrament, *unless* there be what they choose to call a sufficient number willing to communicate, seems, in my opinion, however much the authorities may be desirous of exculpating themselves, little better than a solemn mockery, and a disgrace to the Church of England."

Now, we have here before us the statement of two anonymous Clergymen, together with that of the Dean and the officers of the cathedral, respecting the general practice of St. Paul's; and if we must decide where the truth lies amid such conflicting testimonies, we are bound to say that the testimony of "Presbyter," respecting a matter of fact which took place in his absence, is not worthy of the least attention,—nay, we are inclined to believe that it contains some gross inaccuracy, otherwise it could scarcely have received so positive a contradiction; nor is it at all probable, we think, that any of the vergers could be so silly as not only to suggest "that he should retire," but to assign as a reason for it, that some Clergymen would be under the *necessity* of returning. It is not usual for underlings to speak in such disrespectful terms of their superiors. We also know that it is against the rule of the cathedral for any of the Clergy to return in order to administer the Sacrament to but one communicant. What the verger most probably said, if he said anything, was, that if the individual in question was desirous to communicate, and that a sufficient number remained with him to form a congregation, some of the Clergy were in readiness to return and finish the service. The reluctance imputed to the Clergy was therefore, in all probability, nothing more than an inference drawn from the fact (if "Presbyter's" statement be correct) of the Clergy's retiring from the church at this portion of the service, and thus apparently declining to avail themselves of the privilege of participating in the Holy Communion.* As for "Presbyter Anglicanus," who so positively asserts that he was present with his family, we confess we are strongly inclined to consider his whole statement a fiction; and we are surprised that none of the authorities of the church has thought it worth while to notice it. His own letter, however,

* We think it right to state here, that we do not believe that any reluctance exists on the part of the Clergy to perform their duties; and we know that the Dean has been in the habit of remaining himself with the Minor Canon to finish the service, when only *two* communicants presented themselves.

Digitized by Google

contains, in our estimation, internal evidence against the truth of part of it. If we are to believe him, we must suppose that the Communion Table was prepared for the Communion; that *six* Clergymen were present at the Communion Service and the sermon; that the Clergy after this returned to the altar, and without stopping to ascertain whether there were communicants or not, proceeded to read the Prayer for the Church Militant, and to pronounce the Blessing; that after the final blessing was pronounced, and the Clergy had retired, "Presbyter" presented himself, and made personal application to some, who, like himself, "were reluctantly retiring;" and that they thus formed the requisite number. Two of the Canons returned from the vestry, and went over the whole Communion Service again, sermon and all, for "Presbyter" and his congregation, or at least they said over again the offertory sentences, (we suppose) the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the Blessing. We confess that this is too much for us to swallow; and we must no longer be surprised that such correspondents should excite the Dean's indignation or contempt.* Now it must not be supposed, while we are thus anxious to vindicate the authorities, and to expose any who unwarrantably or ungenerously attack them through the medium of the press, that we approve of the actual practice at St. Paul's. On the contrary, we are most anxious for a revival of the ancient usages of the Church, which had long become obsolete, not at St. Paul's only, but in many other of our cathedrals; and we are particularly anxious for their revival at St. Paul's, which should be the model for all other churches, cathedral as well as parochial. And we regret to be obliged to add, that, although the present Dean has done much to improve its discipline, and introduce regularity and order into its ritual, it is still, in some very important particulars, far behind some of the provincial cathedrals. What the practice at St. Paul's is, may be collected from the reply of Mr. Bennett, the Warden of the College of Minor Canons. It appears evident from his letter, that the Rubric which requires weekly clerical communion at St. Paul's is *not complied with*; that even the Clergy who had officiated do not remain to communicate; but that one Minor Canon only is required to remain in the choir on Sunday mornings after Divine service [he should have said after sermon], till it is ascertained whether a sufficient number of *laymen* remain to form a congregation. Indeed,

* Another reason for our doubting the correctness of the statement of "Presbyter Anglicanus," is, that we believe that on such occasions as he describes, the Prayer for the Church Militant is never read, nor the Blessing given. The church having been already without a congregation, of which it was cleared after the sermon, the use of these essential parts of the service became impossible. This proves, however, the impossibility of reconciling with the Rubric the custom of dismissing the congregation at this part of the service.

Digitized by Google

until we saw this letter we had been under the impression that the Clergy *all* retired *from* the choir to the *vestry* until it was ascertained whether a certain number of communicants remained in the choir.* And here we confess that we should have wished that Mr. Bennett had been more explicit in another part of his correspondence,—his reply to an anonymous correspondent of "The Times," signing himself "M. A., of Oxford," who had stated that the First Lesson and the Te Deum had been on Friday, October 14th, omitted at Morning Service, in St. Paul's. Mr. Bennett's reply was, that "the early prayers in St. Paul's Cathedral are and have been regularly read in the customary manner." This ambiguous reply gave rise to a second letter from "M. A.," in which he asks Mr. Bennett to say distinctly whether he meant that the First Lesson and the Te Deum were actually read on the day in question, or that it was customary to omit them every day. To this, however, no reply was returned. We beg to state, that the true explanation of this is, that it *is* customary at St. Paul's, in order to shorten the service, to omit those parts at the early, or eight o'clock Morning Service, on every day of the year.

Our readers will, perhaps, now be prepared to understand the following second letter from the Dean of St. Paul's, which appeared in "The Times" of the 20th October.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"SIR,—I have to thank you for giving insertion to the letters sent to your office in answer to the charge made in 'The Times' of the 13th of October against the Clergy of St. Paul's Cathedral, signed 'Presbyter.' The remarks, however, which you as editor have subjoined to those documents, intended to vindicate our accuser, and implying an intention to conceal his name, induce me to make one effort more to obtain justice.

"The question you justly say is one of fact. Your own expression is 'merely one of fact,' reckoning, it should seem, as nothing the insulting language to myself and all the superior Clergy of the Church, the reflection on the Minor Canons, that they reluctantly perform their duty, and the belief, openly avowed, that similar scenes to that described by the writer, occur every Sunday. The fact alleged is destitute of truth. It is manifestly alleged for the purpose of conveying to the public those calumnies against the whole institution. We are ready to prove that the accusation is utterly groundless; that the alleged fact never happened—we call upon you to name your authority, who is, you say, a beneficed Clergyman of the diocese of London. I have so good an opinion of the Clergy of that diocese, that I confidently reckon upon their assistance in tracing this calumny to its source; and once more I call upon you, Sir, who first published it to the world, not to withhold the name of our accuser.

"I will not now enter upon a vindication of the practices enjoined and uniformly observed at St. Paul's in the celebration of the holy communion, further than to say, that it is strictly in accordance with the Rubric; or, if there be an apparent departure, it arises from an anxiety to administer the

* If it be a fact, that one of the Minor Canons actually *does* uniformly remain in the choir after the departure of the other Clergy, whereabouts is he concealed, or what has affected the visual organs of so many of the correspondents of "The Times?"

Digitized by Google

sacrament to the least number of communicants that is in any sense consistent with the Rubric.

"But these are matters more proper for discussion through another channel.

"In the hope that you will insert this letter, and that you will no longer screen the calumniator, "I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"E. LLANDAFF.

"Hardwick House, Chepstow, Oct. 19."

The following reply from "Presbyter" to the Dean's first letter, appeared in "The Times" of the same date with the preceding, (October 20th.)

"Sir,—The Lord Bishop of Llandaff, as Dean of St. Paul's, is desirous to know my name, because he is sure that, though not anonymous to you, I am influenced by malicious motives. That assumption induces me to withhold it. I cannot now, indeed, expect his Lordship to believe that I am an utter stranger to, and have never, to the best of my belief, interchanged one word or one line with any Clergyman attached to the cathedral, and that my sole motive is an indignation, not I hope unholy, that practices prevail in the cathedral church of St. Paul at which I should blush, could they be proved against my parish church. The mutilation of the daily service, which, since your insertion of my letter, has been complained of in your journal by another clerical correspondent, will probably do some disservice to the authorities of the cathedral in their trial upon my charge; but I think it not unfair, where a moral rather than a legal conviction is sought, to strengthen the proof of one neglect by the adduction of another of similar character. Will his Lordship accuse this other synonymous correspondent of malignity, or will he assert that 'under the regulations of the Church the thing could not possibly have occurred?' In reply, however, to his Lordship's letter, and the certificate of the Clergy and vergers, I must say that they are so far from being satisfactory that they admit the main fact asserted—viz., an occasional, and I believe not unfrequent, suspension of the communion. Now, I have constantly, and for many years, officiated in urban and village churches, and I have never once found it necessary even to think of dismissing a congregation from defect of communicants—nor should I do so, after the table was duly spread, if I could but induce 'two or three' to remain. But, as my charge went somewhat further than this, and asserted a positive discouragement to attendance on the holy communion, though I never said that it was known to the Dean and Clergy, I will now go a little further, and categorically make three inquiries:—

"1. Is his Lordship now, really, and for the first time, made aware of the charges which my letter contains?—or was any, and what, formal complaint ever before made about the conduct of a verger in this particular respect, and, if so, how did he then treat it?

"2. Is his Lordship cognizant of the fact, that while one inferior Clergyman indeed remains for the chance of there being a sufficient number of communicants, the retirement of the others is a chief cause of the frequent defect?—and is there ordinarily a zealous attempt to complete the number by calling in four vergers, in the same way as parochial Clergymen always expect the clerk and sexton to communicate?*

"3. Will the vergers amend their somewhat vague declaration by allowing me to dictate, as the form of it, that they have never, by word or looks of cold surprise, or in any such way, induced intending communicants to withdraw, and by letting them see that but for them the labours of the Clergy and of themselves would be at an end? Will they add to this, that they have now for the first time heard of this complaint?

* This appears to us to be quite superfluous, if, as "Presbyter" asserts, there was already a sufficient number of Clergy in attendance.

Digitized by Google

"If, Sir, all these three questions be satisfactorily answered, and if no other person, clerical or lay, will step forward and say that they have witnessed similar proceedings, I will freely and openly confess that my charges are both disproved and unsupported, and that I have laboured under some most unaccountable and most extraordinary misapprehension, though I shall still remain at least self-satisfied with the purity of my motives. If they are not so answered, or if only an imperfect reply be given, I shall yet hope that from this exposure the Cathedral Church of St. Paul will in future present us with a more perfect pattern. its numerous Clergy never omitting what one unaided parochial Clergyman would not presume to omit, nor its vergers, directly or indirectly, acting in a manner which would bring suspension on my parish clerk.*

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant and correspondent,

"PRESBYTER."

The affair seemed here to have dropped, but the correspondence was renewed in "The Times" of the 6th December, by the following letter from the Dean.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"SIR,—Being now in residence at St. Paul's, I am anxious to investigate thoroughly the charge made in your paper of October 13, accusing myself and the Clergy of the cathedral of general neglect of duty in regard to the administration of the holy communion. The particular fact alleged by the writer, who is, you say, a beneficed Clergyman of the diocese of London, is thus stated:

"'The following scene deeply shocked one who a few weeks ago attended on its worship, and is, it is believed, repeated almost every Sunday. He had been present at the prayers, and, seeing the table spread for the holy communion, he remained in the hope of partaking of that holiest ordinance of our religion. The Clergy, however, headed by the Dean, retired, and while he was waiting, under the impression that they would speedily return to commence the service, the verger came to him and civilly suggested that he should retire, as otherwise, he said, some Clergyman would be under the necessity of returning to perform the sacred office. Not indeed, that the Bishop, or any of the superior Clergy, would have troubled themselves in the matter; but some ill-paid and hard-working Minor Canon must have reluctantly remained. Under these circumstances our Clergyman went sorrowing away.'

"In a note it is added that you had sufficient authority for this statement.

"The instant I read it, being then at a distance from London, and engaged in important duties, I wrote to you a positive contradiction, as far as a

* We wish that "Presbyter" had been less vague in his assertion, and had a greater respect for the value of days and dates, as it is impossible to meet general charges. It is no answer, when a special charge is denied, to say that the same takes place every Sunday. As to Presbyter's insinuation respecting the answer of the Dean to a former similar complaint, we can only say that we are convinced that justice would be done to any complainant, who could prove an act of impropriety against any of the vergers while engaged in executing the chapter regulations. If, however, the complaint involve the question of the legality of these regulations, we presume that the final decision must rest with another tribunal.

We can conceive the case of a stranger who is desired by a verger to leave a church at a time that he felt he had a right to remain, as, for instance, before the offertory. Conceiving his privileges to be invaded, he hesitates—the other urges. The stranger not wishing to create a scene, retires, perhaps with wounded feelings, and makes his complaint to the cathedral authorities, who, upon investigating the case, very naturally find that the verger had only done his duty in enforcing the cathedral regulation.

Digitized by Google

charge thus vaguely made without date or person could be contradicted; and a similar contradiction was sent by all the parties implicated in the charge. You refused, however, to name the author, and yet you permitted him, under the same signature, 'Presbyter,' to insert another insulting letter against us.

"I ask, Sir, is it decent, is it just thus to treat even the meanest individual? If you persist in withholding the accuser's name, a thing that I cannot reconcile with common justice, yet I trust you will not withhold the date of the occurrence. He himself cannot be ignorant of it. He says it was a few weeks ago, he was deeply shocked, he went away sorrowing, he is a beneficed Clergyman, and this happened on a Sunday. Let me know the day, and the investigation shall proceed until the truth is clearly established.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Deanery, St. Paul's, Dec. 5. E. LLANDAFF.

The "Times" having declared his ignorance of the day, and again declined to break confidence by giving up the author, the Dean wrote again as follows:—

"ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF, AND 'THE TIMES.'

"*To the Editor of 'The Times'*

"Sir,—I make one attempt more to obtain justice at your hands. You say you do not know the day on which the alleged fact happened, and therefore you can give me no assistance in making the inquiry into its truth. I did not suppose you did know the day. But you know the man. And he *must* know the day, if the thing ever happened. If you would tell me who this man is, I would not trouble you to ask him. But you, who publish the accusation, conceal his name, and will not even procure from him the day, which is the only possible means of refuting a charge injurious to my reputation, and to that of the whole institution over which I preside.

"This, you say, is no violation of decency or justice. Have these words lost their meaning? I claim it as a matter of right that you name the day.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"Deanery, St. Paul's, Dec. 6. E. LLANDAFF."

This produced an intimation from the Times to Presbyter, pointing out to him the propriety of his stating the day on which the circumstance occurred. Presbyter replied as follows:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"Sir,—The Lord Bishop of Llandaff, as Dean of St. Paul's, calls upon you to give up my name, and on me to specify the day on which the omission of the Communion occurred in that Cathedral.

"I would request you, in the first place, to correct a misapprehension into which his Lordship has fallen in supposing that I asserted myself to have witnessed the circumstance which I adduce. Not only is this not stated in the two letters which you have published, but also I find the following copy of the private letter which I sent you on your desire that I would authenticate my statement:*—

"PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

"—— *October* 11, 1842.

"Sir,—I beg to communicate to you my name, and would add more, were I not unwilling to introduce the names of two highly respectable clergy-

* The "Britannia," one of those journals which has defended the practice of the Cathedral authorities of St. Paul's, on the principle that to administer or receive the holy sacrament every Sunday is (bless the mark!) rank "Puseyism," has, in quoting Presbyter's words, (in order to bring a charge of falsehood against him) altered the phrase of his first letter, "*our Clergyman* went sorrowing away," into "*I* went sorrowing away!" Save me from my friends!

Digitized by Google

men, who, both on their own personal experience, gave me a precisely similar account of what occurred in St. Paul's Cathedral, in strict conformity with the letter, which, as 'Presbyter,' I have addressed to you. I am as convinced of the truth of that statement as I can be of anything *which I did not see with my own eyes.*—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant, "* * * *

"*To the Editor of the Times.*

"For the reason alluded to in the above letter, I must decline to make any statement which would compromise my informants; but that is not very important, when the allegation is, that the practice was frequent. I refer his Lordship, however, to my letter inserted in your journal of October 21, wherein I ask—

"1. Whether any formal complaint had been made on the same point, and how his Lordship had answered it?

"2. Whether it was not usual for a large proportion of the Clergy to retire? and whether any attempt was made to complete the proper number of communicants by calling in the four vergers?

"3. Whether the vergers would amend their vague declaration, by certifying that they had never, by word, or by looks of cold surprise, induced intending communicants to withdraw, letting them see that but for them the labours of the Clergy would be at an end? and adding that they have now for the first time heard of that complaint?

"I then said, that if these three questions were satisfactorily answered, and no other person, clerical or lay, would step forward and say that he had witnessed similar proceedings, I would freely confess that my charges were disproved, and that I had laboured under some strange misapprehension.

"Of this his Lordship took no notice whatever. In a subsequent number of your journal, I see that 'Presbyter Anglicanus' tells you that he witnessed a circumstance very similar in its essential points; and there are also other testimonies to other omissions which occurred in the Cathedral. I disclaim the 'insulting sneers,' and the 'malignity' with which he charges me; nor, indeed, does his Lordship himself now seem to think that they are so apparent as to defeat their own purpose.

"I am, your most obedient servant,

"PRESBYTER."

The following comment on the circumstance appeared from another correspondent in the Times of the 9th December, and subsequently the letter, signed "Another Presbyter," which we have given in the note in p. 238, where the affair seems to have, for the present, terminated.

"TO THE EDITOR OF 'THE TIMES.'

"Sir,—The two letters of the Bishop of Llandaff in your journal of yesterday and the day before, have not a little astonished me. Six weeks ago statements appeared in *The Times*, made on authority which you very properly decline to disclose, impeaching the conduct of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, in the matter of the administration of the Holy Communion. The substantial points in the charge, as every one perceived at the time, were the following:—

"1. That the Dean and Chapter had established a rule, or practice, of not administering the Holy Communion every Sunday, as a matter of course, according to the Rubric; but of retiring from the body of the church, and not returning to administer, unless there were ascertained to be three independent communicants waiting for them.

"2. That individuals wishing to communicate in the Cathedral church had, under these regulations, found the *onus* of 'making a congregation' thrown upon them, contrary to the Rubric, and had been told by vergers that they could not communicate unless they did so.

Digitized by Google

"That on one occasion, when the Communion was actually administered, only two of the clergy returned to administer and partake of it, though the Dean and five Clergy had been present during the previous celebration of the Liturgy and delivery of the sermon.

"I, like many others, watched the replies of the Bishop of Llandaff, his Clergy, and Vergers, to these charges; and though I perceived that much indignation was expressed, and that a very strong and peremptory denial was given to some of the *circumstantial* parts of the statement which you published (especially those within the knowledge of the Vergers only), I did *not* perceive the least attempt at a contradiction upon any one of these three material points On the contrary, the Bishop, the Clergy, and the Vergers appeared to me and to others most evidently to admit that all those three charges were substantially TRUE. Will the Bishop *now* deny that such a rule and practice as that stated in charge 1 did actually prevail in the Cathedral church of St. Paul's? Will he deny that it has been the frequent practice of himself and others of the Clergy attending Divine service at St. Paul's to retire from the church, contrary to the Rubric, without receiving the Communion? If he cannot deny *these* charges, it seems a pity that he should have spoken so indignantly upon the subject.

"I must add, that the sudden revival of his Lordship's zeal and displeasure in this matter, after suffering it to go to sleep for six weeks, is not a little remarkable. What has happened in the mean time? Is it possible that his Lordship may have been delivering a charge to his Clergy, which has caused certain parties to discover in him a greater theological authority than people in general imagined, which authority now needs to be supported? Or is it possible that the Bishop of Llandaff, when correcting irregularities in his diocese, may have been met with disagreeable whispers about the reputed practices of the Dean of St. Paul's?

"You know, Sir, that I have never before troubled you with a communication upon this subject, and that I am, what I sign myself,

"NO CLERGYMAN."

Now independently of the matter of fact, as to what actually took place upon any occasion at St. Paul's, between Presbyter's informant and a verger, (and here we conceive that "Presbyter," in making a statement to the prejudice of the officers of the Cathedral which he was not prepared to substantiate, has given the Dean a strong ground of complaint) an essential question, and one which appears to us to be the mainspring of many of these complaints, still remains, viz. whether the rubric is actually violated or not by the practice at St. Paul's, or in those other cathedrals, if there be any, where the same rule is followed. There can be no question that the Dean has gone beyond many other cathedrals in allowing the practice of lay communion every Sunday, and we entertain no doubt that the aim of the authorities at St. Paul's is to afford every facility, consistent with their rules, to such of the congregation as desire to communicate. We have even heard it stated, on very high authority, that other cathedral bodies had been dissatisfied with the regulation at St. Paul's, and had solicited the Dean to alter the rule, in conformity with their practice, by which the Communion is administered only once in the month, but that the Dean had positively declined to deprive the laity of such a privilege. This he deserves every credit for; but we cannot, at the

Digitized by Google

same time, conceal the fact, that so long as the rubrics of the church are really, or even apparently, violated, it will be impossible to avoid, in the present state of religious feeling, the recurrence in our cathedral churches of such scenes as those which are stated to have taken place at St. Paul's. It would appear to be the Dean's opinion that there is no actual violation of the rubric, so long as the laity have an opportunity of communicating. But while we cannot be persuaded of this,* we know from the experience of others that the practice at St. Paul's has frequently given offence to individuals who were not acquainted with the cathedral regulations, and who have been therefore astonished at seeing the body of the clergy retiring from the church during the administration of the holy Communion, and leaving it to be administered by one or two of their body. Even the celebrant himself, and the preacher, with the other officiating ministers, are said to be in the habit of retiring before the offertory, and not returning. The people present, not knowing the cause of their thus absenting themselves at the most important part of the service, are apt to put constructions on their retirement which we believe are not warranted. The chance of such constructions, however, we should like to see prevented by a return to the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer, if this be practicable. The present practice is offensive in other ways. The rule we believe is, that immediately after the sermon the Clergy retire to the vestry,† when the congregation is peremptorily required by the vergers to leave the church. If two persons signify their intention to remain, this constitutes, according to the regulations, a congregation, and they are requested to take their seats in one of the stalls.

Now, the peremptory order to leave the church is unusual, and, in the opinion of some, unlawful. Some may have hesitated to obey it, which might induce the officers of the cathedral to con-

---

* In support of our own views on this subject, we have the authority of the most eminent ritualists. Bishop Sparrow, referring to the obligation to communicate three times in the year, observes, in his *Rationale*:—"These canons were made for the laity, but for those of the Clergy that lived in cathedral or collegiate churches (which were enough of themselves to make up a sufficient company to receive the sacrament) they were bound to receive much oftener, every day, every Sunday at the least," (Rubric 4 after the Communion): and L'Estrange nearly to the same effect; "First, it understandeth the laity, and therefore this Rubric is no dispensation to the Clergy belonging to cathedrals, who are still obliged to receive every Sunday, unless they show cause to the contrary." The cause is of course the exception, not the rule. The only cause allowed, according to Walafrid Strabo, consists in "*mentis vel corporis graviores maculæ.*"

† By the Clergy thus retiring, the example is lost which would be gained by their remaining at the altar to continue the service, as well as by their testimony thus given against those who withdraw from the holy Communion; and this testimony, we humbly conceive, is much more likely to operate on their consciences, than the system, however well intended, of driving them out of church at the very moment that they ought rather to be encouraged to remain. The great difficulty would be to prevail on them to do so.

Digitized by Google

sider them as refractory, and to treat them accordingly, whereas they might have been merely seeking the privileges secured to them by the rubrics, and the act of uniformity. In most other churches, the Holy Communion is administered without these incongruities. Non-communicants, in general, require no order to leave a church. Even, when no form of dismissal is used, the very reading of the offertory has been found sufficient for this purpose. In most of our churches, the practice is to retire after the sermon, in others after the prayer for the Church Militant, which is, according to Bishop Mant, the only time allowed by the rubric.* Some inquiring persons desire to remain and see the Communion administered, and they seldom find an objection made in any church, except St. Paul's. Nor is it uncommon for such to remain and join in the reception of the sacrament, for which they at first conceived that their minds were not sufficiently prepared. We heard lately of a foreign ecclesiastic of some distinction, who was prevented by the verger from remaining in church, unless he would pledge himself to receive the Communion. This he could not conscientiously do, and he was obliged to withdraw. He could find no rubrical direction to this effect; upon which he attended another church, and returned to his own country much gratified at what he there witnessed. We know a case in point of a Roman Catholic lady, who was deeply impressed in favour of our Church, by seeing the Holy Communion administered by the late Bishop of Limerick. She had previously asked if there was any objection, to which he replied that certainly there was none, but the reverse. Had the practice of St. Paul's prevailed in the parochial church of Abingdon, we should have been deprived of the value of the following beautiful testimony which this circumstance gave rise to: "And I shall never forget the testimony of a Roman Catholic foreigner, long habituated to the splendid ritual of her own communion, as exhibited on the continent, that the most awful and impressive ceremony she had ever witnessed, was the administration of the Lord's Supper to about twelve communicants, by a single minister, in a plain, retired, Irish country church.*

We can easily conceive the case of a Clergyman, who had gone to a cathedral, where the rule of St. Paul's prevailed, in the hopes of joining in communion with his brethren, and who would feel himself much disappointed at their retirement; and,

* According to this Prelate's judgment, above cited, not only is the close of the sermon not the fittest *time* when those "who do not purpose to communicate, *may* most conveniently depart;" but so far from there being any right to require any of the congregation to retire, his Lordship is of opinion that the Church "in her order for the Communion gives no *license*, and does not recognise the departure of *any* of the congregation before the *ministration*"

† Charge of the Bishop of Limerick, 1823. Republished in Jebb's Practical Theology, vol. i. p. 376.

Digitized by Google

to a visitor (who had nothing but his Prayer-book for his guide, and conceived that it was equally the rule of the cathedral) to see the celebrant, epistler, and gospeller, with the whole body of the Clergy, leaving the church at the most solemn portion of the eucharistic office, to which the former was but a preface and preparation, and not again returning, or only leaving one of their body to conclude the sublimest part of the liturgy, may, we can readily conceive, have a startling appearance, and lead to his forming erroneous conceptions of the cathedral authorities, who had been merely following a rule of long standing. Such are among the evils, real or imaginary, which will sometimes result from the present practice. Indeed, we believe that the case is not unfrequent, of a person going to St. Paul's, in the supposition that all the Clergy received the communion, and of finding himself disappointed in his hope of receiving it, from the circumstance of there not having been a sufficient number of communicants, exclusive of the Canon in waiting, to form a congregation. These evils would all be avoided, if the rubric were carried into effect; which, in itself, would put an end to the necessity for any communications between the vergers and the congregation, and obviate the risk of all unpleasant altercations. Perhaps when the Dean said that the rubric was not violated at St. Paul's, he meant the third rubric, or that for parish Churches; but we need scarcely say that we here refer to the fourth or that for Cathedrals, which requires all the Clergy to communicate, unless they have a reasonable cause to the contrary. We presume that this reasonable cause can scarcely exist in the case of those Clergy who are present or officiating. It must be a very grave cause which could justify any Clergyman's retiring before the conclusion of the service; and his retirement is the more remarkable if he had been actually engaged in performing it. These are questions which we doubt not will be seriously considered by the ordinaries, the visitors, and other authorities of our Cathedrals.

And here we must enter our solemn protest against the novel doctrine maintained by Mr. Yorke, and others, that custom, or the connivance of their superiors, can release the Clergy from their obedience to the rules of the Church, or be any warrant for the practice of mental reservation when giving their "*unfeigned* assent and consent to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer." In our views on this subject, we have been anticipated by a learned ritualist. "No custom, however confirmed," says Archdeacon Sharpe, "can take place against positive and express rubrics, so that we cannot transfer our breaches of them into the list of approved practices, nor justify our neglect of them by pleading the connivance, or, if you will, the approbation of our superiors. . . . . In vain shall we look for a salvo or any relief from their authority. . . .

Digitized by Google

It is true, the ordinary may forbear to blame, or he may neglect to reform any customary deviations from, or any open defiance of, express and positive rubrics. But as he hath no power to alter them, or to dispense with alterations made in them, so he cannot excuse or discharge us from our obligations to conform ourselves to them. It is never to be presumed that our non-compliance with plain and positive rules, however supported by example and custom, can receive any warrant from his permission and approbation; for we are antecedently bound to observe them by our own solemn declarations and subscriptions of conformity, which, if they will not bind to those things which are sufficiently clear, obvious, and practicable, I know not what use they are of, or with what intention we made them."*

We have a few words to add on the musical portion of our Cathedral services. Allusion has already been made to the absence of the choir during the saying of the Gloria in Excelsis, in the Temple Church. We grieve to add that this Church is far from being singular in this neglect. Nay, we fear that most of the authorities of our Cathedral and Collegiate Churches have too long connived at a similar breach of duty, on the part of the singing men and choristers. Indeed, so far as we know, there are at present only three Cathedrals in England, Worcester, Exeter, and Durham,† in which this sacred duty is attended to. We regret, however, to find that so inauspicious a

---

* The Rev. E. Bickersteth has lately imported from Geneva a new argument in favour of the justifiableness of evading what he terms the "promised obedience" to the "intolerable yoke of bondage which some would bind on our neck in the use of forms." We give it in his own words. "The Prayer-book itself," for which he professes a profound reverence, "explicitly states that ceremonies may, upon just causes, be altered and changed, and are not to be esteemed equal to God's law." Very true; but if Mr. Bickersteth had read a little further, he would perceive that the Prayer-book assigns this, not as a license to individuals to violate their "promised obedience," but as a reason why the Church, and the Church alone, may make any necessary alterations. "Although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God. 'Let all things be done among you,' saith St. Paul, 'in a seemly and due order;' the appointment to which order pertaineth not to private men; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto." *Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained.*

"I cannot but wish," says one of our Prelates, "that this whole admirable chapter 'of Ceremonies,' still prefixed to our Book of Common Prayer, was more familiarly known to our Clergy, and more frequently explained to the people."—*Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff*, October, 1842. By Edward, Lord Bishop of Llandaff.

† "The manner of performing the Sanctus in Durham, and prescribed in our choral books, confirms the remark of Mr. Palmer (Orig. Liturg. vol. ii. p. 12) as to the impropriety of repeating the words preceding the Sanctus (*i. e.* the words, 'Therefore with angels,' &c.) as if these formed part of the hymn, and not, as they certainly do, of the preface. The people should not begin till the words, 'Holy, Holy, Holy.' The rubrical direction is not clear: the ancient custom of the Church of England, which accords with that of the Church universal, is."—*Jebb's Lectures.*

Digitized by Google

commencement should have been made in the Temple Church, knowing how much easier it is to set out right than to correct an error, which, if persevered in for any time, may become inveterate. Surely if any part of divine worship deserves to be performed with special solemnity, it is the Eucharistic office, "by which," to use the language of Mr. Jebb, in his valuable and interesting Lectures, "we are to understand not that part merely which precedes the sermon, but the entire office."

"To enter upon such holy ground in a lecture of this kind might be considered irreverent, were it not my avowed object, and I trust your desire, to contribute towards the edifying of the Church, and God's glory, from which this is inseparable. But regarding this service in this spirit, it is most consonant to propriety, to primitive usage, and to the practice of the Church of England, that her highest and most solemn office should be accompanied by the fullest music, by the most frequent ministration of all concerned in her ritual. The members of choirs, I repeat, and I cannot urge it too earnestly, are ministers of religion, and ought to be (it is a shame and a disgrace that they are not always so) sound churchmen, devout communicants, and examples to the rest of Christ's flock. Many are such, and it is to be hoped that their number is increasing."—*Jebb's Lectures*, p. 28.

And again—

"In all the standard choral books, the Communion forms an integral part of the choral service. And if any part of the service is to be omitted (a thing in itself unjustifiable) it would be much more consonant to propriety and primitive usage to leave the morning service unsung than the Communion."

While upon this subject, it gives us much pleasure to find that Mr. Dyce's edition of Marbeck's Book of Common Prayer, with the musical notation, first published in the year 1550, has at length appeared. In this edition, the music of which is adapted to our present Liturgy, the whole Communion Office is noted as intended to be sung in the Church of England, comprising the Prayers, Commandments, Creed, Contestations, Offertory, Comfortable Words, and the Gloria in Excelsis. This is not the place to dilate on the beautiful execution, and superb typography of this unique volume, which recalls to our mind the rich manuscripts of the fourteenth century, being satisfied that, independently of its value to the antiquarian, it will be highly prized by every sound churchman as a most valuable accession to the chaste and sublime devotions of the Anglican Church. It is almost needless to remind our readers that the Eucharistic office is commanded in the rubrics to be sung or said; that is, of course, that where the means of singing it exists, it be sung. And yet how seldom do we hear this office chanted, even when the matins and the litany are sung. Even those parts, which, like the responses, it is the peculiar office of the clerks to sing, such as the Creed, Sursum Corda, the Sanctus, and the Gloria in Excelsis, are altogether neglected.*

* In our number for October, 1841 the reader will find a reference to the subject of the neglect of this portion of the service in our Cathedrals, which concludes thus:—"we

Digitized by Google

We believe there is only one church in London in which the Gloria in Excelsis* is now sung. So much is the absence of a hymn after Communion felt, that it is not unusual in some churches to substitute for it (and this without any rubrical authority) a metrical psalm. We regret to be obliged to add, that at the last coronation of our Sovereign, the Seraphic Hymn was, without any reason that we can possibly conjecture, forbidden to be sung. Surely if any portion of the Eucharistic office is to be singled out and clothed with majestic harmony, what so appropriate as that which is the very climax of Christian adoration?

---

1. *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, for December,* 1842, *and January,* 1843. London: Mason.
2. *Wesleyan Tracts for the Times. Nos.* I—VIII. London: Mason. 1842.
3. *The Eclectic Review, for January,* 1843. London: Ward.

We feel it right once more and finally to call attention to the present state of Wesleyan Methodism; and first, we must say something by way of apology for the space which this subject has already occupied in our pages. A mere controversy between ourselves and the Methodist Magazine would be as derogatory to us as tedious to our readers. To say the truth, Methodism as such—Methodism as it is, we mean—is not worth it. But we may profitably employ passing events as a warning to ourselves in this way. John Wesley was a good man; it were sin to deny it; but he was a weak man, in more ways than one; and, truth must be told, his temper was not subdued to habitual obedience. Whether he was rightly or fairly, or still less,

are delighted to be able to mention one honourable exception, and that not in a Cathedral but in a *parish* Church, viz. Leeds. There the choir remain during the whole service; the adult members partaking of the Holy Communion, as well as fulfilling their office in singing the Sanctus, Gloria in Excelsis, &c. Let the dean of every cathedral do as Dr. Hook has done." It might have been added that the Nicene Creed is also sung. We believe that it is only *said* at St. Paul's. We have, however, heard it sung at Westminster Abbey.

* "The two hymns which accompany the most holy parts of the Liturgy, the Sanctus, namely, with its preceding versicles (viz. the Sursum Corda, or shorter Preface, called also the Contestations) and the Gloria in Excelsis, are obviously so fitted for music, that to assert the propriety of their use would be superfluous. But since they are the more immediate accompaniment of the great act of praise and thanksgiving, they require the fullest choral performance. Unhappily, however, from whatever cause, which it would be painful and improper to investigate, there is no part of the Cathedral service so generally disused: though no possible reason (no reason which it would not be disgraceful to plead) exists for their omission. In Marbeck and Tallis, the latter as well as the former part of the Communion Service is noted: and the rubrics of the Prayer-Book point out the intention of our Reformers, which it should be the study of all governors of choirs to carry out diligently. The neglect of later times, however, is too plainly shown in the paucity of services to which these hymns are set."—*Jebb's Lectures,* p. 29.

Digitized by Google

whether he was judiciously treated by the Church, we are content to pass over; nay, we may admit, that there is much to be deplored in the way in which his revival was met: but we add that in an evil hour, this good man, contrary to the avowed and repeated declarations of his whole life, however reluctantly and hesitatingly, and with how much soever weak compliance with others, not only countenanced, but headed a schism; and he had all along taught that doctrine of justification which is in essence unchristian. Direct schism and heresy may long be held in suspense, not only in individuals, but in bodies. The grace of the Sacraments of the Church, in which the founders of most divisions have partaken, keeps them, it may be, from utter corruption; there is, haply, some salt in them, even to the very last. And this influence may be transmitted even to their successors, though every year makes it less energetic; but, as good becomes fainter, the original evil becomes more fully developed; and there is no form of error too monstrous not to be expected to occur in a schismatical body, if it has only time and opportunities to develop all its latent tendencies. Now, Wesleyan Methodism at the present day, we hold to be a very awful thing. God is personally dealing with this body; He is sifting them; the good among them He is, we trust, gathering into His Church; the self-willed He is, it may be, giving up to their own lusts; the very present success which they boast, though even this seems to be melting away—witness their diminished numbers—may be their most fearful judgment; "He gives them their desire, and sends leanness withal into their souls:" and the lesson which we have to draw from all this is, that we are struck with death the very instant that we unlawfully set up new views of the faith; it may be now, as ever, that for some more special personal worthiness and grace inscrutable in the first, and as we might suppose, most guilty sinner, God does "not bring the evil in his days, but in his son's days does He bring the evil upon his house;"—the elements of complete and irretrievable corruption and utter death, are inborn in schism; as soon as it lives it begins to die; no personal holiness, no zeal, no piety, no good intentions in the first setter-up of the calves can arrest the awful judgment; as the path of the just grows brighter and brighter unto the perfect day, so the course of a schism grows blacker and blacker, until it becomes the darkness of the accursed land, "a darkness which may be felt." All these clouds are now gathering and spreading around and over the Wesleyans, and we call attention to it, first to arouse them to self-knowledge, and next as a warning to ourselves.

For, look at Wesleyanism in the days of its founder, and in the year 1843. Just before his death John Wesley exclaimed, "I will not leave the Church of England, as by law established,

Digitized by Google

while the breath of God is in my nostrils;" and his very last prayer *in articulo mortis*, was "for the Church and king." This was Wesleyanism in 1791.* What is Wesleyanism in 1843? The very first work reviewed in the Wesleyan Magazine for January in the present year, (see p. 51,) is a pamphlet entitled, "*Methodists cannot become Churchmen;* and why? By a Layman. Mason." Compare the orderly celebration of the Holy Eucharist—we say nothing now of the canonical irregularity—by John Wesley, himself an ordained Presbyter, at the different "preaching-houses" of the first Methodists, as he himself calls them; and also at the City Road "Cathedral," by Wesley's immediate successors, two ordained Presbyters, and all this till a comparatively recent period; or, failing this orderly provision, compare the old members of the Wesleyan societies, regularly attending the parish church to receive the Lord's body and blood, with the present race of Wesleyan "*ministers*," ordaining each other, declaring that "on the principle of succession, the Church of England has no ministry at all;" (Wesleyan Magazine for January, p. 40;) and in one line of the same organ, claiming to "have a ministerial succession, though not a Diocesan-Episcopal succession," and in the next resting upon "their ministers having a regular recognition of a previously existing divine call by the ministers who examined its evidences," (*ibid.* p. 41.) (We do not attempt to translate this last sentence into English). Compare the first Wesleyan *preachers* with the modern Methodist *priests*—discharging every function of the ministry; baptizing; administering the Eucharist; ordaining; consecrating; marrying, and burying. Compare John Wesley, with dying breath blessing the Church of England, and the present methodist writers, warning their deluded victims against that Church; boldly proclaiming that they are not Churchmen, and showing why they never can become Churchmen! Such is the fatal but certain course of error; however trifling the angle of declination at first, it widens at every step, till the Church Catholic and the Wesleyan schism stand towards each other in their present awful relations.

Ably, indeed, as this argument has been pressed upon the present race of Wesleyans, especially in the tracts, "Modern Methodism," &c., and in those of Mr. Eden, of Leigh, to which we have already alluded, we desire to add to this cumulative proof of the entire forfeiture and abandonment, by the present Wesleyans, of the principles of their founder; and we the rather insert some of our illustrations in this place, because the Wesleyans are very fond of quoting the hymnology of "their body," as a fair statement of their doctrinal views.

We extract from a volume,—"London, printed and sold at

* See "Modern Methodism" p. 33.

Digitized by Google

the Foundry,* 1757—1761," of which the contents are, "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns;" "A Companion to *the Altar*, extracted from Thomas à Kempis;" "Hymns on the Lord's Supper; by John and Charles Wesley, *Presbyters of the Church of England*, with a Preface concerning the *Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, extracted from Dr. Brevint;" and "Gloria Patri, &c., or Hymns to the Trinity,"—the following passages of which we ask whether a single Methodist teacher would dare to say, write, or sing, one single word at the present day, and yet which John Wesley himself enjoined for the use of his societies? Indeed, the fact that all that we are about to quote is *now* suppressed, is decisive as to the change in doctrine which we allege.

1. The Church:—

Psalm 137.

4.

"Jerusalem, dear hallow'd name,
Thee if I ever less desire,
If less distrest for thee I am,
Let my right-hand forget its lyre;
All its harmonious strains forego,
When heedless of a *mother's* woe.

5.

"*O England's desolate Church, if thee*
Though desolate I remember not,
Let me, so lost to piety,
Be lost myself, and clean forgot;
Cleave to the roof my speechless tongue,
When *Sion is not all my song.*

7.

"O for the weeping prophet's strains,
The depth of sympathetic woe!
I live to gather thy remains,
For Thee my tears and blood shall flow.
My heart amidst thy ruins lies
And only in Thy rise I rise."—P. 26.

Psalm 122.

1.

"Come, my cheerful brethren said,
Let us go with holy speed;
Let us haste with one accord
To the temple of the Lord.

2.

"Love the channels of his grace,
Reverence the hallowed place
Where our Lord records his name;
Stay we in Jerusalem.

4.

"There are Aaron's *mitred sons,*
There the apostolic thrones;
Moses' legislative chair,
God's great hierarchy is there.

6.

"For my friends' and brethren's sake,
Thee my dearest charge I make,
England's desolate Church be mine,
Sion! all my soul be thine.

"Assist, Almighty God, with thy grace, that they who have undertaken *the office of Priesthood*, may serve thee worthily, &c."—*Thomas à Kempis*, p. 18.

2. The Eucharistic Sacrifice:—

"There never was on earth a true religion without some kind of sacrifices.—This sacrament, by our Remembrancer, becomes a kind of *sacrifice*, whereby we *present* before God the Father that precious oblation of His Son once offered. There is no ordinance or mystery that is so blessed an instrument to teach this everlasting sacrifice of the meritorious sufferings of our Lord, and to set it forth solemnly before the eyes of God, as the

* The book establishment founded by John Wesley, of which a full account occurs in the Wesleyan Magazine for December, 1842, p. 1010.

Digitized by Google

Holy Communion is—which to God is an altar *whereon men mystically present to Him, the same Sacrifice, as still bleeding and suing for mercy.*" —*Brevint*, pp. 21, 22, and *passim*.

3. The Real Presence, and the Dignity of the Holy Eucharist:—

"Behold, Thou comest unto me—Thou wilt give me the food of Heaven, the bread of angels to eat, *which is no other than Thyself, the living bread, that descended from Heaven and giveth life unto the world.*"—*Thomas à Kempis*, p. 8.

"How sweet and pleasant the banquet when Thou givest Thyself to be our food."

"O, my soul, as often as thou celebratest this mystery, and receivest the Body of Christ, so often art thou made partaker of all the merits of Christ." —*Ibid.*

"I desire to receive Thee now with devotion. I long to bring Thee into my house, that with Zaccheus, &c,—My soul thirsteth to receive Thy Body and Blood."

"This most high and worthy Sacrament is the health of the soul and body, the remedy of all spiritual weakness: hereby, my vices are cured, my passions bridled, temptations overcome, grace infused, holiness increased, faith confirmed, hope strengthened, and love inflamed."—*Ibid.*, p. 11.

"O Lord Jesus, how great sweetness hath a soul that feasteth with Thee in Thy banquet, where there is set no other food but Thyself, her only beloved. For I enjoy Thee in the sacrament truly present. I enjoy Him whom the angels adore in heaven. For the sacrament is the bread of life." *Ibid.* pp. 16, 17.

Hymn 71.

2.

"Sure pledges of His dying love,
Receive the sacramental meat,
And feel the virtue from above,
The mystic flesh of Jesus eat;
Drink with the wine His healing blood,
And *feast on the incarnate God.*"—P. 50.

Compare, we say once more, not only Wesley's intercessional hymns for "England's Church," but compare this holy boldness, these glowing words of the saints and doctors of the Church on the eucharistic mystery, with Mr. Thomas Jackson's cold, vapid talk, "It has been often shown that in John vi. 53, 54, our Lord speaks not of his holy supper, which was not instituted," &c. or his sneer at the "parties who speak of the Lord's supper as a 'sacrifice;' of the administrator as a sacrificing 'priest;' and describe him as actually 'giving the body and blood of Christ to the communicants.'" (Letter to Dr. Pusey, p. 69.) And this much is at least clear, that Mr. Jackson condemns language and teaching which John Wesley himself deliberately sanctioned and recommended, for the personal devotions of his followers.

With all this deep feeling in our mind, we made some remarks last September on Mr. Thomas Jackson's Letter to Dr. Pusey, on the celebrated allegation of constructive heresy, brought by this respected divine against the Wesleyan body; knowing full well John Wesley's personal piety, we inquired how it was that his own goodness so soon rotted out, and that his followers so rapidly sunk into their present melancholy condition of mere schismatics and heretics; and the root of this declension we

Digitized by Google

traced to the Lutheran doctrine of justification which Wesley taught; this we marked out as the *jugulum causæ*, and fixed on it accordingly; describing the original error as the substitution of a private emotion, and mere personal act of the will in the place of incorporation into the communion of saints; and subsequently we contrasted the life of daily and unceasing obedience and repentance which the Gospel requires with that instantaneous conversion which is essential to the Methodist scheme of salvation.

In the October number for 1842, the Wesleyan Magazine replied to us; charging us with theological ignorance on the doctrine of justification itself; (an insinuation which we are quite content to rest on its own merits; for, if the question were only to lie between our controversial skill and that of the Wesleyan Magazine; or between our capabilities of writing English, and that displayed by Methodist reviewers, the world is quite capable of forming its own conclusion on this head;) and at the same time asserting that we had "declared that the doctrine of justification by faith was an invention of Luther's."

This last most palpable untruth we exposed in our November number, (*Christian Remembrancer*, pp. 520—527,) and we showed that the question was not about "the doctrine of justification by faith," but about "justification as taught by the Wesleyans," "justification with them," "Lutheran justification,"* and "*not the true, catholic, scriptural doctrine*," p. 523. At the same time, we kept our own point steadily and clearly in view; viz. that the Wesleyans so taught the doctrine of justification, that its practical tendency was to make men believe that they were saved, and they were saved. And this position we proved by many actual instances of the working of their system; our informant bearing personal testimony to every fact which he advanced, and challenging contradiction.

In their December number the Wesleyan Magazine authors (pp. 1016—1021) returned to the controversy, associating our contemporary, the British Critic, with ourselves. A writer in the latter review, going over another ground, had taken up, it seems, the same position which we had advanced, that the Lutheran doctrine was unchristian, and antinomian in its essence; and that it amounted to telling a man that if he believed that his sins were forgiven, they were forgiven. At the same time, the Wesleyan Magazine reiterated its old falsehood, that "the *Christian Remembrancer* described justification by faith as an invention of Luther," p. 1019. We cannot waste our time in choosing holiday words, so we stigmatize this assertion as a twice-told lie; upon which any reader of p. 315 of our last

* That is, Lutheran justification according to Wesleyan apprehensions. Luther's own language on this subject is often such as we cannot think either safe, or congenial to our own Church; but were it voted oracular, we suspect that the Wesleyans would turn out to be in a worse predicament than ourselves.

Digitized by Google

volume, the original cause of the dispute, can in one minute satisfy himself. We did *not* say that "justification by faith was invented by Luther;" but we did say, and we repeat it, that *Wesleyan Justification* was an invention of Luther. All our proofs of the practical working of Methodism, were disposed of in the following cool and cavalier sentence, which we transcribe as a curiosity:—

"Wherever Mr. Wesley could collect hearers he called them—not to believe that their sins were forgiven; we leave such palpable contradictions of fact with the Christian Remembrancers. We will dispute with them when they argue; but we take our leave of writers whose articles rest on assertions of *the thing that is not*."—*Wesleyan Magazine*, p. 1019.

How can this miserable subterfuge avail the Methodist writers? We never said one word about Mr. Wesley's teaching—though we could have done so, had we pleased; *his* name scarcely occurs in either of our articles—we were not talking of *his* teaching; we expressly put him out of court; we said plainly, that "it was of no use to quote Wesley's sermons;" our business was not with him, but with Methodism in action. Our object was to show how it worked; to demonstrate what Wesleyanism, the real living active Wesleyanism of our own days was; and we proved its antinomian character by facts; we called attention to facts, and to facts only. Was one of them denied? Was a single instance which we brought forward disproved?

Still we are content to pass even this over; and to suppose that in the above sweeping sentence, the Wesleyan reviewers intended to assert that every one of our facts was a falsehood, and a malicious invention of our own. Have they, we again ask, brought one particle of proof or evidence against one of them? Till they do so, the world will agree, and has already pronounced, that our line of argument was true, and incontrovertible.

But we have not yet done with Wesleyan Methodism: we have already convicted this schism of antinomianism, fully developed, by facts. We shall now convict this body, by their own avowed and recognised documents; we shall simply extract from their own acknowledged and accredited publications, passages which prove the same thing; viz. that justification, as taught by the Wesleyans, is to be gained by a sudden and vehement emotion—justification by feelings merely: in other words, we undertake to demonstrate, that the result of Methodist teaching, is "Believe that you are justified, and you are justified." Our argument will then be complete: we shall expose Methodism in theory, as we have already exposed it in practice; we have shown how it works, we shall now show how it is taught.

Our readers must excuse this tedious though necessary detail; but we desire to put them in possession of the case as it stands between ourselves and the Wesleyan Magazine. We assume, then, that the Wesleyan reviewers have denied all our facts,

Digitized by Google

though they have not met one of them; our present business must be, therefore, to convict them out of their own mouths. If the Conference does not hold itself responsible for all that the local preachers and class-leaders, in different parts of the country, say and do, its members are at least answerable for books and tracts which they write, publish, circulate, and make money of. Our charge is the same as before; once more to repeat it, viz. that Wesleyan Methodism, as *now* administered, taught, preached, recommended, and described, is essentially, and in principle, antinomian, unevangelical, and unchristian; that it disparages true repentance; and that it depreciates the need of a life of daily holiness and obedience.

We will first refer to that very popular book mentioned in our last article, the "Life of Carvosso," "*sixty years* a class-leader in the Wesleyan Methodist connexion." On page 12 of the preface, an account is given of his meeting with a woman who "did not know her sins were pardoned. He told her, 'You may receive this blessing now.' He then took *our Hymn-Book*, opened to the 36th hymn, and put her to read the fourth verse. When she had read, 'Thy debt is paid,' he put his thumb on the words which followed, looked her full in the face, and inquired, if she *thought it was paid?* She burst into a flood of tears, and *was made happy from that moment.*"

A little further on, he is conversing with some friends on "the blessing of perfect love," and charges them "with the error of asking God for what God had already given." "To illustrate and impress" this upon them, "he took up a Hymn-Book, and said, 'Suppose one of you ask me for this book, well, there it is; I give it to you. Now,' he observed, 'will it not be manifest folly in you to continue asking me for the book, when you have it already in possession?' This simple method helped us to the act of faith;* *we believed*,—the *sacred fire kindled* within, and *presently we were all in a blaze of love, shouting and praising God together.*"

Carvosso relates his own conversion thus: the first night of his attendance at the Methodist meeting-house—

"'The scales,' he says, 'fell off from my eyes, and I saw and felt that I was in 'the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity,' &c. I now gave in my sins and all my old companions at a stroke. I was determined to go to heaven, cost what it would. That night I had a hard struggle with Satan about praying before I went to bed. The Lord helped me against the temptation by applying that portion of Scripture, 'Let your light,' &c. Satan instantly fled, and I fell on my knees. I suffered much for many days; but about the space of eight hours before I received the pardon of sin, I might say, with David, 'The pains of hell gat hold upon me.' In the midst of the conflict, I said, in answer to the powerful suggestions of the devil, 'I am determined, whether I am saved or lost, that while I have breath, I will never cease crying for mercy.' The very moment I formed

* Mr. T. Jackson ridiculed this expression when used by Dr. Pusey in his note on Wesleyanism.

Digitized by Google

this resolution in my heart, Christ appeared within, and God pardoned all my sins, and set my soul at liberty. This was about nine o'clock at night, May 7th, 1771."—*Memoir*, p. 35.

And referring to this event in his subsequent diary, May 7th, p. 96, he says, "On this day forty-seven years ago, the Lord pardoned all my sins." On the 13th March, 1772, he records his receiving the blessing of sanctification.

"At length," he says, "one evening, while engaged in a prayer-meeting, the great deliverance came, I began to exercise *faith by believing*; '*I shall have the blessing now.*' Just at that moment a heavenly influence filled the room, and no sooner had I uttered or spoken the words from my heart, 'I shall have the blessing now,' *than refining fire went through my heart, illuminated my soul, scattered its life through every part, and sanctified the whole.* I then received the full witness of the Spirit that the blood of Jesus *had cleansed me from all sin.*' "—p. 40.

In the year 1821, he records in his journal, (Nov. 21), "I can truly say, with one of old, 'Giving glory to God, *I feel no guilt*; all is clear. *I feel no sin*; God hath destroyed it."—p. 300.

Thus much for Carvosso's own experience—let us see his method of teaching others. In "the great revival" at Redruth, at which he officiated, we are told, (p. 51), that at the first "prayer-meeting" "eight persons found peace with God." "The night following, at another prayer-meeting, *many* more were powerfully seized with convictions of sin: and, after much wrestling and importunity in prayer, they found refuge in the Saviour." "In the course of the following week, *many hundreds* were brought into deep distress about their spiritual interests, and *multitudes of them* were enabled to testify that they had *experienced remission of sins.*" "At Tuckingmill, the meeting commenced on Sunday, and continued *without intermission till the Friday morning following.*" Such a meeting was long enough to set the whole neighbourhood on fire. What would those persons think of it who object to the length of the Church Morning Service?

At the 85th page, he states, "Several *backsliders* were restored, and *four laid hold on the blessing of perfect love.*" Of one person he says, "The Lord met with her, and she *covenanted with Him to give Him her whole heart.*" At page 92 we learn "that there was a gracious work among the children in the *Sunday-school.*" "Some of them seemed as *deeply convinced* of sin as if they had *been forty years of age*; and *after they had found peace*, could *give as clear an account of the work of grace on their minds as if they had been in the good way seven years.*"

At one time he conversed with a woman "on righteousness, death, and judgment." She said—

"'I have been a vile sinner against God for forty years.' Seeing that she was wounded by the sword of the Spirit, and now wanted the com-

Digitized by Google

forter, I told her, that notwithstanding all her guilt and sin, I had good news to tell her. 'Jesus,' said I, 'is now ready—willing—wanting to save you—are you willing to give up all your sins, to give God your whole heart and to serve him all your days?' With a full heart, she said, 'Yes, I am.' 'Then,' said I, '*now* is the accepted time with God. *All that Christ requires is, that you feel your want of Him.*' We knelt with her at the throne of grace, wrestled for her in mighty prayer; and the Lord heard, and *set the captive free.*"

"Never shall I forget," says he, "a meeting we had one night at Mr. T.'s. Himself, his dear wife, and two pious young men, came together to talk about the deep things of God. After I had pointed out to them their privilege to be pure in heart, and the way to attain it, we went to prayer, and the Lord opened the windows of heaven, and poured out such a blessing that there was scarce room to contain it. It was some time before any thing could be uttered but, 'Glory! glory! glory!' *From that period they all four bare witness that the blood of Jesus Christ had cleansed them from all sin.*"—P. 114.

Our readers must by this time have become tired of "the honest Cornishman;" but, before leaving him, we must extract one case which exceeds any that have yet been given. He relates the conversion of a man who was "in a state of *continued intoxication on the Lord's Day.*" His wife fetched him from the pot-house, and remonstrated with him on the "sinfulness of his conduct:—

"And," says Carvosso, "so powerfully did the Spirit of God arrest him, that the *fumes of the intoxicating liquor*, which he had drunk so plentifully, *left him entirely in a few minutes.* He now resolved 'to take no more strong liquor;' and returning home with his wife, 'in an agony of mind,' passed a sleepless night. On the *following day* Carvosso visited him, and advised him to enter his room and pray. After a short time he was called out of his room; 'and when I had directed him,' says Carvosso, 'to look to that suffering Saviour who had borne his sins in his own body, &c., we fell on our knees; and while I was engaged in fervent and mighty prayer in his behalf, the Lord turned his *darkness into light and his hell to heaven.* He now stretched out his hand heavenward, and cried out, 'I'll praise my Maker while I've breath.' He has since held on his way steadily and joyfully, and is a wonder unto many."

We have thus far redeemed our promise to produce a full view of Methodist doctrine and teaching; even this much, we think, clearly confirms all that Dr. Pusey stated in his note on the subject, and all that we said on a former occasion, but which Mr. Jackson and the Methodist Magazine have chosen flatly to *deny.* Before concluding our remarks, we will (even at the risk of wearying our readers,) furnish two or three more examples, from Tracts distributed to the poor, and from "Reward Books" given to children, which will show, beyond the possibility of denial, the dangerous errors daily taught to the poor and the young.

Tract 399, entitled "The Hapless Wanderer," details a conversation between a Methodist teacher and a monk of La Trappe, who had passed through Methodism and infidelity to the monastery. The Methodist tells him—

Digitized by Google

"The great design of *repentance* is to produce a willingness and desire to be justified and saved in God's own appointed way; and when this object is answered, there ought to be no delay in submitting ourselves to the righteousness of God. In God, through Christ, *you must now trust, that He will this hour, this moment,* in honour of His Son, be merciful to your unrighteousness, and your sins and iniquities remember no more."

Tract 361. "Penitent's Prayer-Meeting," p. 10, we are told,—

"The truth is presented to the mind; the Holy Ghost applies it; the sinner feels deep sorrow of heart; goes as a penitent to the foot of the cross; believes on him that justifies the ungodly; and *at once obtains peace with God.* Now *all this may take place under a sermon, or in a prayer-meeting.*"

Tract 182, gives some account of *a murderer* who was confined in Norwich goal, A.D. 1696. It is said that—

"He asked and *received the remission of his sins.* God delivered him from blood-guiltiness. He attained, through believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, that kingdom of God which consists in righteousness of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. He *longed* for his dying day, that he might go to dwell with Christ, and the *prospect of a violent and ignominious death did not dismay him.*"

In a letter written to his wife, he says, "Through the infinite mercy of Jesus Christ, I can say with some degree of *comfort and boldness,* 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.'" This unhappy man could not have been taught by Methodists; but they evidently approve the teaching, and have made it their own by publishing it as a Tract. Alas for England's quiet homes! if such awful doctrines are disseminated among her poor. If they are taught that the guilt of murder is thus easily effaced, and the wretched perpetrator is to die in triumph, who will be safe?

No. 405, "Grace Magnified in the Conversion and Peaceful Death of an Unhappy Female." The writer observes,—

"It is melancholy to state that her evil habits led her on to a course of *abandoned* and *reckless* profligacy." "Her conscience ceased not to smite her from time to time; conviction of sin pursued her wherever she went." "She would frequently drink to intoxication, to get rid of the terrors and anguish of a guilty conscience." "One day when walking through the streets, she heard one Dr. Coldstream preaching, which deepened her convictions. She resorted to her usual expedient—intoxication."

And thus she continued until brought on her dying bed. At this time she sent for the person whose preaching had alarmed her, and confessed her wickedness. After expressing sorrow on hearing of her iniquity, he spoke to her of "the infinite value of the atonement," and assured her of pardon if she repented and believed:—

"On his *second* visit, he again directed her to the Saviour, explained more fully the plan of salvation, assured her that to disbelieve was to render the truth of God a lie, and to dishonour God; whilst faith in the sacrifice of Christ glorified God: and that if she thus believed and cast her soul upon the Saviour, she would obtain a peace which passeth all understanding, and become a child of God," &c. "She listened with the deepest attention and

Digitized by Google

the liveliest interest to all that was said; *faith seemed to spring* up at once in her heart; and though overwhelmed with a sense of her guilt and unworthiness, she ventured her soul upon her Saviour,—' her chains fell off, her heart was free, and SHE SPRANG INTO THE GLORIOUS LIBERTY of the children of God." "During the succeeding night, so great was her peace and joy of mind, that she awoke her sister to tell her how wonderfully happy she was while resting her soul upon the merits of Christ." "From this time to the end of her life, she was kept in a serene and happy state of mind."

No. 272 contains an account of "The Profligacy and Penitence of Jane Gardiner." The lady visiting her says,—

"A record of their (that is, Jane and her mother) confessions, could not with propriety be published to the world. Idleness, dishonesty, pilfering, theft, lewdness, and drunkenness, were among the crimes which had disgraced their lives, and polluted their minds." "Both now appeared penitent."

The lady encouraged her, and in two or three visits, "she told us," says the lady,—

"'She thought she had made some little progress in her religious *feelings:*' and when we ventured to *congratulate* her on the improved state of her feelings, and to encourage her shortly to expect the blessing of a full and perfect pardon of all her past offences, she said, 'I feel that I am better, and I feel much encouraged; but I am not satisfied yet; and I never shall be satisfied until I do know that God has forgiven my sins.'" "On my next visit, I found the Lord had in some measure delivered her contrite spirit from the burden of her aggravated offences." "I inquired what were her present *views and feelings;* and especially whether she had reason to believe that God had forgiven her sins. She replied, 'I am not *sure* of that. But I *am* encouraged to hope that God will shortly pardon me; and I also hope that I shall soon *know* that He has pardoned me, and that all my sins have been taken away.'" "I thought myself justified in giving her every encouragement to expect such an entire consolation from the Holy Spirit, as would fully assure her mind that her sins were forgiven," &c. "I found shortly afterwards, that my consolatory address had not been bestowed in vain. The next evening, as soon as I came into the house, she said to me in an ecstacy of rejoicing, 'Now, my dear ma'am, I am happy! I am truly happy! Now I know that God has pardoned all my sins! Yes, ma'am, *all* my sins! all my *great* sins! all my *vile* sins!—I am happy all over."

No. 357. "An habitual drunkard," being seized with alarming illness, "felt great remorse and agony of soul." His Methodist friends prayed earnestly for him; and he most *solemnly covenanted with God*, that if he restored him again to health, he would become a new man and devote himself to his service." No sooner, however, did he recover, than he became "drunk with scarce any intermission." "In an unexpected hour he was at last hurried into the eternal world. His pious friends came again about him, and would have prayed with him, but found it *impracticable. They had no freedom. His very breath seemed burning, as if blue flames were issuing from his throat!*"

Want of space compels us to pass over many important extracts illustrative of the dangerous tendencies of this pernicious system. We trust, however, that enough has been given to prove

Digitized by Google

"that palpable contradictions of facts, and assertions of the thing that is not," can neither be charged upon us nor Dr. Pusey, —whose clear and forcible statement of Methodist doctrine has excited the bitterest feelings in the minds of his opponents. No one can longer doubt, but that under this system "the workings of repentance and penitence are suddenly checked in the converts;" that it is "in fact and *practically* a" "justification by feelings,"—"that *feelings* are *prominent* in the mind of the Wesleyan as *the* fruits of the Spirit, and the test of a holy faith;" thereby "effacing the doctrine of Repentance, and the real character of good works, and virtually superseding the sacraments." In confirmation of the latter cause, we will mention two cases which occurred in a village well known to ourselves. During a late revival there several children were "converted and brought in;" among the number was a child about twelve or thirteen years of age, who, after his "conversion," prayed publicly in the "prayer-meetings," and who to this day remains *unbaptized.* The other case was that of a man who had been "a member of society" for twenty years or more, without receiving the holy eucharist, although esteemed a great saint among them.

Happy would it be for the world and for themselves, if the Methodists would strive to master the solemn words of one whom they are taught to despise. "Let us never," says Mr. Newman, "lose sight of two truths—that we ought to have our hearts penetrated with the love of Christ and full of self-renunciation; but that if they be not, *professing that they are does not make them so.*" *

Again: "Were we pure as the angels, yet in His sight, one should think, we could not but fear, before whom the heavens are not clear, nor the angels free from folly. The seraphim themselves veiled their faces while they cried, Glory. Even, then, were it true that sin were not a great evil, or were no great evil in us, nevertheless the mere circumstance that God is infinite and all-perfect is an overwhelming thought to creatures and mortal men, and ought to lead all persons who profess religion to profess also religious fear." † "They who do not fear Him, in one word, do not believe that He sees and hears them. If they did, they would cease to boast so confidently of His favourable thoughts of them, to fortel His dealings, to pronounce upon His revelations, to make free with His name, and to address Him familiarly.‡"

The progress of catholic truth has filled the Methodist editors with wrath: and they say something about the poison (as they designate it) being instilled into infant minds through nursery tales (we quote from memory). We can tell our readers of a

* Newman's Sermons, vol. v. p. 44. † Ibid. vol. v. p. 18. ‡ Ibid. p. 27.

Digitized by Google

a poison far more subtle and deadly than "the Upas tree," which being imbibed through the outward senses steals to the inmost soul, blasts the fair buds of infant piety, scathes the tender heart, and lays it bare in after life to the withering curse of infidelity. Some specimens of the influence of this fearful evil, which is conveyed under the form of "Sunday-school Reward Books," which may be procured in Paternoster-row, we will now present to our readers, and close our long and painful article.

The first case we will give is that of an interesting and intelligent youth, aged 13, whose memoir is given in the Methodist Magazine for October, 1842.

"This morning Edward came to my room and said, 'Mamma, I am so happy, God has forgiven me all my sins.' I asked 'WHEN and WHERE?' He said, '*Last night*, in *the chapel*.' 'In the last prayer, after sermon, papa prayed, that whilst *Jesus was passing by* he would have mercy on some soul, and *I felt I was pardoned*.' How wonderful! yet how simple!"

"Eliza Luke. During a very extraordinary religious revival of religion in St. Agnes, when she was between 10 and 11 years of age, she had a great concern for the salvation of her soul; and partook, with many others, of the gracious effusion of the Holy Spirit."—"One night in particular, so great was her distress, that she rose out of bed, and began to pray, crying aloud for mercy; nor could she be at all pacified until her parents called in some pious persons to pray with her. For many days her distress continued in all its bitterness until at length she obtained much consolation, and had some encouraging *hopes* of divine mercy, although *she did not at that time obtain a full assurance of God's pardoning love*." "In the year 1814 she unhappily associated with other children in their diversions and follies, and as she imbibed their spirit, grieved and quenched the Spirit of God, until she had well nigh forgot what great things the Almighty had done for her." She did not recover what by her unfaithfulness she had forfeited, until after her health was on the decline." "In her affliction she was deeply affected at the discovery of her condition, seemed much concerned about her unfaithfulness, and appeared very anxious to know whether I thought God would have mercy on her or not. I told her that the concern she felt for the salvation of her soul was an evidence that God had begun a gracious work on her mind; and that, if she continued to call upon God, believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, she would *most assuredly obtain a sense of his pardoning love*."—"On several occasions her mind was irradiated with transient beams of consolation. With these she did not appear satisfied; but was the more intent on obtaining a *full assurance* that God, for Christ's sake, had forgiven all her sins." "From this time the hope of mercy gradually dispelled the clouds of guilt and unbelief—her importunity of spirit and fervency of devotion became more visible from day to day, until, at length, her soul *broke the fetters* of unbelief, and said—

'In all the confidence of hope,
I claim the blessing now.'"

"One morning she lifted up her heart to God—'O Lord, *why not now? why not now? I am ready, I am willing* to be thine! *I will* believe.' *Now the Almighty* SMILED DIVINEST APPROBATION! Now the happy hour of her deliverance came, and her soul was filled with joy and peace in believing."

"Her deliverance was so great—she broke out into the praises of God to the admiration of all who heard her. O with what extasy did she cry, 'Glory! Glory! Glory be to God. He has pardoned all my sins.' On Monday evening following she was, if possible, still more happy; she praised the Lord with a *loudness and strength* of voice that were truly astonishing.

Digitized by Google

Her sister coming into the chamber, she said, 'I am ready to clap the glad wing and tower away.'" "One day she said to her mother, 'My *evidence* is not so bright as it was yesterday; yet I can trust in my blessed Saviour.' In the *afternoon* of the *same day*, however, she was so happy that her spirit seemed ready to break loose from the prison of her afflicted body.—She broke forth in her accustomed ecstasy, Glory! glory! glory! &c. Here her strength failed. But though she was silent, the chamber was filled with the Divine Presence; every one *felt* it as the gate of heaven." "A little before her death, as if she had heard the benediction of her Judge and Saviour, 'Come ye blessed,' &c. she cried out, 'Blessed Jesus, I am coming!' Died aged 13."

"Miss Sarah Seabury, 'at the age of twelve years. was brought under alarming convictions of sin. On one occasion, her mother went into her room; she said, 'I will thank you, my dear mamma, not to send for me to dinner, for I cannot go; *I have promised the Lord not to leave this place until He bless me;* I feel myself irresistibly drawn and overpowered; I am all desire and expectation: say nothing about it, but leave me with God.' 'About four o'clock my sister came hastily into the dining-room, and, falling on her mother's neck, she exclaimed, 'Oh, how I am overcome by the love of Christ to me, so vile, so wretched as I have been. Oh, the droppings of that precious blood, revealed to me by faith,' &c. She then received power to become a child of God."

Our heart sickens over these painful details; so that we must pass over many passages marked for insertion. One, however, less shocking, we will mention: it is the case of E. Boyens, who died before she was five years old. Of her it is said,

"That being invited to spend an evening with some little friends, she would not join in their amusements, but kept by her mistress's side, singing—

'Oh that I may never know
What the wicked people do!
Sin is contrary to thee,
Sin is the forbidden tree.'

"Thus did this little saint abstain from what she considered *vain*, and displeasing to God."

We have more than once alluded to the Wesleyan Magazine. From this work, which is authoritative, the Editor being, we believe, paid or at least appointed by the governing body of Conference, we extract the following proofs, which occur in the only numbers which we have at hand. We had marked other instances for insertion, but want of space compels us to curtail our illustrations. The obituaries afford remarkable proofs of the practical tendency of Wesleyanism. Here is the account of Mrs. A. Wilson:—

"She did not remain long a stranger to the knowledge of the salvation by the remission of her sins. She received the witness of adoption on Sept. 6th, 1805, being at that time in her closet, reading Isaiah vi. While reading—'thy iniquity is taken away, and thy sin is purged,' her previously troubled mind was filled with peace and joy in believing. The blessing thus graciously imparted was ever after retained with increasing assurance, and brighter views of her christian privileges, accompanied with habitual aspirations after divine holiness."—*Methodist Magazine*, May, 1839.

In the obituary of Mrs. White it is stated, that, on visiting

Digitized by Google

one of her Sunday scholars, on the Sunday, she found the mother "ironing some linen." She

"spoke plainly of God's omniscience. She exhorted her to flee from the wrath to come. Her exhortation took immediate effect, and she was requested to pray. This she readily did, and left her, as she believed, a true penitent. Two days afterwards she found her confined to her bed with illness, and earnestly seeking the pardon of her sins. She prayed with her and read suitable portions of Scripture."

The *next morning* the class leader went to her, and

"as they entered the room, they heard with joyful surprise the exclamation of the new-born soul, 'O what a night!' &c. After a little while, she added, Just after you left me, I thought, if there is mercy, I will seek it with all my heart. Something seemed to say to me, You have left it till it is too late! While I was sunk in grief, there appeared to be set before me a writing containing all my sins. I trembled when I looked at this writing, and at the dreadful number of my sins; but I thought Christ shed his blood to redeem me; and *while I was thinking* on this, a hand appeared to blot out the writing—and a *voice said*, 'Thy sins, which are many, are all forgiven thee.' The leader who witnessed this blessed scene, adds, 'The woman lived to testify that Jesus is able to save to the uttermost, and then went to glory."—*Ibid.* p. 415.

"Miss M. Frearson. Till she was 43 years of age she was a stranger to true religion—and was strongly prejudiced against the Methodists." "One Sabbath morning she was led by providential circumstances to attend service in the Methodist chapel. The subject of the discourse was the offering up of Isaac. During the service her mind was very powerfully impressed—she determined to connect herself with the people she had so much despised, and earnestly to seek the salvation of her soul. She began to meet in class without delay; and *the first time* she attended, being deeply convinced of her own personal guiltiness before God, and humbly asking for mercy through the atonement of the Saviour, *peace was spoken to her heart.*"—P. 417.

The revival at Kilsyth—

"A Sunday-school was established, and two prayer-meetings were held every week to supplicate the divine blessing on the children. On one of these occasions, Mr. A. Patrick, having explained the *plan* of salvation, and afterward engaged in prayer, *one of the boys found peace with God;* the following morning one of the girls received the same blessing. The next time the children met, reference being made to the fact of the conversion of two of their number, the rest were earnestly exhorted to seek the same salvation; the power of God was present both to wound and to heal. Sighs and tears expressed the emotions of their hearts; and, before the meeting closed, *twelve professed to have found peace and joy through believing.*

"This was on the last Sabbath in February, 1835. On the following Thursday there was a prayer-meeting in the chapel; and, in the course of the day *eight persons entered into the glorious liberty of the children of God.* In the evening Mr. S. preached; and while he was at prayer, one and another were constrained to cry out, 'What must I do to be saved?' Before they separated *thirty-two were enabled to rejoice in the possession of conscious salvation.* Within a very short space of time upwards of eighty were converted to God; although some of these did not continue to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things."

Further on, the following account of the same work in the Kirk is given:—

"When the youthful preacher, with hands clasped, and eyes lifted up to heaven, in an agony of prayer for the Holy Ghost to descend upon the people, exclaimed, 'O come! come!' and, being strengthened in faith, 'He is coming!

Digitized by Google

he is coming!' suddenly a voice was heard from among the congregation, 'He is come! He is come! Hallelujah! Glory be to God!' This ran like electricity through the whole assembly of fifteen hundred persons." *Meth. Mag.* February 1840, pp. 156, 157.

In the same Magazine we read of W. Tremallen obtaining "a knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins" while at family prayer, and "retained a sense of sins forgiven to the end of his life," (a period of 25 years).

"Mrs. E. Morgan. Her health failing—she returned home anxiously inquiring, 'What must I do to be saved?' Being exhorted 'to behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world!' she was enabled to rest her soul, with implicit confidence, on the sacrifice of Christ, and happily realized a complete deliverance from the guilt and bondage of her sins." "Though for some time she continued to walk in the light of his countenance, yet, through some causes unknown to her friends, she lost the enjoyment of God's love,"—during which period she was powerfully and increasingly tempted to deny the divinity of Christ. "The Lord, however, compassionated her condition, by revealing himself to her. She was led to make a full surrender of herself, by faith, to Jesus, of whose divinity she had been so long tempted to doubt; and at *that moment* obtained a perfect deliverance from the bondage of fear. She was fully satisfied that God was her reconciled Father, through the infinitely meritorious sacrifice of his Son, and received the direct witness of the Spirit."—"Being convinced of the necessity and attainableness of a still greater work in her soul—she diligently and prayerfully sought it in the appointed means, and she rested not till her heart *was perfected* in love. Her most pious friends were always perfectly satisfied with the account she gave, and the fruits she exhibited of this great work. 'I feel,' said she, 'if I may so speak, that *I live eye to eye with Jesus*, in constant union and communion with him. I feel that I have uninterrupted fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."—*Ibid.* November 1841, p, 945.

"Mr. H. J. Wheeler. He says, 'My convictions, though not very distressing, were sufficient to lead me to Christ; but, for some months, I did not so clearly apprehend the way of salvation as to enter on the enjoyment of its blessings. One evening, after the labours of the day were over, I retired to my room, and I read 2 Kings iv. While reading of the increase of the widow's oil, I seemed to have clearer views of the nature of saving faith, as implying confidence in God. I felt it was a gracious opportunity, and I determined to take advantage of it. I knelt down and earnestly prayed for pardon. This passage quickly passed through my mind, "Go in peace and sin no more." I felt that God had accepted me for his Son's sake.'

"When writing to a friend, he says, 'On Friday night last I received faith to believe that God had cleansed me from all sin. I feel nothing contrary to love at this moment. I therefore will not hesitate *now* to say that God has cleansed me from all unrighteousness.' On another occasion, while reading Carvosso's Life, he says, "It was sweetly applied to my mind, 'I will, be thou clean.' "—*Ibid.* July 1840.

Now, from a perusal of all these passages, but one of two results is possible: either the reader adopts them as true and scriptural, or he rejects them as profane and heathenish, and well-nigh blasphemous. If any be disposed to look at them in the former light, we ask, where is the place for evangelical repentance in such a scheme? Where is the godly sorrow for grace abandoned? Where is the penitent beseeching to be but as "one of the hired servants?" Where is the "revenge" to be taken upon our past self? Where is the "fear and indig-

Digitized by Google

nation" of the Apostle? If such "present salvation" is to be acquired in a moment, why should not—we desire to speak with reverence—a man "continue in sin," if he can always have this "full, and free, and unconditional salvation?" If "perfect liberty" be thus the test of faith, will not a man soon be tempted to counterfeit, and then to avow this feeling? Is it not an every-day occurrence, that if one tries to feel, as he supposes others under certain circumstances must feel, the transition is easy to persuade himself, or to yield to the temptation of being persuaded that he does so feel?

There are one or two other subordinate points—having thus disposed of the main object which we had in view—viz. to show what the practical tendency of Wesleyan Methodism is; upon which we must make a brief remark. Incidentally (*Christian Remembrancer*, vol. iv. p. 525) we denied that the Wesleyans were "men of one book, except it be the Hymn-Book." An unexpected, yet most striking proof of our accuracy occurs, which we are bound in justice to produce; for the charge which we made is a serious one against a body which is always talking about "substituting tradition for the Word," and "ranking the Fathers above the Bible." We do not hesitate, therefore, to declare, that with the Wesleyans the Hymn-Book is far above the Word of God; that they think nothing of postponing all the articles of the Christian Faith to this book of rhapsodies; and that the Lord's Prayer itself is less important than "the Collection." We take up the "Journal of the Rev. James Evans, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories," published in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, January, 1843. This person it seems—and he relates his trials in a pleasing way—was desirous of setting up a printing press, for the use of his mission among the heathen. By several ingenious devices he at length succeeds in producing types in the "Chree character:"

"October 15. Last night I finished the alphabet plate. Nov. 11. My types answered well. The *hymn* beginning with 'Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone,' is in the press. I have to-day struck off 300 copies of the first three verses, making a small page. 17th. I have to-day struck off 250 copies of the *hymn* beginning, 'Behold the Saviour of mankind,' with a chorus for occasional use. December 3. I printed the *hymn* beginning, 'Blow ye the trumpet, blow.' . . . . I have now *printed about* 2000 *pages of* HYMNS, &c.; and on my return from my winter's tour, by God's blessing, I shall print the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, Commandments, and the first chapter of St. Matthew's gospel."—P. 76.

This is perfectly monstrous: here is a man, one of the chief emissaries of this schism, daily, according to his own journal, baptizing heathen, and providing for their spiritual sustenance nothing but a set of miserable hymns, which in his eyes are two thousand times superior to "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments," which the Catholic Church requires

Digitized by Google

her ministers "*chiefly* to provide for the soul's health of all baptized christians." We earnestly trust to hear no more about "the popery of appealing to tradition,* and the fathers, and the Prayer-Book," at least in a quarter where the Wesleyans acknowledge a missionary, who having it in his power to print pages by the thousand, prefers giving his converts "the filthy puddle of men's tradition," which the Hymn Book certainly is, to "the infallible word of God," postponing to the vague chance of his possible return—

Cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine primâ,

the very chief fundamentals and essentials of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Once more, to quote ourselves in our September number, vol. iv. p. 315, we remarked, — "It is curious to see how Mr. Jackson is puzzled to know what to call this hybrid body. Sometimes they are 'Societies;' then they are 'Mr. Wesley's Societies;' then 'Wesleyans;' then 'Methodists;' then 'the Wesleyan body;' then 'Mr. Wesley's followers,' or 'the people to whom the name Wesleyan is applied;' but whether they claim to belong to the One Holy Catholic Church, or whether they form one church in itself,—*totus in se teres atque rotundus*,—or whether they are dissenters, or whether something made up of each and all of them, we are not told, simply because the writer cannot make out."

Nor were we ever enlightened on this head; but as it is desirable that our readers should know what estimate others have formed of the ecclesiastical *status* of the Wesleyan Methodists, we depart from our usual practice, and extract from a dissenting contemporary—the Eclectic Review, for January, 1843—

THE METHODISTS SKETCHED BY THEIR FELLOW-DISSENTERS.

"Then, again, who could have imagined that a party, so utterly disconnected from the Church as the Wesleyan Methodists, would have felt this controversy as an imperious call upon them to engage in strife from which they have usually kept aloof, or that they would have ventured to implicate themselves as a church, or connexion, or conference, (we know not which term best suits the case,) in a debate, the agitation of which among themselves, may lead to consequences which none can foresee, but which many may live to deplore! But so it is; and the world can no longer doubt that men so wise in their generation as the leaders of Conference are allowed to be, have felt the Puseyite controversy touching them in more points than one. They are not persons to be drawn into thriftless contention. They are not accustomed to essay works of supererogation, and the fact that they have designed a series of controversial and defensive Tracts for the Times, is an unequivocal proof that they have perceived the utility, as well as felt the need, of such prophylactics."

* * * * * *

"It appears that many Methodists have been very urgently pressed by this argument — 'Mr. Wesley was a churchman, — he discountenanced and con-

* This charge comes with a very bad grace from a body who demand, in the case of all their ministers, subscription to "the tradition" of Wesley's "first Fifty-three Sermons."

Digitized by Google

demned dissent. It is true that he apologised for his new establishment, by alleging the corruption of the old one; but he always urged his people to keep in the communion of the church. Yet modern Methodism has diverged in a variety of particulars from his principles, and has become either a separation from the church, or a schism in it.' Hence the force of the appeal to those who venerate Mr. Wesley, and profess to be guided by his sentiments. 'The church is vastly improved since his day; the pure gospel is extensively preached in its pulpits, and as he never contemplated the permanence of a sect, or the formation, on professed grounds of scriptural authority, of a dissentient church, in reference to the establishment, you ought now either to merge in the church of England, or harmonize your societies to it, so as to place them under the government and discipline of the hierarchy.

"Our readers will be curious to know how this argument is met by the *Connexion*, or what is the substance of their reply. It is in brief this—there is an anachronism in the appeal of the churchman to Mr. Wesley's opinions, which renders his argument invalid. It is shown that, though Mr. Wesley commenced his labours, and wrote some of his works, with a full belief in the scriptural authority of the Church of England, and the perfect accuracy of all its principles, yet he subsequently altered his opinion, and though he never avowed himself a dissenter, yet he embraced the doctrine of presbyterian orders, believed in the divine institution of voluntary churches, their government and discipline by presbyters, and consequently left his connexion in the state of a separate, regularly organized, and permanent religious community; and that, since his times, the Conference have merely carried on, and acted out, his last matured opinions respecting the Church of Christ. Hence the Connexion now-a-days discovers no force in the requirement that they should merge in the Church, because they perceive, in Mr. Wesley's later opinions, sufficient grounds to justify them in maintaining themselves independently of all connexion with, and all control from, the Established Church. This is all very well, and so far so good. Let Wesleyanism take its stand upon scriptural ground, in repudiating the doctrine of episcopal ordination, as essential to the validity of orders; let it maintain scriptural authority for government and discipline by presbyters; let it assert the scriptural right to assemble its people, and form them into churches, or a church, or societies, or a connexion, or whatever else they please to call them; and, in all this, let it be conceded that they are but acting in strict conformity with Mr. Wesley's last views and directions, they have the most perfect and indisputable right to do so; and with the Bible in their hands, they are assuredly proof against all the assaults of the 'intolerant and unscrupulous assailants,' whom they profess to meet in these tracts.

"But is this all? No; certain important inferences follow. The Churchman retorts,—you have hereby become dissenters; you have done the very thing, committed the very act, which you know full well Mr. Wesley deprecated and forbad. What is the reply which these tracts furnish to this argument? We must give it in the words of the writers:—

"'The Wesleyan methodists are not dissenters, *in the ordinary sense and application of that term;* for they do not dissent from the principle of a national ecclesiastical establishment, which derives a measure of protection and support from its union with the state, nor do they dissent from the doctrine and general formularies of the Church of England; and they are not schismatics *in* the Church, for this plain reason, that, to a considerable extent and degree, they are separated from the Church. They would not affect names which mark parties and distinctions, but they cannot entirely avoid using them; and they are satisfied with the one that has descended to them, indulging the hope, at the same time, of that better day when every sectarian distinction shall cease, and all Christ's disciples shall be one in mind, in heart, and in name. They are *not*, then, *dissenters from the Church of England, in the customary use of that expression;* and they are *not* SCHISMATICS *in the Church of England;* but they *are* WESLEYAN METHODISTS.'—*Wesleyan Tracts for the Times*, No. 2, p. 10.

Digitized by Google

"Again we find in the selfsame Tract—

"'Some one may be ready to ask, WHAT, THEN, IS WESLEYAN METHODISM? It must be a strange anomaly. If it is neither schism, nor schismatical separation, in what light shall we regard it? Our answer, which we would make with all humility and gratitude, is this, that singular and even anomalous as the present position of Wesleyan Methodism may be, it is doubtless, in itself, *the fruit of an extraordinary visitation and work of God.* To this our thoughts cannot fail to advert, when we have occasion to speak of the validity of its ministerial orders, and of its other claims as a part of the universal Church of Christ.'

"On reading this remarkable passage we opened our eyes, and rubbed our spectacles, and read it again and again, asking ourselves at the same time what can the writer or writers possibly intend by ascribing methodism, when they *have occasion to speak of its ministerial orders*, to an extraordinary visitation and work of God? Do they mean to say that its distinctive principles are the result or fruit of a new revelation, thereby designing to remove it beyond the reach of the common revelation and common test? It is confessedly not Church-of-Englandism; it is not dissent from the Church of England, which it would seem to be, by asserting the validity of orders which the Church denies, and the authority of voluntary societies, which that church repudiates; but it is '*the fruit of an extraordinary visitation and work of God.*' It does not attempt to dispute the validity of Church-of-England ordination; it does not dissent from the doctrine of an establishment of Christianity by the state—it even approves of it as lawful and desirable—and yet it very modestly sets up an independent hierarchy, seeking no such thing as support from the state; but after it has constituted a priesthood, not episcopally ordained, and a church or churches, not conformed to the pattern of the established church, it again very modestly tells the world, 'this methodism of ours is the very best and most perfect, and most strictly apostolic church in Christendom. To be sure it is not, in its platform, episcopacy, and it is not dissent from episcopacy; for dissent from episcopacy we hold, with Mr. Wesley, to be a very abominable thing, and we never will allow ourselves to be guilty of it. We have something among us much better than either episcopacy or dissent.' It is indeed neither the one nor the other, for it is '*the fruit of an extraordinary visitation and work of God.*' This is the only rule by which these tracts direct us to judge of methodism. Now so far as we have been able to pry into the genuine sense, the obvious intention of this singularly *humble* statement, it seems to affirm nothing less than the superior excellence and authority of methodism over established episcopacy, and over every form of Church government that ranks under the comprehensive epithet of *dissent*, while it assigns a sufficiently ambitious reason for the preference. We allow that it would have been possible to put a different interpretation upon the words, had they been used in a different connexion, and for a different purpose; but since they are here employed as a reason to show why the Wesleyans are neither Churchmen nor dissenters, they appear to us to be of no force, unless they are intended to annul the grounds of the Churchman's appeal to them to submit to episcopal authority, and at the same time to set aside the dissenter's argument with them, that they ought to account themselves dissenters of some sort, because they repudiate episcopal ordination, and practically reject the alliance of the state. Hence it is alleged that Wesleyan Methodism does not conform itself to the Establishment, because it originates in an *extraordinary visitation and work of God!* and it will not allow itself to assume the character of dissent from that Church, for the very same reason. If this does not signify that Methodism claims to be a new dispensation, originating in a new revelation, we cannot understand either its meaning or its pertinence to the case in hand.

"Will our readers have the goodness to observe the select phraseology with which this astounding announcement is made? 'Our answer, which we would make with all HUMILITY and GRATITUDE, is this—that *singular*, and even

Digitized by Google

anomalous, as the present position of Wesleyan Methodism may be, it is, DOUBTLESS, in itself, *the fruit of an extraordinary visitation and work of God.*' The definition is placed in italics to arrest attention, and it will no doubt receive, both from Churchmen and dissenters, the attention it deserves.

"This is, to be sure, a very short and easy way of deciding the controversy. It was intended to stop the mouth of the Churchman, who believes in extraordinary works and visitations of God; and it equally aims to silence the dissenter, who wishes to view the Wesleyan as placed in the same category with himself. But then, if Wesleyan Methodism disdains to conform itself to episcopal discipline, because it is the fruit of an extraordinary visitation of God, and yet could not for a moment think of dissenting from that episcopacy and that establishment, because both are scriptural and right; and if, in the next place, it insists that its own platform of church principles shall be considered the fruit of *this extraordinary visitation and work of God*, exempt consequently from the common test, the old rules and principles of the written Scripture,, it must prepare itself to defend rather more fully than has yet been done, or is likely to be done by twopenny tracts, this new and extraordinary claim."—Pp. 67—69.

* * * * * *

"Let us take another specimen from this master of the Wesleyan Israel:—

"'Some have loved to plead that the Wesleyan Methodists must either be dissenters *from* the Church of England, or schismatics *in* it. When able men touch upon this notion, and signify their approval of it, they certainly fall into an inadvertency, which was scarcely to be expected in their case; they do not observe the fallacy which lurks in the indeterminate and ambiguous name, *dissenter*.'

"At this point we really expected, from this censor of the *able men* who have fallen into so glaring an inadvertency, a complete masterpiece of dialectical skill. We prepared ourselves for a piece of ratiocination which should have deterred the sons of Oxford and Cambridge from ever daring again to risk their character as logicians, in repeating such a fallacious proposition as that ascribed to the *able men, or approved by them.* Will any man venture again to repeat the proposition, 'Wesleyan Methodists must either be schismatics *in* the Church of England, or dissenters *from* it?' This writer has affirmed that the ambiguous and indeterminate name contains a fallacy; and, in proof of this assertion, he adds, that '*in the ordinary sense* and application of that term,' (dissenter,) 'the Wesleyan Methodists are not dissenters.' But where is the fallacy? A *fallacy* in a *name must* consist in its being false in any given application. The term dissenter is perfectly clear and limited, and unambiguous in itself. It merely expresses a negative in relation to something understood. It does not define the degree, nor the particular point of disagreement. It does not pretend to state the reasons for differing from the proposed proposition; it does not say what kind of a dissenter he is, but merely that he does not agree to something implied and understood. Well then, where is the fallacy? The writer affirms a fallacy, but does not attempt to point it out. He merely alleges that the Wesleyans are not dissenters *in the ordinary sense of that term.* Granted; but the term is not necessarily limited to the sects that are usually called dissenters. Twenty other new sects might arise, and if they refused to conform to the Church of England, they would be just as logically included under this universal negative, as any of those sects to which it is ordinarily applied. In fact, the term is clearly comprehensive of every party and every person who is not *bona fide* a Churchman. The term dissenter applies to a quaker, a presbyterian, an independent, an antipædobaptist, a Swedenborgian, a Plymouth brother, and everybody else who, being a protestant in his religious opinions and practice, differs from the Church of England. Wherein, then, consists the fallacy in this name, this hated, ambiguous word, *dissenter?* The learned author of the tract has failed, indeed he has not attempted, to show. He could not do it. He has merely stated that, *in its ordinary application*, it does not belong to Wesleyan Methodists. They are neither dissenters from the Church, because, observe, they are not *such* dissenters from the Church as some

Digitized by Google

other people, nor are they Schismatics in the Church. This is very much like saying—they are neither out of the Church of England nor in it. Their situation is like Mahomet's tomb; it is neither in heaven nor on earth, but somewhere between the two. But the thing is impossible. They are either Churchmen or dissenters. We should rather suspect that the clerical writers who have enforced the proposition, which this author professes to prove fallacious, are logicians enough to detect *his* fallacies, his attempt to obscure the proposition, and his retreat, equally perilous and presumptuous, into the assumption of a new and extraordinary visitation of God, which we have before exposed; and they will certainly not fail to insist upon the proposition, and to make it ring in the ears of the Methodists, till they take one alternative or the other, '*you are either schismatics in the Church of England or dissenters from it.* Your pretence to a special visitation and work of God, distinct from the New Testament, as your authority, is open rebellion against Christ and his apostles. It is a blasphemy for which you deserve stoning, unless you repent. And your own tracts will now be swift witnesses against you, that you are, all of you, either in the one or the other of those positions which you have denied.' Here, for instance, is one whole tract (No. 4) devoted to the proof that *Wesleyan Ministers are true ministers of Christ.* But how does the writer prove it? By showing that they possess scriptural qualifications, and then by openly denying and setting aside the doctrine of the Church of England, that there are three orders of clergy in the Church of Christ; next, by asserting the validity of ordination by presbyters, to the denial of the necessity, at least, of episcopal ordination, and by repudiating with scorn the dogma of apostolical succession. Excellent! But what inference follows? This is literally dissenterism. The man who asserts there are not, by divine institution, three orders in the ministry of the Church of Christ, IS A DISSENTER from the Church of England. The man who denies or refuses assent to the proposition, that episcopal ordination is essential to the right and orderly ministration of the word and ordinances, IS A DISSENTER, because in this he differs from the Church of England. He may not be an independent, a baptist, a unitarian dissenter; but he is, to all intents and purposes, *a dissenter after his own fashion.* It is mere dishonesty, shuffling, cowardice, unmanly evasion, to deny that he is a dissenter. No clearer proof could be supplied of dissenterism than is contained in these Tracts, and yet it is affirmed that '*Wesleyans are neither schismatics in the Church, nor dissenters from it.*' They set up a distinct community; they separate from the parish Church; they defend the validity of presbyterian ordination; they prefer their own system of Church discipline to any other; they ridicule the notion of apostolical succession; they celebrate the simple rites of Christianity according to their own notions of apostolic precedent; they disown baptismal regeneration, and abolish the rite of confirmation; they repudiate the divine authority of diocesan episcopacy, assert the parity of all true ministers of Christ, employ lay preachers, and have practically preferred a voluntary system of church-support to a state-establishment; they have licensed their places of worship and their ministers, as not of the Church by law established; they teach their people nonconformity to the Establishment, and conformity to the laws of conference, and then they have the *ineffable modesty*, the *christian frankness and simplicity*, to stand forth before the world with this announcement, 'We are neither schismatics in the Church, nor dissenters from it, but just Wesleyan methodists, who claim as authority for our system, *an extraordinary visitation and work of God;* therefore touch us not, judge us not. You will be guilty of a fallacy if you call us dissenters of any sort; and you will be chargeable with falsehood if you describe us as schismatics in the Church.'

"The Wesleyan body may plead that they are not dissenters, because they evince no hostility to the Church, thinking it unseemly to make war upon such near neighbours; yet, in this respect, many others who do not shrink from the name of dissenter are like them; and it does not follow, that to be a dissenter a man must maintain controversy, and evince an uncharitable spirit. But the

Digitized by Google

fact, now obvious to all the world, is, that these Tracts, published in the name of the body, do make open war upon *Church-of-England principles.* The Puseyite sect or party, now by far the most numerous and powerful, have, in point of numbers and consistency, a just right to consider themselves as the Church of England. Their opinions and interpretations are most in conformity with the entire system. Now the Wesleyan Tracts, although asserting that they *will not be an attack upon any body of Christians*, are a direct attack upon these Puseyite clergy. Nor is this all. They contain denials, as we have already shown, of several cherished and unquestionable principles, maintained alike by all the formularies and all the clergy of the Church of England. The body of Wesleyan Methodists are therefore now written down by their own pen, DISSENTERS.

* * * * * *

"The clergy who choose to attack them, upon the ground of their pretended approbation of the Church of England, have had, and still have, the better side of the argument. It must be unjustifiable to continue a separation which alleges no grounds of disagreement upon either principle or practice. The law of christian union is violated by such a separation, and pronounces it a schismatical separation. The Wesleyan who can find nothing unscriptural, but all the contrary, in the system of the Established Church, ought to break through all his early association, and show that the name of Jesus Christ and his apostles has more authority with him than the name and opinions of John Wesley. The man who objects to Church principles, and conscientiously practises others, is a dissenter.

"It is to be expected that the assailants of Methodism from the side of the Church will be increasingly urgent and increasingly successful. We have seen nothing in these tracts which is adapted to counteract the inroads of Church-of-England zeal. Certainly, the attempt to defend themselves from the charge of schism or of dissent is a conspicuous failure. A more complete piece of sophistry and special pleading has rarely seen the light. It aspires to be equally learned, critical, and logical, and is altogether one of the least clear, and most inefficient of the series. The writers are, no doubt, able men in their way, and devoted admirers of Wesleyan Methodism; but they have egregiously committed themselves in supposing that they were called to write controversial tracts for the times. There may be fifty other things which they may do with ability and success, but their vocation is evidently not in the controversial line. We do not perceive how they will ever again venture with seriousness to proclaim their adherence to the Church of England, after the exposition of their opinions which these tracts supply. Every Puseyite may point to the Tract No. 3, entitled 'Apostolical Succession,' and say, have you not denounced the principles of the Church? Every evangelical clergyman may point to the Tract No. 4, entitled, 'Wesleyan ministers true ministers of Christ,' and say, have you not written against the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons? Is not the whole conference committed to a species of dissent? Fie upon you! You are endeavouring to write down our Church, as much as any dissenters in the land, and you are as determined in your separation, and as ready to defend it by argument, as any sectarian. You are as clearly guilty of setting up a peculiar church-system as any of the sects, and you claim as full a measure of divine authority for your doctrine, discipline, and ministry as ourselves. You affirm as full a validity in your administration of sacraments as we do in ours. And yet you have the effrontery to tell us and all the world, that you are *neither schismatics in the church nor dissenters from it.* Now the only difference we can discern between you and others, is in the frankness with which others admit their dissent, and the flattery, equivocation, and pretended agreement with which you palliate yours. But, henceforth, your dissent is branded upon you, absolutely burnt in by your own hands. Every churchman will view you, cannot but view you, in spite of your sophistical argumentation, mere downright dissenters from Church-of-England principles."—Pp. 75, 76.

* * * * * * *

Digitized by Google

"Methodism must either be content henceforth to wear the common badge of dissenterism, or its banner must exhibit a Wesley-face represented as a Janus, with one side wistfully looking up at a *mitre*, but the other wearing a presbyterian cap. We confidently predict that the connexion can no longer carry a double-faced standard, nor display an equivocal motto. Reluctant as the men may be to assume the position of hostility to Churchism, yet they have at length been driven to it by 'intolerant and unscrupulous assailants,' and by the defections that have taken place."—Pp. 77.

We have now done with the Wesleyan Methodists; we leave them in very good hands, and we are much indebted to the above extracts for having executed work which is none of the cleanest; we at least can afford to stand quietly by, and allow the Wesleyan Magazine and the Eclectic to settle their differences or agreements as they best can; it "is a very pretty fight as it stands;" only the thorough-going Eclectic sadly overmatches these poor Methodists, and the battle will soon be fought out. We need scarcely say, that we adopt the Eclectic merely as a most independent witness to the real state of the controversy between the Church and the Methodist schism; we never had any doubt about Methodists being dissenters; we never thought of them as the friends of the Church; we never dreamed of speaking of them as "those who, though not of the Church, preached the same Gospel, and laboured for the same object." No: we knew them all along; and, God be praised, the real character of Wesleyanism is fast developing itself. The world begins to find them out; and we accept with joy the statement of their newspaper organ, the "Watchman," (January 25, 1843,) that "at no period was the opposition to Wesleyan Methodism as extended or as vigilant as in the present day." Nor does it require much foresight to see the end of these things; the Anti-Christian spirit of dissent is rapidly absorbing the masses of the Wesleyans; let us at least pray that a remnant may return to their "ancient house." Awful thought! "There *must be* heresies among us!" 1 Cor. xi. 19; but let us strive the more diligently with the Methodists, at least upon their original plea, that they are "the nearest to us,"—knowing our reward: "He which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." James v. 20.

As a concluding specimen of the ultimate results of the system against which we have protested, we are induced to append the following, which exceeds in blasphemous atrocity all that we could have conceived; and it may be new to most of our readers, although it is not a very recent publication. We believe that we could safely identify it with Wesleyan Methodism, for it was exposed for sale, as a card for distribution, and purchased at the book-shop adjoining the Conference Office in the City Road, where all the Methodist publications, Views of Wesleyan Institutions and Centenary Halls, Wesleyan

Digitized by Google

hymns, tracts, and sermons, Wesleyan note-paper (!) and the Wesleyan "Garden of Eden," (see our last vol. p. 527.) are displayed in the windows. But at any rate it will prove the awfully antinomian spirit of the religionism of the day, to the monstrous effects of which, however full-grown and revolting in "The Firm Bank," we are constrained to say, that Wesleyan Methodism very directly and fatally contributes; and the conviction of this sad fact must be our apology for shocking the eyes of Christians with

"THE FIRM BANK.

"I HAVE a never-failing Bank,
A more than golden store;
No earthly bank is half so rich—
How can I then be poor?

"'Tis when my stock is spent and gone,
And I without a groat,
I'm glad to hasten to my bank,
And beg a little note.

"Sometimes my Banker, smiling, says,
'Why don't you oftener come?
And when you draw a little note,
Why not a larger sum?

"'Why live so niggardly and poor?—
Your bank contains a plenty:
Why come and take a one pound note,
When you might have a twenty?

"'Yea, twenty thousand, ten times told,
Is but a trifling sum
To what your Father has laid up,
Secure in God his Son.'

"Since then my Banker is so rich,
I have no cause to borrow;
I'll live upon my cash to-day,
And draw again to-morrow.

"I've been a thousand times before,
And never was rejected;
Sometimes my Banker gives me more
Than asked for or expected.

"Sometimes I've felt a little proud,
I've managed things so clever;
But ah! before the day was gone,
I've felt as poor as ever.

"Sometimes, with blushes in my face,
Just at the door I stand;
I know if Moses kept me back,
I surely must be damn'd.*

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

"Should all the banks of Britain break—
The Bank of England smash—
Bring in your notes to Zion's bank,
You'll surely have your cash.

"And if you have but one small note,
Fear not to bring it in:
Come boldly to this bank of grace,
The Banker is within.

"All forged notes will be refused,
Man's-merits are rejected:
There's not a single note will pass
That God has not accepted.

"'Tis only those beloved of God,
Redeem'd by precious blood,
That ever had a note to bring—
These are the gifts of God.

"Tho' thousand ransom'd souls may say
They have no notes at all—
Because they feel the plague of sin,
So ruin'd by the fall;

"This bank is full of precious notes,
All sign'd, and seal'd, and free—
Tho' many doubting souls may say,
There is not one for me.

"Base unbelief will lead the child
To say what is not true;
I tell the soul who feels self-lost,
These notes belong to you.

"The leper had a little note—
'Lord, if thou wilt, thou can!'
The Banker cash'd his little note,
And heal'd the sickly man.

"We read of one young man indeed,
Whose riches did abound,
But in the Banker's book of grace,
This man was never found.

"But see the wretched dying thief,
Hang by the Banker's side;
He cried, 'Dear Lord, remember me,'
He got his cash—and died."

---

* We have omitted a stanza. Bad as the others are, we have had a reason for exhibiting them; but that in question is too horribly profane for us to print, even in the way of quotation.

Digitized by Google

1. *Correspondence between the Right Rev. C. H. Terrot, Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church in Edinburgh, and the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, Minister of Trinity Chapel, Dean Bridge, Edinburgh. In consequence of which the latter has resigned his charge.* Edinburgh: Lindsey and Co. Pp. 33.
2. *Resignation of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond; Resolutions on the above Case, agreed upon at a Meeting of the Clergy of the Episcopal Chapel, belonging to the Diocese of Edinburgh, held on the 1st Nov.* 1842. *Together with a Remonstrance against the publickly announced proposal to invite him to become a Minister of an Independent Chapel.* Edinburgh: R. Grant and Son. Pp. 8.
3. *Reply to Resolutions of the Clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Edinburgh, in which the Rev. D. Drummond is declared to have separated himself from that Church totally without cause. By the Rev.* D. T. K. Drummond, *Oxon., Presbyter of the Church of England.* Edinburgh: Lindsey and Co. Pp. 21.
4. *Reasons for Withdrawing from the Scottish Episcopal Church, and for Accepting an Invitation to continue his Ministration in Edinburgh as a Clergyman of the Church of England. With a Full Reply to the Charge of Schism. By the Rev.* D. T. K. Drummond, *Oxon., Presbyter of the Church of England.* Edinburgh: Lindsey and Co. Pp. 39.
5. *The Scottish Communion Office Examined, and proved to be repugnant to Scripture, and opposed to the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies of the Church of England. By the Rev.* D. T. K. Drummond, *Oxon., Presbyter of the Church of England.* Edinburgh: Lindsey and Co. Pp. 55.
6. *A Letter to some of the Members of the Vestry of St. James's Chapel, in reference to the Scottish Communion Service. By the Rev.* Daniel Bagot, *Minister of that Chapel.* Edinburgh: Johnstone. Pp. 15.
7. *Resignation of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond. Statement by the Committee of Mr. Drummond's Friends, Nov.* 14, 1842. Edinburgh: Lindsey and Co. Pp. 16.
8. *Statement of the Proceedings of the Majority of the Vestry of St. James's Chapel, Edinburgh, in reference to their Communications with their Minister, on the subject of certain objectionable Canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church.*

The very titles of these several pamphlets, in the order in which they are arranged above, present, with no more filling up than must occur to every one who reads them, a lamentable history of human weakness, ignorance, and sin.

We have the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond appealing to the world against the decision of his Bishop, and claiming applause, or sympathy at least, in the course which he has pursued, in opposition to the rules of the Church; we have publicly adver-

Digitized by Google

tised proposals to countenance Mr. D. in his undutiful proceedings, and to place him at the head of a conventicle; we have the necessary remonstrance of the presbytery of the diocese, affording in its spontaneous expressions the fullest assurance that Mr. D. was wrong from the beginning; but the rebellious presbyter listens as much to his brother presbyters as he had done before to his father in Christ, and answers by reasons for his secession, and a reply to their remonstrance; then we have his attack upon that Eucharistic service to which he was pledged by his office in the Church, and which he *dares* to attack, with a heart still rankling with the bitterness of recent controversy, and stained with the impiety of a schismatical attempt to set up in the Christian Church altar against altar: and, finally, we have certain of the laity, with no other preparation but party feeling, rushing into the controversy, dictating to the Church at large, and questioning the orthodox, and screening the refractory clergyman under their wide-shadowing wings.

Let us be pardoned if we present an abstract of these sad affairs; for we cannot be unmoved with such events in a sister church; nor can we help seeing that we have here a most instructive developement of the principle, and guilt, and consequences of schism—the whole story, from the hatching of the egg, to the breaking out of the serpent, and the poison which it breathes around its path.

Among the canons of the church in Scotland, as they were amended in 1838, is one (xxviii) in which it is decreed, "that if any clergyman shall *officiate or preach in any place publicly without using the Liturgy at all*, he shall, for the first offence, be admonished by the Bishop; and, if he persevere in this his uncanonical practice, shall be suspended," &c.

Now Mr. Drummond was, at the date of the letters published by himself in the first pamphlet in the above list, one of the ministers of Trinity Chapel, Edinburgh; and, as such, had solemnly promised to give all due obedience to the canons drawn up, &c., in 1838; and that he would show, in all things, an *earnest desire to promote the peace, unity, and order of the said Episcopal church.*

But for many years past Mr. D. had been in the habit (and hitherto unforbidden by his Bishop in person, though forbidden most explicitly by the church, which is surely not of less authority than an individual Bishop) of officiating *without the use of the Liturgy at all*, in a certain hired room, to as many persons as could find admittance, notice being given in Trinity Chapel of his intention to do this, and none being excluded, whether of the congregation of that chapel or no.

At length (Oct. 3, 1842,) Bishop Terrot, the Bishop of Edinburgh, writes to Mr. Drummond on the subject of his ministrations in Clyde-street Hall, "where," says he—

Digitized by Google

"I am informed you meet a congregation weekly, during the winter, and where the service is conducted by you in the way of extempore prayer, without the use of the Liturgy of our Church." . . . .

He then refers to the canon above cited, and concludes:—

"I beg, then, Rev. and dear Sir, that you will consider this as an *admonition* in terms of the canon; and I hope that you will find it possible to preach the gospel without violating the law of the Church."—*Correspondence*, pp. 9, 10.

To this admonition Mr. Drummond replies in a manner which must astonish every one for its extreme undutifulness, and for the sinister cunning with which he labours to bring his Bishop into difficulties in the exercise of his office. He does not obey; he does not apologise; he does not labour to remove misconceptions, if such there might be. Instead of this, he actually criminates himself yet farther, to make the Bishop's judgment seem more invidious; and shows, that, from the very first opening of the controversy, he seeks, not for the path of duty, and a real answer in conscience, but for victory over his Bishop, and for the sympathy of the public as to an injured man. He tells the Bishop that he is quite mistaken if he fancies that the service in Clyde-street is the only one the lawfulness of which is questionable at the best; and labours to force him into the *obnoxious* course of forbidding all or none, or the *troublesome* one of pointing out the difference between them. The impertinence, the wicked attempt to entangle his superior in this letter, is really beyond all reprobation. The following extract speaks for itself:—

"Besides my weekly meeting, to which you refer in your letter, I had, during last winter, and intended to open again during the ensuing one, a Bible class for young persons of my congregation. We were in the habit of meeting in Clyde-street Hall, and the only prayer used was extempore. Does this fall under the condemnation of Canon XXVIII.?

"I had likewise, together with Mr. Bagot, a monthly prayer-meeting in the same room, in connection with the Church Missionary Society and the Jews' Society. Is this also a breach of the canon?

"A sacramental meeting is held every month in the room under St. James's chapel, which has, I believe, existed for many years, and in which the Liturgy has never been used. Does this come under the operation of the canon?

"I am frequently called upon to address a school, and open it with prayer. Does extempore prayer in this case also infringe the canon!

"I am often asked to attend public meetings for religious purposes. If I open such meetings with extempore prayer, and address it, or otherwise take part in its proceedings, do I break the canon?

"Sometimes I am also present at public meetings for religious purposes which are opened by using collects and prayers selected from the Liturgy. If I use such collects, and then address the meeting, am I transgressing that portion of the canon which is directed against the mutilation of the Liturgy?"—*Correspondence*, pp. 11, 12.

Of course the Bishop is not led into the snare. But Mr. Drummond has another evasion. The meeting in question, in a hired room, usually employed for public purposes, filled to overflowing, of which notice is given at church during service, where it is even unlawful to close the doors—this is not a

Digitized by Google

public meeting! but a congregational!! a private meeting!!! so that it does not come under the term *publicly* in the canon!!!! That such nonsense could be uttered, yea, and made the very turning point of schism, we do not expect to be believed on our word: let Mr. Drummond speak for himself; that too, where, after the conclusion of his correspondence, he is summing up the heads of it, in his appeal to the public. He says:—

"The reasons I have stated for holding that such meetings are *private* or congregational are simply the following: 1st. they are privately announced, that is, to the congregation alone; and, 2dly, the room in which they are held, is, for the time, my own private room. These reasons the Bishop has not answered."

And we may certainly defy any Bishop to answer them, or any other reasons equally absurd, equally irrational. Who shall say why white is not black? why contraries are not the same? And yet we may remark on this reasoning, that, intensely absurd as it is on the very face of it, and to any with Johnson's Dictionary in his hand,* it is still more so when used by a minister of the church in Scotland, because his congregation is really his parish: it is the most public assembly that he can possibly address officially. A pastor in England may separate, for some purposes, between his congregation this charge; and when he has *published* anything *in church*, he may send the churchwardens from door to door to *publish* the same thing *throughout his parish:* but the clergyman in Scotland, without territorial limits, has only his congregation and their dependants as his parish. *His church* is *par excellence* his *public sphere;* his *congregation* exclusively *his public.*†

However, on this turning point, that *private* and *congregational* are convertible, or, at least, *not incongruous* terms, Mr. Drummond deliberately and contumaciously resigns his charge, at the close of a long correspondence, in the course of which, under the thin pretence of seeking direction and counsel, and of asking the true interpretation of a canon, and of vindicating his own conduct, he has insulted his Diocesan's authority and common sense, and really shown himself far more double dealing, and far less conscientious, in his use of words, and in his general bearing, than we should have ventured to believe *à priori* that even the originator of a causeless schism could have ventured to appear.

Even to Mr. Drummond, however, whose perception of what is right and becoming does not seem very clear, it was plain that he must make his own hired room the more sacred for not being licensed; his own prayer-meetings more excellent than

* CONGREGATIONAL, public.—*Dr. Johnson.* Of course the answer to this is, that Dr. Johnson lived before Mr. Drummond had fixed the meaning of the word.

† It might have occurred to Mr. Drummond, that, if his reasoning is correct, he ought to be allowed to have a service in his church without the Liturgy. To be sure he would gain nothing by this, for the church is licensed, and so authorised, therefore loses its virtue, just as the Liturgy does by being appointed.

Digitized by Google

the assembly of the congregation of the faithful;* his own extempore prayers of more authority than the Liturgy of the church; and the privilege to use them, without the Liturgy, of vital importance, or his conduct could never be justified. The great mildness and liberality of the Bishop drives him to this kind of vindication. The Bishop expressly said in his first letter to Mr. D. that it was not his wish—

"To circumscribe his ministrations, either as to *time*, or as to *place*. You have a right [said he] to open Trinity Chapel for service every day if you please. You may have my license for officiating in Clyde-street Hall, if you can show that circumstances render that place more convenient. But in neither case could you lawfully officiate without using the Liturgy."—*Correspondence*, p. 10.

Ay; there's the whole offence. Again:—

"I have no wish to restrict your ministrations, either as to time or place. You may give expositions every day; but surely they would not be less useful, less conducive to all those good results, which you say have flowed from your ministrations in Clyde-street Hall, if they were, in accordance with the canon, preceded by the common prayers of the Church, and the portions of Scripture appointed by her for the day."—*Correspondence*, pp. 27, 28.

Sadly is the Bishop mistaken; the Liturgy would mar the whole scene; and even the *addition* of extempore prayer (which, right or wrong, would never have been forbidden,) *before* or *after* the exposition, would not have consecrated the service, on which the blot still remained, of an appointed Liturgy. And yet Mr. Drummond loves the Liturgy (so does the Dean of York†); and he loves it all the more for his prayer-meetings; he feels that the service in Clyde-street only makes him love the Liturgy the more, "because it at once tends to exalt the latter [that is the Liturgy, we suppose] to the character of a free service, and not lower it to that of a bondage, from which we can never at any time be released." Sad it is to see how far some minds are from recognising the *privilege* of being under authority. How would the promise have sounded in Mr. Drummond's ears, "Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes: for ye are not yet come to the rest and to the inheritance, which the Lord your God giveth you."‡

Whether or no Mr. Drummond was fully conscious of the amount of guilt into which he was to be hurried, we will not say: we only know that certain of his friends, anxious to secure to themselves the services of such a man, at once seized

* That Mr. Drummond is honest in thus representing them we may judge from his own conduct. On Ash Wendnesday last, and the Wednesday in Passion Week, Mr. D. was not at his place in the church; and it was justly argued that he was preparing his Clyde-street address. If his publico-private meeting was right, the church-service would have proved no hinderance. It is a just saying, and one of which we are sure Mr. D. will not deny the truth, that *bene precasse est bene studiisse*: but, perhaps, he may doubt whether to have prayed in church is *bene precasse*.

† That worthy dignitary has spent his life, according to his own words, and who can know better, in admiration of the incomparable Liturgy of the Church of England.

‡ Deut. xii. 8, 9.

Digitized by Google

the opportunity, and invited him to continue his ministrations as an Episcopalian in Edinburgh, disconnected with the Scottish Episcopal Church. After this scheme was made known, the clergy of the diocese published their "Resolutions," which stand second on our list, in which they remonstrated most mildy and firmly with Mr. D. on his past conduct, and warned him that the scheme of his friends was impossible: that such a congregation as they proposed must be *not Episcopal*, but *independent*, and that the whole proceeding would be schism. They warned Mr. Drummond, that, for his friends to assume the name of English Episcopalians, would not entitle them to the pastoral superintendence of an English Bishop. It is difficult to imagine that even laymen could be so ignorant as to need this information: it is wonderful to find Mr. Drummond, a presbyter of the Church of England, as he styles himself, not only needing it, but actually rejecting it, and arguing against it. This he does in his "*Reply to Resolutions*," &c.; wherein he shows, that he has neither taken time to look into his dictionary for the meaning of the word *private*, nor to inform himself on the moral obligation of obedience to canons, and divinely constituted authorities.

Immediately after the "*Reply to Resolutions*" comes the formal apology for the dreadful act of schism, against which the "Resolutions" had been an ineffectual warning. We must repeat the title at length:—

"*Reasons for Withdrawing from the Scottish Episcopal Church, and for Accepting an Invitation to continue his Ministrations in Edinburgh as a Clergyman of the Church of England. With a full Reply to the Charge of Schism. By the Rev.* D. T. K. DRUMMOND, *Oxon., Presbyter of the Church of England.*"

Every word of this title is instructive, and most of all the use of the title "*Presbyter of the Church of England*," in a formal apology for withdrawing from the Scottish Episcopal church; as if either one church or the other were in schism.

Of course we do not again discuss the meaning of the word private, nor the wondrous excellence of extempore prayer, which would be destroyed by the use of the Liturgy of the church; but some things we must note in these "Reasons," and we shall let Mr. D. speak for himself, only interspersing a few remarks.

"Having accepted an invitation to remain in Edinburgh, [says he,] and to become the pastor of a congregation separate from the communion of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, but adhering to the communion of the Church of England, I think it only due to the congregation thus inviting me, as well as just to myself, that I should clearly state the grounds, upon which I have formed my resolutions to accede to their wishes, and on which I am now prepared, through evil report and good report, to take my stand."—*Reasons, &c.* p. 3.

"Let it be understood, then, that my ordination was not in the Scottish Episcopal Church, but in the Church of England; and my temporary acceptance of a charge in connexion with the former in no respects interfered with my original connexion with the latter. If, therefore, I could, consistently

Digitized by Google

with my ordination vow in England, accept such a charge, because no barrier existed against the proper exercise of my ministry, well. But, if a new law is brought into operation, which, in my conscience, I believe to be opposed to such exercise, and which is literally opposed to a similar practice in the church whence I derived my orders, who has a right to condemn me for retiring? And if, on retiring from the communion of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, I think it right to remain on the soil of Scotland, and exercise my ministry as an English minister there, what shadow of blame can rest upon me for so doing? Scotland, for Episcopal service, is NEUTRAL GROUND. The same law which wisely tolerates Bishop Terrot, as an English minister, to serve publicly in Scotland in the Scottish Episcopal Church, tolerates me, as an English minister, to serve publicly in Scotland in the English Episcopal Church. Neither the Scottish nor the English Episcopal Church have the least jurisdiction in the *territory* of Scotland. *That* belongs exclusively, by law, to the *Church of Scotland;* and it is only by sufferance that either Bishop Terrot or myself are permitted to minister in Scotland, the one in the Scottish, the other in the English Episcopal communion. And if the Scottish Episcopal communion frame enactments, which I feel to be subversive of my pastoral usefulness, and which are practically at variance with the freedom enjoyed by my co-presbyters in England, who can condemn me for choosing to remain simply as an English clergyman, and not consenting to continue a Scottish Episcopalian?"—*Reasons, &c.* pp. 8, 9.

"Well, then, the Church of England disowns my service, if I continue to labour as an English minister on Scottish ground, and separate from the Scottish Episcopal Church. Will she peremptorily reject that service, and refuse to recognise me any longer as her servant? I answer firmly and unhesitatingly in the negative. She *will not*, and she *cannot*, do anything of the kind. Two of her most eminent ecclesiastical authorities have declared that no result of the kind *can* arise from such a cause. For the best reasons I prefer the service of the church in which I was originally ordained, to that of the Episcopal Church of Scotland; and I am willing and anxious to perform that service in Scotland. The Church of England declares she has no objections to offer."—*Reasons, &c.* p. 10.

Now let us distinctly assure Mr. Drummond, and the committee of his friends, that when Mr. D. was ordained in England he was ordained a presbyter in the Catholic church, and that the Catholic church is not a national church, or a diocesan church only, but *one* everywhere. That it is not a *law* church, or a *tolerated* church, or a *voluntary* church, or *secession* church, or anything else which will serve Mr. D.'s purpose: but that whether the law of the land do or do not take notice of such an offence as that which Mr. D. has committed, the Church does, and must condemn it. It is clear that the Church, according to Mr. D.'s notion, has its commission from the state, and not from Christ. He has no conception of any authority but that of the law of the land, of statute, or common law—the law that tolerates or establishes a church, in this and that place, as policy, or something even less easily defined, may dictate. Hence he confuses things in themselves different, as thus: "Two of the most eminent *ecclesiastical* authorities," is parallel, in his use of words, with "the highest *legal* authorities in England," who assure Mr. D. of what they have no right to meddle with if they are *legal* authorities,—of what they never could have said if they are *ecclesiastical* authorities,—that he is *in no respect contravening*

Digitized by Google

the discipline of his own church in what he is doing.* The same *legal* authorities would tell him, that, although he has been hitherto tolerated as an Episcopalian, that although he will still be tolerated as an Independant, yet that while he remains in Scotland he is bound to conform with the LAW *church, i. e.* with the Presbyterians. The same *legal* authorities will tell him that he would be equally tolerated as a Papist, as a Baptist, or an Unitarian; and then, according to his own deduction, he would be equally justified whichever he might choose to be. But Mr. D. proceeds:—

"The Church of England and the Episcopal Church of Scotland are two distinct communions."

This is, indeed, a startling declaration to those in either country who are rejoicing in the perfect spiritual unity of the two churches; and is, moreover, somewhat at variance with the fact, that Mr. Drummond, though "a presbyter of the Church of England," has officiated for many years under the license of a Scottish Bishop: but let him proceed:—

"The Church of England and the Episcopal Church of Scotland are two distinct communions, however the advocates for the latter may strive to show that there has been of late years an advance between the two churches to a closer relationship than before. They are severally governed by a code of canons peculiar to each communion; and those who are ordained in the Scottish Episcopal Church are incapable of holding any living, or even serving any curacy, in England. The one is a voluntary, the other is an established church. The one has a varying code of canons, the other has a code fixed by the law of the land. The one clings in its statute book to a popish service, the other, in her Articles, which are fixed by law, protests here, as in her Liturgy and Homilies, against all such doctrine; and thus, he who adheres *ex animo* to the one, cannot adhere *ex animo* to the other. How utterly unfounded, then, is the charge of schism against me, when I am assured, from unquestionable authority in England, that I expose myself to no penalty in the Church there, whence I have derived my orders. That, in the position I now occupy, my original statics, as a minister of the Church of England, is not in the least degree affected."—*Reasons, &c.* pp. 14, 15.

After all that has been adduced of the argument of Mr. Drummond, and of his use of words, we cannot be called upon to examine his use of the word "*schism,*" or the reasons which he gives for his own view of its meaning. It may mean *union* for ought that we know in his judgment, just as *congregational* means *private;* but on the moral question, touching the nature of schism, we have something to say, and we accept most gladly his assertion, that the sin of schism "lies deeper than in the mere breaking up of outward uniformity;" that "whoever differs from that which is revealed, is so far guilty of the sin of schism."†

What then, we may ask, must be that man's character, what his humility, what his obedience to authority, what his reve-

* Pp. 10, 36, 37.

† "Reasons," &c. p. 19.

Digitized by Google

rence, what his honesty of heart, and integrity of purpose, who, when he finds that he has been, unconsciously, as he declares, breaking a law of the Church; and when he is admonished of his error by his ecclesiastical superior, sets himself most pertinaciously, not to reform, but to ripen his error into contumacy, and his contumacy into actual separation from the Church? What must we think of one who puts his self-will so far above authority, and even common sense, as to be betrayed into arguments such as Mr. D. uses? What must we think of one who can enter into a correspondence with his Bishop, with a desire to entangle him in his answers? What shall we think of one who can talk of seeking his Bishop's judgment for the direction of his conduct, when his conduct is all the while diametrically opposed to that law which his Bishop, as the voice of the Church, is laying down; and when all his actions show that his conduct is to be directed, not by the Bishop's judgment, in the plain meaning of the words, but by way of contradiction? What can we think of one who has received the privilege of communion in a church in which he was not ordained, and who can then, at once, without so much as a few days' thought, set up his foreign ordination to justify his rebellion against the church in which he has for years officiated? And if he go beyond rebellion, even to actual formal separation, and labour to show (happily he must labour in vain) that the communion in which he formerly participated, and in which thousands, and tens of thousands, are rejoicing, is a fallacy,* what can we think of him? Shall he think that the sin of schism can be made much deeper by anything than by an attempt to involve whole churches, living at present in christian love and fellowship, in the deadly breach? And then what shall we think of the overweening self-esteem and spiritual pride, not only involved in all this, but actually expressed, in the elevation of self-originated, unauthorized, actually forbidden services, above the ordinances

* Mr. Ramsay, Incumbent of St. John's Church, Edinburgh, and Dean of that Diocese, has well met this weak attempt in a note to his sermon on "*The True Position of the Scottish Episcopal Church.*" "An attempt," says he, "has lately been made to deny the spiritual communion of the two churches, on account of this office being used partially here. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishop of London, and the other Prelates, procured that act of the legislature, declaratory of the spiritual communion, they were perfectly aware of all the circumstances connected with the Scottish communion office, and that the 20th and 34th Articles of their own church recognised, in 'particular, or national churches,' full authority to adopt such a service. In the present position of the two churches, therefore, the English presbyter is equally inexcusable in disclaiming the spiritual authority of a Scottish Bishop within his diocese, as a Scottish presbyter would be, disclaiming the spiritual authority of an English Bishop within an English diocese. The present eminent and admirable Bishop of London has furnished, by his own example, the best practical illustration of this principle. When, during the last summer, (1842,) his Lordship officiated in St. Paul's, Edinburgh, he took the *south* side of the altar, Bishop Terrot taking the north side; nor would he, after his own sermon, pronounce the blessing, *because the Bishop of the diocese was present.*"

Digitized by Google

of the Church; in the presumptuous way in which they are spoken of as preeminently owned and blessed of God, when they are reprobated by the authorities which are ordained of God; in the undisguised way in which private opinion is taken as a sufficient ground of separation, and of throwing all the sin of schism upon the Church? Verily, we know not what may be wanting to give an intensity of sin to the formal act of separation, and to show that the schism, in fact, is also schism in its deepest meaning, if all this be not sufficient.

In truth, the very conduct of Mr. D., and those connected with him in this affair, has been just that which has been always adduced against schismatics, to prove that sin, the sin of the heart, is at the bottom of the formal offence. St. Cyprian did not think that he was justifying the schismatic, when he said, "Quales putas esse eos qui sacerdotum hostes, et contra ecclesiam catholicam rebelles, nec premonentis DOMINI comminatione, nec futuri judicii ultione terrentur? Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, et nata sunt schismata, quam inde, quod sacerdoti DEI non obtemperatur," &c.* In plain English, what sort of characters must we account those, who, being enemies to their Bishops, and revolters from the Catholic church, are terrified neither by the threatenings of the Lord, nor by the vengeance which shall overtake them at the judgment to come. For heresies arise from nothing else than this—and from this have schisms their beginning—that obedience is not given to the Bishop of God. Again, with respect to the temper which schismatics indulge, the same great authority thus contrasts their sin with the sin, lighter in some respects, of the lapsed; and again, in words sadly applicable to Mr. D.'s case:—"The crime of the schismatics is greater than that with which the lapsed appear to be stained; for those do at least deprecate the wrath of God, with all the appointed offices of penance. The lapsed seek after the church as suppliants: schismatics resist the church. The lapsed yielded to force and compulsion: schismatics cleave with full purpose to their sin. The one injures his own soul alone, the other perils the souls of many. The one sees that he has sinned, and weeps and laments; the other, elated in his wilfulness, and rejoicing in his very crimes, separates children from their mother, allures sheep from their fold, and subverts the sacrament of God: and whereas the lapsed has once sinned, the other offends daily."†

And once more, if Mr. D. labours to involve others in his schism, by affecting a fellowship with them, while he has repudiated that of his own Bishop, again he has a parallel in the offence which St. Cyprian describes. "The Bishop is in the

* Cyp. Ep. lx. ad Cornelium, pp. 81, 82. Ed. Benedict.

† See the reasoning of St. Cyprian on the schism in Rome and Carthage, in "The Life and Times of St. Cyprian."—*Passim.*

Digitized by Google

church, and the church in the Bishop; they who are not with the Bishop are not in the church: and they miserably deceive themselves, who, not maintaining communion with the Bishops of God, think, cunningly, to insinuate themselves into the church by communicating with certain others; whereas, the church, which is one and Catholic, will not endure separation and schism, but is united and consolidated, through all its parts, by the cement of an united episcopate."

We have illustrated from his own case Mr. Drummond's proposition, that the sin of schism lies deeper than the formal act of separation. Unhappily, his own conduct, after his schism is avowed, goes to show how the sinful course of feeling and of action ceases not with the formal act. What shall we think of the man, who hurries from his avowed separation from the church to an attack upon her holiest office,—the Eucharistic Liturgy. A churchman fancies, that, to a meek and holy spirit, his very condition, as separated from what he had hitherto thought the body of Christ, must give rise to some such reflections as these: "Either I am justified in my separation, or I am not. If I am not, how dreadful a step have I taken; and though, indeed, with the best intentions, yet how can I hope that God will forgive my sin of ignorance? On the most remote possibility of such an offence, I ought to be humble and retiring; and to feel my situation, not to say *criminal*, yet *peculiar* at the least, and calling for a deep prostration of spirit before my Saviour; enough for me, thus harassed, exercised, torn to pieces, by the step which I seem to have taken on good grounds, and yet against the opinion of all good men; enough for me, if, at the last, I am permitted to feel that my painful sacrifice of individual feeling and affections has been accepted; and the sin of my heart (for what man dares to say that, in his best actions, there are not some admixtures of evil,) has been forgiven. But if I am justified in my separation, then how great the sin of my former life,—of a life past in such errors of faith and practice, that I am obliged, contrary to all first impressions of obedience, and humility, and love, and religion, to renounce the very fellowship of those who, till to-day, were one with myself. A life of silent humiliation surely best becomes my state before God, as it is most in accordance with my own feelings!"

These were the thoughts of an humble, pious man. Mr. Drummond, whose humility we need not further test, doth the reverse of all this: he accepts a call from his friends that he may not be silent, and give his life to repentance for the errors of his past communion; he disturbs, as far as he can, the harmony of the church which he has left, and he labours to set it in opposition to another Catholic church, with which it is in full spiritual communion; and finally, he attacks, in a hastily-written

Digitized by Google

pamphlet, the eucharistic service of the Church in Scotland; a service at which (we are bold to say it) he was not worthy to officiate, while his heart was preparing for schism: a service which he is still less worthy to attack, now that his hand has given formal evidence to the rebellious thoughts of his heart.

With regard to the argument of Mr. D. in the last-named pamphlet, it is impossible, as we have already shown, to argue with him; because argument implies some fixed meaning in words, and some acknowledged rules of reason. We cannot argue with a man who talks of *a* doctrine of transubstantiation:* for transubstantiation is the theological term for that most laboriously defined doctrine of the Romanist, which we dissent from because of its definitiveness and positiveness. But if Mr. D. has any meaning in his expressions, we may confidently refer to Mr. Bagot's letter for their refutation; a letter written before Mr. D.'s pamphlet in point of time, but which answers, by anticipation, all that Mr. Drummond may be supposed to mean; and all that his friends will take him to mean, when he opposes his private judgment to the Liturgy of the Scottish Church. Of Mr. Bagot's letter we may safely say, that as an argument *ad hominem* it is perfect. Stronger things might have been said, and higher ground taken with truth; and *in general* it would be far better to occupy the higher position; but for its particular purpose nothing could be more conclusive. We trust that it will not be Mr. Bagot's last good office, (as it certainly is not the first,) to the Church in Scotland.

Indeed he is even now contending for a principle with which it is not too much to say, that the prosperity of the church in Scotland must stand or fall: whether an irresponsible lay tribunal, technically called "a vestry," is to dictate to the minister of each church in things purely spiritual, and even to deprive him of his office; or whether the priest is to be subject to his Bishop, and the ecclesiastical synod in doctrine, and to officiate with the license of his diocesan. The English reader may be in the dark as to the constitution and powers of the archiepiscopal body of men called "A VESTRY," in a Scottish episcopal church. If we would illustrate it by a parallel, we should say that it was much like the committee of the Church Missionary Society, in its authority as exemplified in Mr. Humphrey's case: if by example, the present sad affair is sufficiently striking.

Mr. Bagot is the minister of St. James's Chapel (we know not whether to call it a church, for it is not consecrated), where he officiates by virtue of his Bishop's license. But it so happens that a majority of the vestry of that chapel sympathize more deeply with Mr. Drummond in his schism, than with Mr. Bagot in his attachment to the Church of Christ. They therefore com-

* The Scottish Comm. Off. Examined, &c. p. 4.

Digitized by Google

mence a system of persecution, intended to drive him out of his charge, because St. James's Chapel would be a very convenient place for Mr. Drummond to preach and pray in, when he is licensed by *them*, the said vestry. Accordingly they commence with citing him before them to answer certain questions touching the Scottish Communion Office, which they know that Mr. Drummond is about to attack: and when he has answered their questions in the "letter" above mentioned, albeit they are well known to be filling certain secular offices, and to be engaged in certain mercantile pursuits, which have no very direct bearing upon the question; and albeit they can show no authority whatever to judge in such matters; they pronounce the answers insufficient, and the writer erroneous in his views. It is intended as *some* safeguard of this minister, that he is usually, *ex officio*, one of the vestry, and Mr. Bagot is a member of the vestry of St. James's. *Therefore*, when the said vestry meet to consider the Scottish Communion Office, Mr. Bagot is *not* summoned. At this meeting, the trust deeds of the chapel were examined, to ascertain whether there was not some clause in it which could enable them to separate the chapel from the Scottish Episcopal Church, on account of the office in question being sanctioned by the Church! Two of the persons thus acting, are actually among the "friends of Mr. Drummond," who signed the requisition to him to officiate among them in separation from the Church: so that they are at the same time as archbishops *in* the Church, and as arch-schismatics *against* the Church:—an inconsistency which does not deter them from having another meeting called, for the same high ecclesiastical purposes. To this second meeting Mr. Bagot was summoned; we transmit Mr. Bagot's reply to the invitation:

"My dear Sir,—I have just received from you a notice to attend a meeting of the vestry of St. James's Chapel, on Tuesday next, in terms of an annexed requisition; which requisition states, that the object of the meeting is to give the members an opportunity of expressing their sentiments in reference, 1st. *To the late interference of Bishop Terrot with Mr. Drummond's prayer-meeting;* and 2dly, *to the discussion on the subject of the Scottish Communion Office.* I must decline to attend any such meeting, as the discussion of such subjects, or the expressing of any opinion thereon, is *altogether foreign to the office, and beyond the powers of the vestry of St. James's Chapel.*

I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"DANIEL BAGOT."

Notwithstanding this warning, the said vestry thus proceed to condemn their priest and their Bishop.

"After long and serious consideration of the subject, divested, as we verily believe of all prejudice, we are firmly persuaded that the late interference of the Bishop (under colour of a canon made since the constitution of St. James's Chapel was drawn up) to put a stop to Mr. Drummond's ministrations in Clyde Street Hall, was uncalled for, and involved a grievous infringement of Christian liberty, detrimental alike to the usefulness of ministers—to the call and conversion of sinners—and to the edification and spiritual improvement of the people of God. Such being our decided opinion, we must ever deplore that

Digitized by Google

our minister should have lent the aid of his name and talents to the support of such a measure."—*Statement, &c.* p. 2.

It is difficult to suppose that the vestry themselves have published these shameless proceedings. Their statement is most painful: every word is a blot. Perhaps nothing is more painful than the hypocrisy running throughout, and exemplified by the following passage:

"As it has always been their wish to conduct themselves towards their pastor with tenderness and affection, and as they have ever deprecated anything like a public discussion with him, they will still exercise forbearance as long as they can do so without compromising principle, and, by God's grace, will patiently endure all that is said or done against them, until they shall see more clearly than they now do, that they are called upon to act on the defensive; and when the proper time for this shall arrive, they trust that they will then be enabled to convince their Christian brethren that it has been for principle, and for principle alone, that they have been contending."—*Statement, &c.* p. 4.

It is by such *tender* and *affectionate* treatment that these worthy men wish to bully Mr. Bagot into a resignation of his charge; and it is said that they are even prepared to carry out their sacrilegious purpose of seeking the award of the law to separate the chapel in which he ministers from the jurisdiction of the bishop.

And what is the position which these persons, with Mr. Drummond's friends, are so anxiously desirous of occupying? They have persuaded themselves that Mr. D. is a "zealous advocate and promoter of every good and christian cause, driven, for conscience sake, to seek, *under the discipline* of the Church of England, from whence he holds his ordination, freedom from hindrance in a course of religious usefulness."* Certainly we should not have attributed Mr. D.'s secession to a love of *discipline;* yet we find that he and his friends are alike determined to hold by what they imagine to be this discipline of the Church of England: let us hear the declaration of his committee:—

"They resolved that they would neither embark Mr. Drummond in their proceedings, by inviting him to become their minister, nor take any decisive step towards forming themselves into a separate congregation, until they should be satisfied, on sufficient authority, that such a course is *consistent with the principles of the Church of England.* With this view they have carefully instituted inquiries in England, in quarters the most authoritative to which they could obtain access. . . . . They have now ascertained satisfactorily, and beyond doubt, that Mr. Drummond, in accepting their invitation, will *in no respect compromise his obligations to the Church of which he is a presbyter;* and that they, in forming themselves into a congregation under his charge, will not *infringe the discipline of the Church of England,* but will be acting *in entire conformity with its principles,* as applicable to the peculiar circumstances of the case."—*Statement, &c.*, p. 10.

Perhaps the original advertisement is even stronger:—

"The committee beg to assure those who have so cordially come forward to support them in their efforts to retain Mr. Drummond's services in

* Statement by Committee of Mr. Drummond's friends, p. 4.

Digitized by Google

Edinburgh, that they have taken effectual means to ascertain whether their views are *strictly in accordance with the principles of the Church of England.* —Edinburgh, Nov. 4, 1842."—*Statement, &c.*, p. 11.

Once more:—

"The proposed congregation must, *by its first principles, look to the Church of England as its guide and rule.*"—*Statement, &c.*, p. 13.

Now, as a matter of fact, Mr. D.'s unauthorized public prayer-meetings would be no more justified by the canons of the Church of England, than by those of the Church in Scotland; so that even in the origin of his disaffection, he would find no support from the "*discipline*" and "*principle*" of the English Church: but, even if in that matter the two churches differed in their laws, how wicked must they think the Church of England, how lax her discipline, how base her principles, if they believe that she can countenance one who is pledged to obey a sister church in actual rebellion; that she can sanction schism, and receive the schismatic to her love and confidence!

Perhaps, however, the committee really mean no more, and perhaps Mr. Drummond means no more, than that the *law* of England will force the *Church* of England to induct Mr. D. into a benefice, if any wicked or ignorant person should present him to one in any English diocese, under the present circumstances. But if this is what they mean, does it not show a base mind, to seek from the secular law, in a case where, of all others, it is true to say, *summum jus summa injuria*,—a power of persecuting a sister Church? For surely it would be nothing short of persecution to thrust such a man as Mr. D. upon any bishop and any diocese in England. The truth is, that they are cowardly enough to take advantage of our weakness. It is, perhaps, true, that, although no bishop would license Mr. D. to a curacy in England, he might be forced by a writ of *quare impedit*, issued from the queen's temporal court, to induct him to a benefice. So in this case, as in many others, the law is opposed to the true interests of the Church, to her discipline, and to her principles. And yet we cannot but think that the time is come, when so much thought is given to such things, that it is more than probable that Mr. D. might find a bishop willing rather to suffer the penalty the common law would impose, than to commit what would certainly be an act of schism, if the Church were free, which would look like schism, and be hard to defend as it is; in inducting one into a living here, who had separated himself from the Church in Scotland. Such a course pursued by an English bishop might be the first step to our emancipation. The voice of the whole Church would be with him, and we cannot doubt that, though much trouble would fall upon him, it would issue in a revision of such laws as are really unjust and oppressive, touching induction to benefices. Meanwhile, if an English bishop should offend against the principles of the Church, being

Digitized by Google

compelled by the tyranny of the law, the Scottish bishops, in this case more happily situated, ought not hastily to construe such an act into schism; since, though Mr. D. had done all that he has done, and much more, against the laws of the Church in any diocese in England, the bishop of any other diocese, nay, of that same diocese, might, in the same way, and quite as justly, be compelled to induct him to a benefice.

As for the notion that Mr. D. and his congregation, living in Scotland, can be under any episcopal jurisdiction except that of their own bishop, it is monstrous. If any bishop, English or American, were to perform any episcopal act, at Mr. D.'s instance, within the diocese of Edinburgh, there could be no apology for him; and in this case, even the common law would not justify the schismatical proceeding. It would not be punished by the queen's courts, but it would be execrated every where, and only tolerated, as Romish bishops are tolerated in their ministrations, in canonically filled dioceses, by the law of the land.

Neither must Mr. D. shelter himself under the example of certain "outstanding congregations," as they are too mildly called;—the remnants of an anomalous state of things in Scotland, before the union of the two churches was so perfectly understood as it is now:—who called themselves of the Church of England, while they lived in secession from their own Bishops. These were not justified by circumstances, though they had many apologies which Mr. D. and his friends have not; and even these have come to see their error. There were three such until lately; one of them has just conformed, and the other two are shortly to be reconciled to the Church.

If Mr. D. and his friends will learn their true position from one who has ever been held a saint in the Church, let them listen to St. Basil,* when he exactly describes their cases as that of *a conventicle.* Speaking of the different opinions held concerning baptism out of the Church, he says—

"Whence they called some heresies, some schisms, some conventicles. Heresies, such as were wholly broken off, and estranged from the Faith itself; schisms, such as disagree as to certain ecclesiastical matters and questions which may be healed; conventicles, congregations formed by insubordinate presbyters or bishops, and undisciplined laity. Thus, if one convicted of a fall were suspended from officiating, and would not submit to the Canons, but claimed to himself preeminence and the right to officiate, and certain leaving the Catholic Church, went off with him, this were a conventicle; a schism were to hold differently from the Church as to repentance; heresies are such as of the Manishees, Valentinians, Marcionites, and these same Pepuzenes; for their difference relates directly to the Faith itself towards God. It seemed good, then, to those from the beginning, wholly to annul the baptism of heretics, but admit that of those who separate, as being yet of the Church, but those in conventicles to join on again to the Church, when amended by adequate repent-

* Quoted from the Oxford Translation of Tertullian's Works, p. 204.

Digitized by Google

ance and conversion, and that so as oftentimes to admit to the same rank, after repentance, such as, having order in the Church, went off with the insubordinate."

May this sad affair exemplify the repentance and reconciliation, as it has done the separation!

As for the internal consequences of this event upon the Church in Scotland, it would be wrong not to lament them, and unfeeling not to sympathise with the mother mourning over her rebellious and wandering children; but yet we may be allowed to see good mingled with the evil. Mr. Drummond's secession will clear the Church of a number of nominal adherents, who cared little for her welfare, and who did little credit to her principles. His friends have not changed their opinions and feelings, but only found occasion to express them, and act upon them. They are, and were, in heart, independents. They hate the Church, and its "*discipline*" and "*principles*." The effort lately and most necessarily made to improve her condition in Scotland they actually *opposed*. They do not even *profess* to love episcopacy; and their adherence to Mr. Drummond *now* is not as to an *English* clergyman, any more than it was before, as to one licensed *by a Scottish Bishop*, but as what they would call a gospel preacher. The conduct of the vestry of St. James's Chapel, originating in Mr. Drummond's schism, shows the working of these feelings. Already true Churchmen in Scotland begin to know who are with the Church and who are against it: this is a true element of strength. The schism itself will not, most probably, last long in its present form: it will most probably deteriorate into something too unlike the Church to be thought of, even by her, without a stain upon her vesture. An abiding schism is made of sterner stuff than Mr. D. and his friends; and cannot rest, even in its falsehood, upon such grounds as we have been detailing. The Church is left the stronger and the more compact by their secession; and though we must regret their fall, still we may trust that all will turn to the prosperity of our Zion; and even in the dark edges of the cloud that is drawn over her for a time, we see the golden fringes of the greater light which we trust may break out upon her.

The Chinese: a General Description of China and its Inhabitants. By John Francis Davis, *Esq. F.R.S. &c. late his Majesty's Chief Commissioner in China.* London: Charles Knight and Co. Ludgate-street.

If there is one important part of our duty, which as Churchmen we have hitherto neglected to perform, it is that part of it which consists in supplying those of our countrymen, whose lot it is to

Digitized by Google

sojourn in distant lands, with the rites, the liturgy, and the apostolical succession of the Catholic Church, in all their fulness and ancient integrity. In no instance, perhaps, have the effects of neglecting this most important part of our duty been more painfully felt than in our intercourse with the inhabitants of China. In consequence of this neglect we have appeared to the Chinese in no other point of view than that of a selfish and money-getting people, who are remarkably tenacious of our rights and dignity, and who, if we should deem either the one or the other in the least degree infringed, are ready to enforce them at the canon's mouth and at the point of the bayonet. Although there have been, doubtless, many *individuals* of sterling and unquestioned piety among those of our countrymen who have resided in China; yet *as a nation* we have hitherto given the Chinese no evidence whatever that we possess the inestimable boon of Christianity in its apostolic and primitive purity; or that *as a nation* we are sensibly alive to the importance of the duty of imparting to others the rites, the liturgy, and the apostolic succession of the Catholic Church, which the Divine Head of it has founded upon a rock, and ordained to be *the instrument* of promulgating his gospel throughout the world. No proofs have hitherto been given to them by us as *a Church and nation,* that we set *any value* upon that *divine institution,* whose principles ought to be interwoven into all our public negotiations; to sanctify all our public acts; and, by its taking a prominent place in all our dealings with other nations, to make it plainly to appear that, *as a people,* we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.

If, however, *the past* is irremediable, it is cheering to know that steps are about to be taken in high quarters to guard against this shameful neglect in our *future* intercourse with China; and the following announcement of the Ecclesiastical Gazette for December, was, we doubt not, read with unfeigned satisfaction by every true Churchman in the land who perused it:—

"THE CHURCH IN CHINA.

"We have much satisfaction in being able to state, that it is in contemplation to make an immediate effort to raise sufficient funds for planting a branch of the English Church in the new settlement of Hong-Kong, with a view not merely to provide our own countrymen, who may be resident there, with the means of grace and edification, but to the more effectual introduction of our holy religion into the vast empire of China."

It is confidently believed that *the facts* which will now be brought forward from the book which it is our purpose to review, are of such a nature as to urge every true Churchman who may read them to employ every effort in his power towards raising sufficient funds for the noble object announced in the above declaration of the Ecclesiastical Gazette, at a period when our existing relations with China seem to be the most favourable

Digitized by Google

that have ever yet occurred to us, of more effectually introducing our holy religion among that ancient and remarkable people.

We propose to arrange our observations on, and our extracts from, the interesting volume before us under the following heads.

I. The early visitors of China.
II. Brief sketch of English intercourse.
III. Roman Catholic missions.
IV. Certain institutions and customs of the Chinese, which seem peculiarly favourable to the reception of the principles of the Catholic Church, especially when taught, as by the Anglican branch of it, in their primitive purity.
V. Some remarks which do not come under any of the previous heads.

I. The early visitors of China.

"It is to the Arabs that we owe the first distinct account of China, and of its peculiar institutions and customs. Their far-extended conquests brought them to the confines of that remote empire; and the enlightenment of science and literature which they possessed in no small degree during the eighth and ninth centuries, led many individuals among them to explore unknown countries, and to record what they had seen.

"We possess an interesting specimen in Renaudot's translation from the itineraries of two Arabian travellers, in the years 850 and 877. These bear internal evidences of truth and accuracy no less indisputable than those which distinguish the relations of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo; and as they have reference to a much earlier period than even his, must be considered to possess a very high degree of interest.

"We can perceive a remarkable identity between the Chinese, as they are therein described, and the same people as we know them at the present day, although a period of one thousand years, nearly, has since elapsed; nor can the occurrence of one or two remarkable discrepancies be considered as any impugnment of the general veracity of these travellers, where there is, upon the whole, so much of sound and correct information.

"The contradictions have in fact evidently proceeded from some confusion in the original manuscripts, by which, observations that have reference to other countries lying in their route, and which are true of those countries at the present time, have become incorporated with the account of China itself.

"The Arabians describe a city called Canfu, which was probably Canton, at which place a very ancient ruin exists to this day.

"The frequency of fires, and the long detention of ships, from various causes, as stated by them, might be related of that emporium of foreign trade even at present.

"'This city,' they observe, 'stands on a great river, some days distant from the entrance, so that the water here is fresh.' It seems at that time to have been the port allotted to the Arabian merchants who came by sea; and the travellers notice 'many unjust dealings with the merchants who traded thither, which, having gathered the force of a precedent, there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised it upon the foreigners and the masters of the ships.' We learn that the port was at length forsaken in consequence of the extortions of the *mandarins* of those days, and 'the merchants returned in crowds to Siraf and Oman.'"—Pp. 6, 7.

A colony of the Jews are said to have reached China as early as 200 years before Christ, in the time of the Hou dynasty.

Digitized by Google

"In the eighteenth volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* there is contained an account of the pains taken by the Jesuits in China to investigate the origin of this remarkable colony of Jews at Kae-foong-foo. The most successful in his researches was Père Gizani, who, in a letter dated 1704, thus wrote: 'I returned their visit in the *le-pai-sou*, that is in their synagogue, where they were all assembled, and where I held with them long conversations. I saw their inscriptions, some of which were in Chinese and the rest in their own language. They shewed me their religious books, and permitted me to enter even into the most secret place of their synagogue, whence they themselves (the commonalty) are excluded.

"There is a place reserved for the chief of the synagogue, who never enters there except with profound respect.

"They told me that their ancestors came from a kingdom of the West, called the kingdom of Judah, which Joshua conquered after having departed from Egypt, and passed the Red Sea and the desert; that the number of Jews who emigrated from Egypt was about 600,000 men. They assured us that their alphabet had twenty-seven letters, but that they commonly made use of only twenty-two, which accords with the declaration of S. Jerome, that the Hebrews have twenty-two letters, of which five are double. When they read the Bible in their synagogue, they cover the face with a transparent veil, in memory of Moses, who descended from the mountain with his face covered, and who thus published the Decalogue and the Law of God to his people: they read a section every Sabbath day. Thus the Jews of China, like the Jews of Europe, read all the law in the course of the year. He who reads places the *Ta-king* (great sacred book) on the chair of Moses; he has his face covered with a very thin cotton veil; at his side is a prompter, and some places below a Moula, to correct the prompter should he err.

"They spoke to me respecting Paradise and Hell in a very foolish way. There is every appearance of what they said being drawn from the Talmud.

"I spoke to them of the Messiah promised in Scripture, but they were very much surprised at what I said; and when I informed them that His name was Jesus, they replied, that mention was made in the Bible of a holy man named Jesus, who was the son of Sirach; but they knew not the Jesus of whom I spoke."—Pp. 8, 9.

We now proceed to extract a passage which brings before our notice two early visitors to China, in the persons of two Venetian travellers.

"Most of our readers will probably be aware that in the reign of Coblai Khan, the Mongul emperor of China, Nicolas and Mathew Paolo a Polo, two noble Venetians, reached that court: they were extremely well received, and invited to return to China, on their departure from Europe. In 1274, they accordingly came back, bearing letters from Pope Gregory X., and accompanied by young Marco, son to one of them.

"The youth, by his talents and good conduct, became a favourite with the Khan, and was employed by him for seventeen years; after which he, with some difficulty, obtained permission to return to his own country. The accounts which he gave at Venice of the vast wealth and resources of the Chinese empire, appeared so incredible to Europeans in those days, that his tale was most undeservedly discredited, and he obtained the nickname of 'Messer Marco Millione.' "—P. 9.

We now proceed to give an extract respecting the arrival of the Portuguese,—the first Europeans who obtained a footing in China.

"It was not many years after the passage of the Cape by De Gama, that the Portuguese, in 1516, made their first appearance at Canton. Their early conduct was not calculated to impress the Chinese with any idea favourable to

Digitized by Google

Europeans; and when, in course of time, they came to be competitors with the Dutch and English, the contests of mercantile avarice tended to place them all in a worse point of view. To this day the character of the Europeans is represented as that of a race of men intent alone on the gains of commercial traffic, and regardless altogether of the means of attainment. Struck by the perpetual hostilities which existed amongst these foreign adventurers, assimilated in other respects by a close resemblance in their costume and manners, the government of the country became disposed to treat them with a degree of jealousy and exclusion which it had not deemed necessary to be exercised towards the more peaceable and well-ordered Arabs, their predecessors."—P. 10.

The above passage is full of instruction, and only shews the importance of the step now proposed, in order that the above stigma may be wiped off, from England at least; and that it may be proved to the Chinese, that some amongst us have other and more disinterested objects in view than the mere gain of traffic.

"The first Portuguese embassy, and of course the first of any European power by sea, to Pekin, took place as early as 1520, in the person of Thomas Pirez; the object being to establish a factory at Canton, as well as at Macao. Advices, however, had preceded him of the ill conduct and violence of Simon de Andrade; and after a course of humiliation, the unfortunate Pirez was sent back under custody to Canton; the provincial government of which place thus early shewed its jealousy of any attempt on the part of strangers to communicate with the court. Pirez, on his arrival, was robbed of his property and thrown into prison, and ultimately, it is supposed, put to death.

"The various embassies which have since followed, in three successive centuries, to Peking, have met with different kinds of treatment; but, in whatever spirit conducted, they have been equally unsuccessful in the attainment of any important point of negotiation."—P. 12.

"It was about the middle of the sixteenth century that the Portuguese established themselves at Macao,—the only European colony that, with very limited success, has been planted on the coast of China; it seems that they had temporary shelter on shore as early as 1537. By bribery and solicitation, leave was obtained for erecting sheds to dry goods, which were introduced under the name of tribute. The foreigners were by degrees permitted to build substantial houses; and the petty mandarins connived at an increasing population, the establishment of an internal government, and the influx of priests, with their endeavours to convert the Chinese."—Pp. 12, 13.

"The Spaniards, although they possess the privilege of trading both at Macao and Canton, as well as at Amoy, have derived less advantage from an intercourse with China than most other nations, notwithstanding the vast advantage which they possess in the locality of Manilla, and the Philippine islands, within a few days sail of China, and approached with equal facility in either monsoon.—P. 16.

"The Dutch met with little success in their attempts to open a trade with China, until 1624, when, by means of assistance from Batavia, they were enabled to form a settlement on the west side of Formosa, opposite to the Chinese coast. The vicinity of this to Manilla and Macao excited the jealousy of the Spaniards and Portuguese, as well as of the Chinese government. Liberty of trade with that empire was at first denied them; but the Dutch annoyed the coast with their ships, until it was agreed that, on their evacuating the Pescadores, (some small islands between the main land and Formosa,) and confining themselves to the latter, liberty of commerce should be granted them."—P. 16.

It appears that the intercourse of Russia with China is

Digitized by Google

entirely restricted to the land journey through Siberia; and that no maritime intercourse with the Chinese is allowed them.

"The most celebrated early embassies from Russia, overland, were those of Isbrand Ides, in 1693; and of Ismaleff, sent by Peter the Great, in 1719, an account of whose mission is well given by Mr. Bell, of Antermony. The ambassador in both instances was treated with a degree of respect unusual at Peking, and demonstrative of the estimation in which the power of Russia is held there. Catherine the First, in 1727, despatched Count Vladislavetch to China, as ambassador-extraordinary, and by him a treaty was concluded, by which the Russians were to have a church at Peking, with an establishment of priests; and four young Russians were to remain at the residence of the embassy, for the purpose of studying the language, and serving as interpreters between the two nations."—P. 18.

II. Brief sketch of English intercourse.

"We now proceed to give a sketch of the early intercourse between Great Britain and China; the first attempt to establish which seems to have been as far back as 1596, when three ships were fitted out, in charge of Benjamin Wood, bearing letters from Queen Elizabeth to the emperor; but the ships were lost on the way out, and no renewal of the project appears to have taken place.

"The oldest record of the Company at Canton is dated April 6th, 1637, and commences thus:—'In the latitude of 6½ degrees we took leave of the ship *Planter*, whom God, we hope, hath conducted in safety. Upon her was laden as per invoice appeareth,' &c. This was one of a fleet of five ships, of which the remaining four, the *Dragon*, the *Sun*, the *Catherine*, and the *Ann*, proceeded on their way to China, under the command of Captain Weddel. They first arrived at Acteen in Sumatra."—P. 19.

In consequence of the misrepresentations of the Portuguese, the English ships were fired upon by the Chinese, and provisions were denied them. The bravery of our British sailors soon brought the Chinese to their senses.

"The result was, that the blame of the late skirmish was laid by the mandarins on the slanders of the Portuguese, and the captured guns being restored, the ships were supplied with cargoes."

"No further trade, however, ensued for many years. Soon after this period the interior of China was distracted by the contests between the Manchow Tartars and the Chinese, while the coasts were overrun by large fleets of pirates.

"Another attempt was made by the English in 1664, to establish a commercial intercourse at Canton."—P. 20.

It appears that this attempt also proved unsuccessful; and it is supposed that the Portuguese, as usual, were instrumental in its failure.

"The records then shew that, in 1670, a trade was established at Taguan, or Formosa, with the chief Kosbinga, who, as we have before seen, had expelled the Dutch from that island in 1662."—P. 20.

"It seems that this trade at length proved so unprofitable and vexatious, that the Company, in 1681, ordered their establishments at Formosa and Amoy to be withdrawn, and a trade, if possible, established at Canton and Hockchue, or Fokchow."—P. 21.

"Soon after the Tartar conquest we find it stated by the mandarins, in reply to certain inquiries on the subject, that 'a present to the emperor *of strange fowls and beasts* would be more acceptable than a ship's lading of gold.' There can be no doubt that gifts of this kind are extremely well suited to Peking; and, on the occasion of any future mission, it would be well to keep the advice

Digitized by Google

in view, instead of confining the selection of presents *entirely* to works of art, as they were in our past embassies, most of them unintelligible and useless to the emperor and his court."—P. 21.

"It appears, from a letter of the Court of Directors to the Factory in China, dated 23d November, 1699, that a Consul's Commission was sent out to the chief of the Company's council; nor does any notice appear on the records of this having been subsequently recalled. They say, 'We have obtained a commission from His Majesty to constitute you, and those who shall be hereafter approved by us, as our President in China, to be the king's minister, a Consul for the English nation, with all powers requisite thereunto.'"—P. 21.

"From the beginning of this century, until 1727, many very severe grievances were suffered at Canton; and although the trade continued to proceed, it was with frequent interruptions."—P. 22.

"At the close of 1741, His Majesty's ship *Centurion*, under the command of Commodore Anson, arrived off Macao, in the prosecution of her voyage round the world, being the first British man-of-war that visited China.

"The interesting details of that ship's stay, are well given in the popular history of the voyage, and familiar to most readers."—P. 23.

"One of the principal objects of Earl Macartney's mission to Peking, was to obtain, if possible, the permission of the Emperor to trade at Ningpo, Chusan, Tien-tsin, and other places, besides Canton.

"All discussions upon these points, and, indeed, every matter of business, were studiously avoided by the Chinese minister and mandarins, during the residence of the embassy at Peking; but in his letter to the King of England, the Emperor did not omit to state distinctly, that the British commerce must be strictly limited to the port of Canton."—P. 31.

"As it was hoped the embassy had not been without effect in conciliating the good-will of the Chinese to the British trade, it was resolved, shortly afterwards, to follow it up by a letter from His Majesty to the Emperor, accompanied by presents. These accordingly reached Canton, in January, 1795."—P. 31.

"The conduct and disposition of the Chinese government for some time past, had been such as to prove that the commercial interests of the natives in China were exposed to the utmost hazard, from the chance of perpetual interruption at the will of a capricious and despotic set of delegates, who kept the court of Peking in profound ignorance of their own oppressive and arbitrary conduct towards the Company's trade.

"To these circumstances are to be attributed the embassy of Lord Amherst, in 1816, of which the object was to secure, if possible, the commerce of Great Britain upon a solid and equitable footing, under the cognizance of the Emperor, and with the advantage of a ready appeal to him in case of need. The design of a mission to Peking had been for some time entertained by His Majesty's ministers, and the Court of Directors, when the arrival from China of the despatches of 1815, confirmed them in the resolution.

"It was hoped, as a collateral object, and one within the range of possibility, that an English resident might be admitted at the capital; or permission be obtained for trading to some of the ports on the north-east coast.

"The embassy left England in the *Alceste* frigate, on the 10th of February, attended by the *Lyra* brig, and the *General Hewett*, a Company's ship, and arrived off Macao on the 12th of July, when it was joined by Sir George Staunton, the first Commissioner, as well as by the Chinese Secretaries, and the other gentlemen who were appointed from England to accompany it to Peking. The ships reached the gulph of Pechelee on the 28th of July, but the ambassador did not land until the 9th of August.

"On the 12th the mission reached Tien-tsin, where a feast was conferred on the part of the Emperor, and an attempt made to bring about the *practice* of the *Ko-tow*, or prostration, before a yellow screen, preparatory to the grand performance of it before the Emperor.

"This, however, was successfully avoided, on the plea that Earl Macartney had not been required to execute this act of fealty and vassalage."—P. 39.

Digitized by Google

"On the 22d of April, 1834, the trade of the East India Company with China, after having lasted just 200 years, terminated according to the provisions of the new act, and several private ships soon afterwards quitted Canton with cargoes of tea for the British Islands."—P. 51.

"In the year 1833, a bill was carried through parliament, by Mr. Grant, (now Lord Glenelg,) President of the India Board, by which it was enacted, 'That it should be lawful for His Majesty, by commission under his royal sign-manual, to appoint not exceeding three superintendents of the trade of His Majesty's subjects with China, and to give to such superintendents certain powers and authorities.'"—P. 52.

It appears, from the volume before us, that the first chief commissioner appointed by the English government, was Lord Napier, who died at Macao, in a short time after his arrival. His lordship was succeeded by Mr. Davis; the successor of Mr. Davis, was Sir George Robinson; the chief commissioner who succeeded Sir George Robinson, was Captain Elliot.

As, however, this brings us to modern events, with which from their recent occurrence the public are well acquainted, we will give no extracts from this part of the work, and will proceed at once to direct the attention of our readers to the third division of our subject.

III. Roman Catholic Missions.

"The first Pope who appears to have sent a mission for the conversion of the Tartars, or Chinese, to the Roman Catholic faith, was Innocent IV. He despatched Giovanni Carpini, a monk, through Russia, in the year 1246, to Baatu Khan, on the banks of the Volga, from whence they were conducted to the Mongol Tartar Court, just as the Great Khan was about to be installed.

"Carpini was astonished by the display of immense treasures, and having been kindly treated, was sent back with a friendly letter."—P. 9.

"In 1253, Rubrugius was in like manner despatched by St. Louis, during the Crusade to the Holy Land, with directions to procure the friendship of the Mongols. He reached, at length, the court of the Great Khan, where, like his predecessor, he observed the near resemblance of Lama worship to the forms of Roman Catholicism, and concluded that it must be derived from a spurious Christianity—perhaps that of the Nestorians."—P. 9.

"John de Corvino, despatched to Asia, in 1288, by Pope Nicholas IV., was the first successful promoter of the Roman Catholic faith in China; he arrived at Cambalu, (as Peking was called by the Tartars,) and met with a kind reception from the Emperor, notwithstanding the hostility of the jealous Nestorians. He was allowed to build a church, furnished with steeple and bells, and is said to have baptized some thousands of converts, as well as to have instructed numbers of children in the Latin language, and the tenets of Christianity. The news of his progress reached Clement IV., on his accession to the popedom, and he was immediately appointed Bishop of Cambalu, with a numerous body of priests, who were despatched to join him in his labours. On the death of Corvino, however, it is probable that no successor, possessed of the same enterprise and industry, was ready to succeed him; for the establishment which he had formed appears to have ceased, or, at least, to have sunk into insignificance."—P. 10.

"In 1552, the famous Apostle of the East, Sir Francis Xavier, concerning whom so many miracles have been related, died at Shan-Shan, or St. John's. The remains of his tomb are seen there at this day; and the Bishop of Macao used to make an annual visit there, for the purpose of celebrating mass, and bringing away a portion of the consecrated earth."—P. 12.

"In 1579, Miguel Ruggiero, an Italian Jesuit, reached Canton, and in a few years was joined by Mathew Ricci, who may justly be considered as the founder of the Catholic mission."—P. 14.

Digitized by Google

"Other Jesuits joined the mission, and established themselves at different points, from Canton to Peking, proceeding quietly, and with great success, as long as they could remain unmolested by the hot and indiscreet zeal of the several orders of monks, who, in their haste to attack the Chinese prejudices, ensured their own discomfiture.

"The most distinguished of the Jesuits for his talents and knowledge, was Father Adam Schaal, by birth a German. He reached Peking at the time when the last Chinese dynasty of Ming was about to be expelled by the Manchow Tartars. Through the influence of a Chinese Christian, named *Paul Siu*, who was a Colao, or principal mandarin, and by his own extensive knowledge of the physical sciences, Schaal became a great favourite at court, and even retained his place after the Tartars had possessed themselves of the empire."—P. 14.

"Permission was given to the Jesuits to build two churches at Peking, and new labourers were allowed to enter the country: among these was Ferdinand Verbiest, another German Jesuit, and a man of distinguished science, who became coadjutor of Adam Schaal.

"On the accession of Kanghi, then a boy of eight or nine years of age, under the tutorship of four Tartars, the disputes which ensued with the intolerant Dominicans produced an unfavourable impression on the minds of the rulers of China.

"Accusations were preferred against the missionaries, and their zeal to make converts was considered as dangerous.

"It is said that Schaal died of chagrin, and that Verbiest was compelled for a time to abscond. When Kanghy, however, a monarch of enlarged and liberal mind, came to exercise the government in his own person, Verbiest was made president of the astronomers; and through his influence the expelled missionaries were allowed to return to their churches. By the aid of Verbiest the emperor was enabled to cast guns, and to compose a mathematical work, with tables of logarithms.

"During this reign, although the emperor was never himself a convert, the state of Christianity in China was vastly more flourishing than it is at present, after the lapse of a century and a half. It was placed by Khangi on the same footing of toleration with Mahomedanism and Budhism."—P. 15.

"The decree of Kanghy, in 1692, permitting the exercise of Christianity, was abrogated by his successor, Yoong-Ching, who expelled the missionaries from the provinces.

"These spiritual delegates, meanwhile, had been in constant collision with the native authorities throughout the empire, and perpetually at strife among themselves; and the jurisdiction of the field which they occupied became also a subject of discussion between the kings of Portugal and the popes.

"In consequence of the disputes which had arisen, from a very early period, among the Jesuits and the other orders concerning Chinese rites and ceremonies, Matthew Ricci had drawn up for the mission a number of rules, in which he considered the objectionable customs as merely civil and secular. Morales, however, a Spanish Dominican, declared them to be idolatrous, and as such, they were condemned by Innocent X. Martinez, a Jesuit, subsequently proved that these rites were of a civil nature, in which light they came to be allowed by Alexander VII."—P. 15.

"The missionaries first recommended themselves to the favour of the emperor and his court, by amusing them with a variety of philosophical contrivances of an ingenious nature. In dioptrics and catoptrics, they exhibited the effects produced by various lenses; the artificial rainbows resulting from the transmission of the rays of light through prisms, with their subsequent reflections; the uses of the telescope and the microscope; and, what pleased the ladies of the palace more than anything, they contrived a *camera obscura*, by means of which every object passing outside was made visible on a flat table within the apartments. In hydrostatics and hydraulics, they constructed pumps, syphons, and fountains, some of which were applied to purposes of use

Digitized by Google

or ornament about the emperor's residence. In dialling, too, the Jesuits gave them lessons which they have not yet forgotten; as we often see in their shops a contrivance attached to their compass, with which the hour of the day is roughly ascertained by the shadow of a string, which serves as the gnomon of a dial.

"But it was in astronomy that the greatest assistance was derived from European science and skill.

"When Père Verbiest arrived at Peking, he found an Arabian astronomer employed in the construction of the Imperial Almanac. This person was so ignorant of his business, that he had inserted an intercalary month in the current lunar year, when it should have consisted of only twelve lunations.

"This afforded Verbiest an occasion for proving the superiority of his own science, and having the calendar altered, though with some difficulty, the Chinese being sorely puzzled to know why they should be deprived of a whole month. The Jesuit proved the ignorance of the Arabian by challenging him to calculate, before-hand, the length of the shadow of a gnomon on a particular day, at noon. The professor failed altogether, and was succeeded in his office by the missionary, whose calculation proved nicely accurate; and thus the Europeans became established at the head of the astronomical board, from which they were dismissed only a few years since.

"The instruments constructed under the direction of Verbiest, for the imperial observatory at Peking, have been described by Le-Compte. They consisted of an armillary sphere, an equinoctial sphere, a celestial globe, an azimuth horizon, and a quadrant and sextant."—Pp. 304, 305.

From the preceding extracts *some very important and instructive lessons* may be learned by ourselves in the foundation of the proposed mission.

Two of the most important I consider to be the following:—

1. We should learn the great importance of having men well skilled in physical science attached to the Chinese mission.

2. To weigh well, beforehand, the difficult question; whether *any or all* of the Chinese rites may be considered of a *civil* nature; or whether to make such a concession would involve a compromise of the truth?

Doubtless this last subject will have the grave consideration of the right reverend prelate who shall be appointed to China (should the necessary funds for founding a bishopric be obtained); but the *onus* of coming to a decision upon such a *momentous* question, ought not to be placed on the shoulders of *any one* prelate, however holy and well qualified for his office.

It was a parallel question to this, as it appears to me, which was submitted to the first council of the Church which ever met, and which was convoked at Jerusalem, with St. James at its head; and the bare fact that such an important question will have to be settled *in limine*, before any successful mission to China can be formed, ought surely to be a convincing argument to every thoughtful Churchman, *of the vast importance of the speedy restoration of the Convocation*, and of the wholesome exercise of its *apostolic* functions by the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church.

IV. Certain institutions and customs of the Chinese, which seem peculiarly favourable to the reception of the principles of

Digitized by Google

the Catholic Church, especially when taught, as by the Anglican branch of it, in their primitive purity.

1. The peaceful and orderly habits of the Chinese.

"As regards the peaceful and orderly character by which the Chinese, as a nation, are distinguished, there is much truth in another remark of Montesquieu, namely, that the government had this object in view when it prescribed a certain code of ceremonies and behaviour to its subjects; 'a very proper method of inspiring mild and gentle dispositions, of maintaining peace and good order, and of banishing all the vices which spring from an asperity of temper.' They certainly are, upon the whole, among the most good humoured people in the world, as well as the most peaceable; and the chief causes of this must be sought for in their political and social constitutions. Of the sixteen lectures periodically delivered to the people, the second is 'on union and concord among kindred;' the third, 'on concord and agreement among neighbours;' the ninth, 'on mutual forbearance;' the sixteenth, 'on reconciling animosities.' Here perhaps we may perceive, also, the sources of their characteristic timidity, which is accompanied by its natural associates, the disposition to cunning and fraud."

The Chinese have lived so much in peace, that they have acquired, by habit and education, a more than common horror of political disorder.

"'Better be a dog in peace than a man in anarchy,' is a common maxim. 'It is a general rule,' they say, 'that the worst of men are fondest of change and commotion, hoping that they may thereby benefit themselves; but by adherence to a steady, quiet system, affairs proceed without confusion, and bad men have nothing to gain. They are, in short, a *nation of steady conservatives*.'" —P. 100.

From this peaceful and orderly character of the Chinese we may learn, that not only would the attempts of rival sects be worse than useless; but the Chinese mission must by no means consist of rival parties of Churchmen.

If Christianity is ever successfully introduced into the vast empire of China, it can only be done by its being presented to them as it was presented by the missionaries of the ancient Church, *as a religion essentially one.*

When, therefore, it was said that the peaceful character of the Chinese is favourable to the reception of the principles of the Catholic Church, this assertion was only made on the hypothesis that the *apostolic oneness* of the Church would be rigidly adhered to; if otherwise, this very orderly disposition will be not only unfavourable, but an *effectual bar*, to their conversion.

This is proved from *the fact* established by the foregoing extracts, viz., that the contentions of the different orders of monks was *the main cause* of the failure of the Roman Catholic missions.

2. The *patriarchal* character of the Chinese government.

"It is well known that *parental authority* is the model or type of political rule in China; that natural restraint to which almost every man finds himself subject at the earliest dawn of his perceptions. Influenced, perhaps, by a consideration of the lasting force of early impressions on the human mind, the legislators of the country have thought that they should best provide for the

Digitized by Google

etability of their fabric, by basing it on that principle which is the most natural and familiar to every one from infancy, and the least likely even to be called in question."—P. 96.

"There is nothing more remarkable in their ritual, and in their criminal code, than the exact parallel which is studiously kept up between the relations in which every person stands to his parents and to the emperor.

"For similar offences against both he suffers similar punishments; at the death of both he mourns the same time, and goes the same period unshaven; and both possess nearly the same power over his person. Thus he is bred up to civil obedience, 'tenero ab ungui,' with every chance of proving a *quiet* subject at least. Such institutions certainly do not denote the existence of much liberty; but if peaceful obedience and universal order be the sole objects in view, they argue, on the part of the governors, some knowlege of human nature, and an adaptation of the means to the end.

"In the book of Sacred Instructions, addressed to the people, founded on their ancient writings, and read publicly by the principal magistrates on the days that correspond to the new and full moon, the sixteen discourses of which it consists are *headed* by that which teaches the duties of children to parents, of juniors to elders, and (thence) of the people to the government."—Pp. 96, 97.

"But the government does not confine itself to preaching; domestic rebellion is treated in nearly all respects as treason, being, in fact, *petit treason*."—P. 97.

Does not the existence of such a *national* principle of action as this, seem to be the very best *pioneer* for the reception of that divine, orderly, and withal *parental* system which is presented by the catholic church?

Surely is not that *filial* feeling of obedience and reverence with which they regard their parents and the emperor, the same in kind with that which distinguishes the true Churchman in the *filial* obedience and reverence with which he regards the Church, by whose *instrumentality* he was born again of water and of the Spirit, as well as the *filial* obedience and reverence always paid by him to our holy Fathers, the Bishops, and Pastors of Christ's flock.

V. Some remarks which do not come under any of the previous heads.

1. Idolatry and degrading superstitions which now prevail in China.

(*a.*) What may be called the Confucian or State religion.

The titles of the emperor are, "Son of Heaven," the "Ten Thousand Years." "He is worshipped with divine honours, and with the attribute of ubiquity throughout the empire."

Mr. Davis gives a description, by Sir George Staunton, of the solemnities witnessed by him on the emperor's birth-day, which thus concludes:—

"The whole had, indeed, a grand effect. During the performance, and at particular signals, nine times repeated, all the persons present prostrated themselves nine times, except the ambassador and his suite, who made a profound obeisance. But he whom it was meant to honour continued, as if it were in imitation of the Deity, invisible the whole time. The awful impression made upon the minds of men by this apparent worship of a fellow mortal, was not effaced by any immediate scenes of sport or gaiety, which were postponed to the following day."—P. 102.

Digitized by Google

"As Pontifex Maximus, or high-priest of the empire, the 'Son of Heaven' alone, with his immediate representatives, sacrifices in the government temples, with victims and incense.

"These rites, preceded as they are by fasting and purification, bear a perfect resemblance to the offerings with which we are familiar in the history of antiquity."

(*b.*) The religion of Fŏ, or Budhism.

"The present condition in China of the religion of Fŏ is very far from flourishing; and the extensive and magnificent establishments, which have been founded in former times, are evidently in a state of dilapidation and decay.

"It is rarely that one meets with any of their nine or seven-storied pagodas in tolerable repair, though one or two of these striking and elegant objects occur in almost every landscape.

"Between Macao and Canton there are no less than four or five nine-storied pagodas, on elevated points by the river side, and every one of them is in a state of ruin."—P. 221.

"The colossal images were made of clay, and tolerably well gilt. There were great drums and cylindrical bells in the temple. We were present at the vespers of the priests, which they chanted in the Pāli language, not unlike the Latin service of the Romish church. They held their rosaries in their hands, which rested folded upon their breasts. One of them had a small bell, by the tinkling of which their service was regulated; and they occasionally beat the drum and large bell to rouse Budha's attention to their prayers. The same words were a hundred times repeated. None of the officiating persons shewed any interest in the ceremony, for some were looking around, laughing and joking, while others muttered their prayers. The few people who were present, not to attend the worship, but to gaze at us, did not seem in the least degree to feel the solemnity of the service."—P. 228.

(*c*) "The *third* religious or philosophic persuasion that has established itself in China, is that of *Taou*, or of *Laou-Keun*, which was the name, or rather title, of the founder. This person appeared nearly simultaneously with Confucius, by whom he is mentioned, about 500 years before. As far as can be gathered of the real drift of his doctrines, he seems to have inculcated a contempt of riches and honours, and all worldly distinctions; and to have aimed, like Epicurus, at subduing every passion that could interfere with personal tranquillity and self-enjoyment."—P. 229.

(*d.*) Mahomedanism.

2. The *vast amount* of population among whom the above mentioned idolatry and superstition is now found to prevail.

"From his account it may be inferred that the palaces and gardens of the Chinese emperor are worthy of the master of so many millions of subjects, which have been estimated at a third of the human race. So much of the capital, however, being devoted to the emperor, it is not easy to find lodging within the remainder for the three millions of people, which some have stated that its walls and those of the Southern or Chinese city contain together."—P. 176.

"By the late census, according to returns sent from all the provinces, the population amounted to 307,467,200!"—P. 351.

Upwards of three hundred millions of inhabitants! The population of Great Britain now exceeds thirteen millions; but what is that compared with the population of China?

When St. Paul was at Athens was his spirit stirred within him when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry? And here we have not a city only, but *one third of the human race* in a

Digitized by Google

similarly awful condition? A strong parallel exists, in one respect, between the case of the Athenians and that of the Chinese. The Athenians were not more remarkable for their worldly wisdom, than for their ignorance of the true God: and the worldly wisdom manifested by the Chinese, in many of their laws and customs, is no less remarkable than is the folly by which they are deluded by the most degrading idolatry and superstition. And if the language of St. Paul to the Athenians in such a case was, "Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you;" surely *the successors* of the Apostle in the ministerial office cannot do better than follow his example with regard to the vast multitudes of China, who are in a like condition with the Athenians whom St. Paul addressed. Will not every true Churchman, then, *strive, labour, make sacrifices*, in order to afford the Church the means, *through an apostolically ordained ministry*, to declare Him unto them as He is declared in His holy word, as well as in the liturgy, and in the sacraments administered by the bishops and curates of the Church.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Bible in Spain, or the Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman; an Attempt to Circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula. By George Borrow. London: Murray. 1843.

Is the Bible Society contrary to the Bible and hostile to the Church? to which is added, the Bishop of Salisbury's Letter; in a Letter from a Clergyman to his Parishioners. London: Burns, 1843.

Were we even desirous of culling from Mr. Borrow's book of marvellous adventures by flood and field, in gipsy bivouacs or ministers' cabinets, we feel that not less than a full half-dozen of our brother critics, from the *Times* and the *Quarterly* to the smallest of the critical fry, have already laid their hands on every extractable anecdote. Such, however, is not our wish. This book, whether true or false, whether written from memory or from notes, has received the stamp of approval from the most influential journals and reviews of the day, and is consequently assured of an unquestioned introduction into every reading club and many private libraries. Thus approved, it is useless for us to think of altering any one's opinion on the subject; all that we may hope to do is to set our friends right as to the principles of the writer of this amusing work, and by so doing to add one more witness of the manner in which the British and Foreign Bible Society conducts its business—one more evidence to the fact of that Society's opposition to the Bible, and of the awful disrespect to which, by their own and their emissary's acts, they subject the Holy Scriptures in their zeal for indiscriminate distribution.

We will content ourselves with extracts from the first of Mr. Borrow's three volumes. To Portugal went the agent with a box of

Digitized by Google

New Testaments and tracts. The Old Testament is always kept in the back ground. Not finding the Society's resident agent at Lisbon, he set off alone to Evora. At Cintra he fell in with the schoolmaster, who, it seems, had a copy of Pereira's translation of the Epistles with notes.

"I asked him," says Mr. B. "whether he considered that there was any harm in reading the Scriptures?" he replied, "that there was certainly no harm in it, but that simple people, without the help of notes, could derive but little benefit from Scripture, as the greatest part would be unintelligible to them;" whereupon I shook hands with him, and on departing from him, said; "that there was no part of Scripture so difficult to understand as those very notes which were intended to elucidate it; and that it would never have been written, if not calculated of itself to illumine the minds of all classes of mankind."—Vol. i. p. 15.

On his return to Lisbon he found his Bible Society friend, and asked his advice as to forcing the Bibles on the people.

"He (the friend) thought that we could not do better, for the present, than put part of our stock into the hands of the booksellers of Lisbon, and *at the same time employ colporteurs* TO HAWK THE BOOKS ABOUT THE STREET, *receiving a certain profit on every copy they sold.* This plan was agreed upon, and forthwith put in practice, and with some success."—Vol. i. p. 21.

Not long after, the emissary passes a ruined hostelry, where some robbers had evidently but lately been at rendezvous. "The sons of plunder had been there lately. I left a New Testament and some tracts among the ruins, and hastened away." A slight key to immense numbers apparently consumed by the agents of this Society. We recommend, in the next account, an item, "To left in ruins, on moors, and in holes and corners" so many thousand. When conversing with the governor of Evora, the emissary boasted that "he came not to propagate the dogmas of any particular sect, but with the hope of introducing the Bible—that he cared not what people called themselves provided they followed the Bible as a guide." Setting aside the fact of this very principle of false liberalism being in itself the dogma of a party, how strangely inconsistent are such charitable professions with his speech to the poor girl at the hostelry of Evora, when she lamented the abolition of the monastery in the town, whose friars daily fed forty poor people! "I replied," says the agent, "that the friars, who lived on the fat of the land, could well afford to bestow a few bones upon their poor, and *that their doing so was merely a part of their policy, by which they hoped to secure themselves friends in time of need.*" How easy it is to impute bad motives, and to decry the good works of others where they would perchance act as a bad foil to our own conduct. When we, on what we are pleased to call good principles, have done as much as our fathers have done and our opponents still do, on what we denounce as bad principles, it will be time enough to impute motives to either the one or the other. Did not the emissary propagate a particular dogma, did he not care what people called themselves, when he railed at the pope and the priesthood at Evora, and denied the name of Christians to baptized members of the Roman communion of the country?—Hear his words.

"I found that they were bigoted papists and Miguelites at heart; I *therefore*, when they told me they were Christians, *denied the possibility of their being so*, as they were ignorant of Christ and his commandments, and placed their hope on outward forms and superstitious observations [observances?] *which were the invention of Satan*, who

Digitized by Google

wished to keep them in darkness, that at last they might stumble into the pit which he had dug for them. I said repeatedly, that the pope, whom they revered, was an arch-deceiver, *and the head minister of Satan*, [no particular dogma this, of course,] and that the monks and friars, whose absence they deplored, and to whom they were accustomed to confess themselves, were his [Satan's, of course] subordinate agents. [No particular dogma again.] When called upon for proofs, I invariably cited the ignorance of my auditors respecting the Scriptures; and said that if their spiritual teachers had been ministers of Christ, they would not have permitted their flocks to remain unacquainted with his word."—Vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

Is this according to God's holy word? Is this the way to convert men from the errors of popery—to evangelize an ignorant people? Does Mr. Borrow wonder that he was not insulted, and feel half inclined to claim the absence of insult as a special providence in return for his uncharitableness? The smuggler in the hostelry at Evora might give him a better interpretation of the people's conduct, had he not, as he said, some reason for hating the English "as unbaptized, and not having the law of God."

Church Clavering; or, the Schoolmaster. By the Rev. W. Gresley, M.A. *Prebendary of Lichfield.* Burns: 1842.

This is the latest addition to the "Englishman's Library," a series already so largely indebted to Mr. Gresley. As that gentleman's merits are well known to our readers, we need hardly recommend the book in a general point of view; but we are anxious to make them aware of its claims on their attention at this particular juncture. The question of education is, perhaps, the most important to which an intelligent Englishman can give his mind just now. If not so keenly felt by political parties as it was two or three years ago, it is nevertheless far from settled in the sense of having certain great principles generally recognised and acted on. The true idea of education has hardly yet taken possession of the public mind, or even of those more elevated parts of that mind which first catch the morning rays; and still less has the vast importance of that idea been felt as livelily and practically as it ought to be. Trusting that Mr. Gresley's book will help to bring about clearer notions, and livelier and more operative convictions, we commend to attention the following extracts from the summary of its leading principles, which he has appended to it.

"The principles on which true religious education is based, are the following:—

"First, the essential object of Christian education is, *to train an adopted child of God to live to his glory.* Education which fails in this object is of no value whatever.

"Secondly, *those appointed to 'teach all nations,' and consequently to train the youth of this realm, are God's ordained ministers—the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons of the Church.*

"Thirdly, *the standard of religious teaching is the holy Scripture;* that is to say, the holy Scripture *rightly understood;* for if children are trained, as it is supposed, according to God's word, but that word is not rightly understood, it is manifest that they are not trained according to holy Scripture, but according to the erroneous fancies of their teachers.

"Fourthly, *the three great branches of education are, to inform the mind, to develop the faculties, and to promote good moral habits.* Where these objects are rightly carried out, a youth so trained is best able to live to the glory of God.

"Now, it is admitted on all hands that there is a lamentable want of sound education in the country. In some places, many children grow up without any

Digitized by Google

instruction at all: in others, the instruction which they receive is defective in various ways. Either that which is the one essential feature of education—the training of youth to live to the glory of God—is not made, as it should be, the primary object, or else God's divine law is not rightly understood, and children are supposed to be trained in scriptural knowledge, while the doctrines instilled into them are not in reality God's divine truths, or, at least, are defective or erroneous; or, again, their intellect is not sufficiently cultivated, or their faculties are not well developed, or they are not trained in good moral habits.

"The question is, Will this state of things be suffered to last? *Can* it last as it is? If not, how is it to be improved? Who are able to improve it? We naturally look to the government for the accomplishment of any great national benefit: can the state accomplish this most desirable object?

"I answer, that the state by itself can do little or nothing. It has received no mission to teach the nation; it is incompetent to the task. But if it employs and assists the exertions of the Church, which is God's commissioned agent, the work may, without doubt, be accomplished.

"But here there is a strange practical anomaly. For, in this most vital question, the state, or rather the legislature, acts differently from what it does in every thing else. In all other matters, if the government, backed by the great body of the legislature, are of one opinion, the matter in hand is ordered according to that opinion, and the dissentients are obliged to submit. For instance, the poor-law is thought to require amendment. Discussions are held—different views are stated—a bill is read, and read again; considered, read a third time, and passed; and that binds the whole nation. It is not said, 'There are many parishes which conscientiously dissent from this law, therefore they shall be exempted from its operation.' On the contrary, the will of the legislature is thought competent to pass a general act, and all are required to conform to the enactment.

"But in the case of education, this rule is practically set aside. It is acknowledged by all men, that no education is of any value which is not based on religion. This has been ruled, though not without opposition. The opposition, however, has been silenced, and no one now maintains the position, that religion may or can be left out of any scheme of education, or that it must not, in fact, form the basis of it. But then comes the practical question, how to communicate this religious education to the people. Our sovereign, her ministers, and the large body of our legislature, are members of the Church of England; they profess to direct their lives according to her doctrine and discipline, and hope to be saved in her communion. They bring up their own children according to her tenets; and yet, most unaccountably, they hesitate in taking steps to procure the same advantage for the youth of the nation in which God has made them rulers and legislators. In the poor attempts at education hitherto made, they act as if there were no fixed principles of truth, as if it mattered not how the standard of truth were interpreted. They give money to Papists to bring up children in popery; money to Dissenters to bring up children in dissent; and money to the Church to bring up children in her doctrine and discipline. Of all prejudices whereby a nation was ever infatuated, the idea that this mode of proceeding is liberal and right, is one of the most remarkable. *Surely Divine truth should be taught* AS IT IS, *not as different people think it.* If you teach religion in six different ways, you must of necessity teach it in five wrong ways; because truth is one thing only. If you vote money to bring up some children as Romanists, some as Independents, some as Methodists, some as Baptists, some as Quakers, and some as English Churchmen, it follows as a matter of necessity that you are promoting at least five different systems of error. How can a conscientious Churchman vote for the dissemination of heresy and schism? And yet such must be the conduct of one who votes for the education of all sects in their sectarian errors.

"But then the liberal will say, Surely you would not force the children of conscientious Dissenters to learn the doctrines of the Church? We answer, No one ever thought of using force. This is quite beside the question. Every one admits that no man's conscience is to be forced. All that is contended is, that the rulers and representatives of a nation who belong to the National Church, believing that to be the true religion, ought to give the people committed to their care the opportunity of having their children brought up in that religion. Vast numbers of them would gladly accept the boon; other vast numbers do not know its value, but would accept it nevertheless. Some, no doubt, would refuse it; but do not for their sake neglect the rest, or teach them falsehood instead of truth."

* * * * * * *

Digitized by Google

"But, perhaps, some may apprehend another difficulty. They may think that, in a scheme of national education, some cumbrous machinery must be constructed—some expensive system which will swallow up large revenues.

"This objection *ought* not to be any hinderance to giving to the people so great and necessary a boon. However, it is greatly removed by the fact, that *the whole machinery for the education of the people in sound religion is already provided in our diocesan and parochial system.* The Church, as it already exists, is the divinely prepared instrument, of which the State may at once avail itself for this purpose. And the Church acknowledges its duty; it is already hard at work; almost every diocese is already provided with its central board and district committees, which are in connexion with the committee of the National Society sitting in London, and consisting of the Bishops, and the other leading Churchmen—not a mere nominal committee, but real, hard-working, earnest friends of religious education.

"For several years the Church has been actively employed in constructing its machinery for the education of the people. Measures have been taken for that most important requisite, the training of competent masters, which may almost be considered as half the business. Many dioceses have their training-schools in actual operation. Many have established institutions for the middle classes in the principal towns. Parochial schools are rising in various places where hitherto they had not been. Existing schools are gradually placing themselves under the superintendence of the diocesan boards; and experienced inspectors and organising masters are travelling from place to place, under the authority of the Bishops, and giving their valuable aid in the improvement of those schools which need improvement, conveying information, and generally aiding the managers, whether they be the parochial clergy or committee of subscribers, in giving efficiency to the institutions which are under their control. Moreover, every parochial clergyman acknowledges the duty of aiding in the parochial school; and, if not overwhelmed by other parochial business, many devote a great portion of their time to this branch of their ministerial labours. All this is perfect in theory: nothing is wanting to the completion of the system considered in itself; and nothing is wanting for its actual success but *funds* and *superintendence.*

"First, as regards *funds.* The difficulty experienced by the diocesan boards in maintaining their training-schools in a state of efficiency, and affording an adequate remuneration to their inspectors, or even providing inspectors at all, is very great; and the same drawback is found by the clergyman in obtaining the necessary funds for the establishment and support of his parochial school. In many populous places, notwithstanding great exertion, no schools at all adequate to the wants of the people have been provided. In almost all, the salaries paid to parochial schoolmasters are lamentably small—far less than a person competent to the office has a right to expect. Experience proves that the education of the people is a thing which cannot be left to the voluntary support of the public, any more than the provision for the ordinances of religion. It is acknowledged that, in the present day, it would be most imprudent to rely on the voluntary system for providing religious instruction and ordinances for the adult population. The education of the young is a precisely similar case. The public mind is not alive to the urgent necessity of the subject, and the immensity of the interests at stake. And yet one would think it was too obvious to be concealed or denied. How long the nation may bear its present evils it is difficult to say. If, by God's great mercy, society holds together for ten or fifteen years more, then those who are now of age to be under education will be the active spirits, the strength and sinews, of the nation; and accordingly as they have been trained up in good or evil principles, so will be the condition of this country. If we can rear up a generation of Christian men, the country may yet be saved; but if demoralization is suffered to proceed as it has done, nothing can save England from ruin. These truths, one would think, were almost too trite to need repetition. But, no; the majority of influential people seem to take little heed of these matters."

* * * * * * *

"It is satisfactory to feel assured that what has been done in the way of Church-education, however inadequate to the great purpose aimed at, yet has all tended in the right direction; and it has been so done that it cannot now be undone. Only let the government follow out this most salutary movement, using the Church as its willing agent in the education of the nation, not interfering with her function, but cooperating with her in her most zealous and painful endeavours to train the people in the knowledge and practice of true religion, and a work may be done, by the joint operation of the two powers, which each by itself is unable to accomplish. And the

Digitized by Google

ground-work is already so laid, that a comparatively moderate sacrifice on the part of the State would be sufficient.

"The only great effort which the government has to make, is, to cast off the trammels of an unworthy liberalism, and take for its advisers, and place itself in cordial cooperation with, those whom God himself has ordained to rule His Church, and 'teach' His people."

Poems: chiefly relating to the Present State, &c., of the Church. By the Rev. H. Clarke, M A. London: Rivingtons. 1842.
Athanasion, &c. By the Author of "Christian Ballads." New York: Wiley and Putnam. 1842.

These are two delightful volumes of religious poetry. Of the merits of the former we are the more anxious at present to proclaim our sense, from having been led, on a former occasion, to form a derogatory, and, as we rejoice now to find, a very mistaken, estimate of Mr. Clarke's powers. He is a true poet, and, being so, we are not careful to discuss his precise station among his brethren. Deriving "his light from heaven," he may well "shine in his place and be content."

BETWEEN BOLTON ABBEY AND FOUNTAINS.

"Wild and poetic is the road which leads
Among the lonely lakes and mountains,
From Bolton's sterner beauties, to the meads
Which clasp and kiss the feet of Fountains.
When heaven, with aspect menacing and murk,
Mist after mist along the waste impels,
That space of thirty miles is weary work,
To men who cross on foot those unfrequented fells.

"Commingling earth and skies, descends amain
The weeping deluge, full and free,
Not shed in equable and kindly rain,
But driv'n in surges, like the sea!
The flocks lift up the meek imploring eye,
The birds, dispersed before the rising wind,
Fling o'er the listening heath their wailing cry,
Then dart into the blast, and leave the storm behind.

"Sweet were the days when golden links of love
From Bolton reach'd to smiling Fountains,
And, daily, sandall'd monks were seen to move,
On errands kind, among these mountains.
Oh then, like queens, they lifted up their eyes,
And spread their arms in stateliness of growth,
And loud upraised their anthems to the skies,
Who now as widows sit, and silence chains them both!

"The world, e'en now, surveys their ruins fair
Delighted, but remembers not
That shadows of departed crimes are there,
And will not leave the sacred spot!
Rapine and sacrilege walk hand in hand,
And fiends, with ghastly smiles, recall the day
When mitred fathers join'd th' oppressor's band,
And bore from plunder'd shrines th' accursèd spoils away.

Digitized by Google

" Such are the shades which round these relics dwell;
Yet look abroad o'er hill and plain,
And mark the signs, which eloquently tell
That ruin'd walls may rise again.
Imposture's game begins to fail at last,
Nor needs it now a prophet's glance to see
That fierce fanatic heats are fading fast
Before the twilight hour of sweet sobriety.

" The weary mountain bees, at close of day,
Return their honied rest to take;
The startled swans, when thunder dies away,
Resume their conclave on the lake;
And pensive spirits, when their time is come,
Will seek again the mountain and the wold,
To make 'mid Hermon's moonlight dews their home,
And shed their tears in peace, as in the days of old.

" It is an instinct;—O thou boaster, Reason,
Where are thy fetters to control
The migratory nations in their season,
Or bind the wingèd human soul?
Leave then, for ever leave, this work alone,
Nor trust beyond its sphere thy feeble rod;
A tide is on its way, which will flow on,
And will for ever flow—for it proceeds from God.

" Church of my country, child of desolation!
Thy failing eyes run down with waters,
But thou shalt be again a holy nation,
And clasp once more thy sons and daughters!
Wonders on land, and wonders on the deep,
Has England done,—but, lone one, where wert thou?
In solitary places didst thou weep
Thy pleasant things laid waste,—but God regards thee now;

" And on thy breath suspended is the weal
Of all this busy realm brings forth!
Fair blooms the flow'r while shades and night conceal
The root which bears it in the earth;
Smooth glides the vessel, while the power that steers
Her gallant course lies hid beneath the wave;
And thou, amid thy loneliness and tears,
Containest all the strength of all this surface brave!

" Ah me! they know thee not, who take their station,
By choice, 'mid earthly strifes and cares!
But, in the shadowy world of meditation,
Thy blessed things come out like stars.
Too restless have we been,—too far and fast
Our feet have wander'd; henceforth we must learn
To read thee in the ruins of the past,
And from this present scene our sober'd eyes to turn.

" Ye wizards, who have fill'd our world with wonder,
And captive led our guileless dames,
The time is come to break your wands asunder,
And give your volumes to the flames.
Ask ye of Bolton, ask of ruin'd Fountains,
If your's the path our martyr'd fathers trod,
And back shall come their answer from the mountains,
That ye are sorcerers all, and not the power of God.

" But see the sun retiring in the west,
His roseate banner wide unfurl'd!
Great orb! thou goest to thy curtain'd rest,
And we to the tumultuous world!

Digitized by Google

O may we learn of thee to walk aright,
From morning's earliest dawn to evening's close,
Sowing our dying path with mellow'd light,
And looking eastward still, from whence we first arose!"—Pp. 21—25.

The author of "Athanasion" is already favourably known to our readers by his "Christian Ballads," to which we had the pleasure of calling attention in July last. He is not only a true, but, what we are especially glad to see, at last, in America, an original poet. The distinct nationality—the familiarity with extensive space—the antagonism to selfishness, schism, heresy, and godlessness, distincter than ours, inasmuch as its objects are broader, better defined, more powerful, more unmixedly evil—all these things make our author something more valuable than a mere poet,—they make him a poet the especial growth of a particular soil.

He has, however, several faults to correct. His English is not always pure, and his taste sometimes very doubtful. His *mode* of prefixing our Saviour's words as a motto to "The Heart's Song," is, in our eyes, irreverent, and we think most will agree with us. The principal poem in this volume is that from which it derives its name. It was recited, as the author tells us, at the annual commemoration of Washington College, and is, on the whole, a very fine ode. We think, however, that our poet has not done well in introducing so many passages, consisting of nothing but heroic couplets, the movement of which is of necessity so unlyrical. We know not what our friends of the Camden Society will say to his "Soft light from antique window's *groin*," but ignorance of pointed Gothic is assuredly excusable in an American. The following extracts are, to our mind, singularly beautiful:—

"Sons of that Church are we
Beneath the vesper-star,
In lands that yet must have strange history,
Of Times in which we are!
And we must live our day;
And we must live it well,
And leave in our dark way,
Some light, our path to tell!
Sons of the Church we are,
And who but she shall guide,
Mother and nurse of Immortality,
And our Redeemer's bride!
She, while on earth we fare,
Makes Faith to us, and holy Wisdom—one,
The sweet twin-breasts of her that did us bear,
And dear to every son.
They err who call rash youth, our pupilage,
For Life itself in only Infancy;
And not rehearsers for a flimsy stage,
Or drill'd cadets for life's short fray, are we;
But we are learning for Eternity,
And she that bare us, calls us children still;
For Earth is our sweet mother's nursery,
And we are waiting for our Father's will
When the adoption of his sons shall be!
Oh, hear her warning words, with child-like thrill,
And count them God's own oracle to thee."

* * * *

"The spouse of our dear Lord
Is travelling in the greatness of her strength,
Amid these wilds abhorr'd,
Unwearied by the journey's sultry length;
And luring her true children to their home,
By stories of its pleasures, yet to come;
All motherlike—that win the infant mind
By brighter promise, to the martyrdom,
Of leaving toys behind!
And we that join her train,
Must bear the mock of old Astrologie,
The laugh of dry Philosophie;
For they esteem it vain,
And sneer, that such as we, by such beguil'd,
Do thus transform us to a little child,
And leave their solemn lamp, and hermit fane."—Pp. 31—40.

Digitized by Google

We must also indulge ourselves by quoting the following noble hymn:—

" LET OUT THY SOUL.
(*A Lent Lay.*)

" Let out thy soul, and pray,
Not for thy home alone!
Away—in prayer, away!
Make all the world thine own!
Let out thy soul in prayer;
Oh, let thy spirit grow!
God gives thee sun and air;
Let the full blossom blow!

" There! dost thou not perceive
Thy spirit swell within,
And something high receive
That is not born of sin?
Oh, paltry is the soul
That only self can heed!
Sail outward—from the shoal,
And bourgeon, from the seed!

" Moth and the rust consume
The spangled folds of pride;
Dry-rot doth eat the bloom,
And gnaw the wealth we hide:
The spirit's selfish care
Doth die away the same;
But give it air—free air,
And how the soul can flame!

" Yestreen I did not know
How largely I could live;
But Faith hath made me grow
To more than Earth can give.
Joy! for a heart releas'd
From littleness and pride;
Fast is the spirit's feast,
And Lent the soul's high-tide.

" When for the Church I pray'd,
As this dear Lent began,
My thoughts, I am afraid,
Within small limits ran.
By Ember-week I learn'd
How large that prayer might be,
And then, in soul, I burn'd
That all might pray with me.

" Plead for the victims all
Of heresy and sect;
And bow thy knees, like Paul,
For all the Lord's Elect!
Pray for the Church—I mean,
For Shem and Japhet pray:
And churches, long unseen,
In isles, and far away!

" Oh, pray that all who err
May thus be gathered in:
The Moslem worshipper,
And all the sects of sin!
For all who love in heart,
But have not found the way,
Pray—and thy tears will start!
'Twas so the Lord did pray.

" Now, when the hordes of Rome
Are up against the Lord,
All churches are our home,
And Prayer our mighty sword!
The saints' communion—one,
One Lord—one Faith—one birth,
Oh, pray to God the Son,
For all his Church on Earth."

Pp. 86—89.

Theotokos; or, the Mother of our Lord. A Sermon on the Song of the Blessed Virgin; to which is added, a Candid and Historical Discussion of the Question, "Is Mary to be called the Mother of God?" By C. A. HULBERT, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of Slaithwaite, Yorkshire.* London: Washbourne. 1842.

IF any readers are to be found for this publication, they will be such as were not wearied with the Vicar of Huddersfield's letters on the "Latitudinarian heresy," which appeared in our pages last year, out of which controversy the present book has arisen, with the alleged view of "allaying all disagreements." And a very strange way Mr. Hulbert has chosen for this purpose: he has proved, thanks to Bishop Pearson, from whom his patristic learning is derived at second-hand and without much acknowledgment, that the term "Theotokos" does belong to the Blessed Virgin,—is right, proper, scriptural, and Catholic,—and yet objects to its retention. The following passages may serve as specimens of Mr. Hulbert's orthodoxy:—

" While these sheets are preparing for the press, the writer has been gratified (!!) with the perusal in the public prints of the visit of a *Nestorian Bishop* of Chaldea to the United States, and his admission to the Holy Communion, by a Bishop of the

Digitized by Google

Episcopal Church there: his declaration of unanimity of sentiment being accepted on the part of the American prelate as sufficient, without, it is presumed, the Shibboleth of *Theotokos* being pronounced."—P. 56.

Perhaps the *Homoousion* is another "Shibboleth.".

"May we not, at least, as much peril the consoling doctrine of the humanity of Jesus by the currency of this term, as endanger the assuring verity of His Divine nature by its omission?"—P. 57.

Yes; but may we not as much "peril the assuring verity of His Divine nature" by the omission of this term, as "endanger the consoling doctrine of His humanity by its currency?" If Nestorianism be a heresy, what is to prevent an irruption of it, if we surrender the test of the "*Theotokos?*"

"The writer of these remarks would profess himself at least, daily more enamoured of his spiritual Mother, the REFORMED CHURCH of England, Catholic, Apostolical, and pure in herself, and PROTESTING, &c."—P. 58.

The capitals are Mr. H.'s.

"*Enamoured* of the Church!" The phrase is "liable, congruent, and measurable; the word is well culled, chose; sweet and apt, I do assure you, Sir, I do assure; a sweet touch, a quick venew of wit."

"Day Dreams," by Charles Knox, (Ollivier, Pall Mall,) is a volume of poetry, with very beautiful woodcuts, and a cover of the most dazzling metallic blue which we ever saw,—the very thing for illuminations. We have not had time to test the writer's powers; but the last stanza, which is about all that we have read, seems sound; we hope that the rest of the collection bears it out: here it is:—

"Till thou canst overcome omnipotence,
Till thou canst circumscribe ubiquity,
Till thou canst multiply omniscience,
Till thou canst magnify infinity,
Till thou canst understand eternity,
Try not immortal laws by mortal test,
But from thy weakness learn humility."

We have just received "Baptismal Regeneration," by Mr. Dakeyne, of St. Bene't, Lincoln, (Rivingtons.) It is a reply to the *Record's* violent criticism of the Bishop of London's Charge. We have already said that we thought an answer too great an honour to this anonymous scribbler; but he has received one elaborate and conclusive, though Mr. Dakeyne's tone is scarcely catholic enough to satisfy all our requirements.

It is difficult for us to speak of a book like "Shadows of the Future," &c., by R. W. Johnson, M.A. (Hamilton & Co. 1842.) We have not ourselves any developed opinions on unfulfilled prophecy, and are inclined to think such rash even in those who have been enabled to devote much investigation to the subject. But that such investigation is a duty too generally overlooked we are well persuaded; nor, if we dare not adopt, can we take on ourselves to gainsay, the results at which a man of catholic principles and pious dispositions like the writer before us has arrived. There is certainly much valuable matter in it,—so much, that we wish it had been unaccompanied by a little touch of eccentricity, which tends to lessen one's confidence in the author.

We cordially recommend a little volume of "Hymns on the Church Catechism," by the author of "The Cathedral," (Burns,) which has just appeared. It really supplies our ordinary schools with a great *desideratum*.

And on a higher class of pupils, a great benefit has been conferred by the compilers of a little volume, entitled "Church Poetry," &c. (Derby, Mozleys.) When we say that the selection is from Spenser, Herbert, Cowley, and others

Digitized by Google

of that stamp in days past, and from Wordsworth, Coleridge, Trench, Keble, Williams, Alford, and the authors of the Lyra Apostolica in the present, we have said enough to recommend it. We may add, that the vignettes are rarely beautiful. When, however, we are told in the preface, that "none but the writings of Churchmen have been consulted," we should have been instructed that Habington and Southwell were English Romanists.

Our readers will be glad to learn that the article, in our last number, on the Results of the Bishop of London's Charge has been reprinted in a separate form, with additions; and is sold at a cheap rate for distribution.

"The Life and Times of Savonarola," (Whittaker & Co.) seems, judging from a mere glance, the work of a gentleman of industry and thought, but of principles which we think radically unsafe, at once eclectic and indefinite.

We have to acknowledge two very handsome volumes, in "The Spalding Club Miscellany," (Aberdeen.) The Spalding Club was, it seems, instituted in 1839, with a view to investigate and bring to light the antiquities of the north-east of Scotland, a field which, judging from appearances, they have found far from unfruitful.

"Bertha's Journal during a Visit to her Uncle in England; containing a variety of interesting and instructive information, adapted for Young Persons," (Murray, 5th edition, 8vo, pp. 492,) is divided into forty-six weeks; and each week relates the conversation of a certain number of days, of which the young lady is supposed to send a faithful summary to her father, who is residing at Rio Janeiro. Sunday introduces, naturally, some kind of religious instruction; and on other days, natural history, manufactures, and the like, supply abundant materials for comment. The arrangement, of course, is not free from objection; but the principles of the writer appear to be sound, and the style calculated to interest.

Mr. Murray has just published a second edition of Dr. Asael Grant's "Nestorians." Had Dr. Grant entitled his book, "Travels in Mesopotamia," &c. we could probably have read it with pleasure; but when the title-page informs us that he is about to identify the heretical Nestorians with the ten "lost tribes," a prejudice insensibly takes possession of our mind that he is to be numbered with the herd of fanatical writers; and the ghosts of countless extinct theories dance before our eyes. We admit that this is prejudice; and acknowledge that Dr. Grant, notwithstanding, has produced a volume of considerable interest. His calling is that of an American lay dissenting missionary; and he appears quite as successful as his predecessors—whether they have pleaded for the gipsies, or the Affghans, or any other race or people.

"Aphorisms and Reflections: a Miscellany of Thought and Opinion," by William Benton Clulow, (Murray,) will furnish food for much "thought" and "reflection" to the reader. At the same time, there is nothing in the book *very striking.*

Bishop Nicholson on the Catechism, just published in the Anglo-Catholic Library, (Parker, Oxford,) is a volume which no parish priest should be unacquainted with. It is a perfect storehouse for catechizing; and, both for matter and method, cannot be surpassed.

"Songs from the Parsonage," by a Clergyman, (Seeleys,) should never have left that flattering shade; as there are few persons, out of the parsonage, who can have any satisfaction in reading mean and flashy songs like these. To compare great things with small, the lays forcibly remind us of Dr. Johnson's celebrated criticism of that unfortunate leg of mutton, which, on a well-known occasion, excited the reprehension of the great lexicographer. They are, in truth, in every respect bad, and their mawkishness is intolerable. We fancy that we have read several of the author's effusions in some of the religious periodicals of the day.

"Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
Stridenti miserum stipulâ disperdere carmen?"

Digitized by Google

"The Doctrine of Purgatory, and the Practice of Praying for the Dead, &c. examined," by the Rev. W. J. Hall, M.A. &c. (Wix), seems a learned and orthodox book. We can perceive, in one or two places, that Mr. Hall defends a good cause by arguments which we should not ourselves feel at liberty to employ; and that, on some subordinate matters, his conclusions are not quite the same as our own; still the work seems a very admirable one, and we can assure those of our readers who may be inclined to fear an approach to christian antiquity on the subject of Purgatory, that they will find Mr. Hall establishing a very clear case against the Church of Rome.

A second volume has appeared of Mr. Faber's "Provincial Letters" (Painter), reprinted from the magazine in which they first appeared. Pascal's "Provincial Letters" struck people by their style; and Mr. Faber has taken care that his should do the same. His style, indeed, deserves as much *wonder* as Pascal's, or any other that ever was known; but in this case the wonder is the reverse of complimentary. Thought and language go so much together, that, by adopting a mode of composition so outrageously pedantic and artificial, we cannot but think Mr. Faber has somewhat incapacitated himself from seeing a plain matter just as it is. We would not willingly speak with disrespect of one who has done the Church such good service in some directions, and whose attainments are so considerable; but we must protest against the author's want of charity in the book now before us, his continual imputation of motives other than those avowed by the persons against whom he writes, and his determination to regard them as enemies to the Church of England. Has he read the Bishop of St. David's recent Charge? We recommend it to him most warmly, as containing a rebuke, of which, with all our respect for his age and character, we are bound to tell him that he stands in need. We do not deny that there is important matter in these "Provincial Letters," which, as they are not aimed against ourselves, we are quite willing seriously to consider; but those who stand in most need of such consideration (not, by the way, we think, the precise parties whom Mr. Faber for the most part attacks) are not likely to be led to it by his mode of addressing them.

We are inclined to be much pleased with No. I. of a new contemporary, "The Foreign and Colonial Review," (Whittaker.) The statement at the beginning is on the whole most satisfactory. It appears that the editor is no stranger to the public, his abilities having long been displayed in the conduct of the Foreign Quarterly, from which he is now separated, because not prepared to adopt the principles to which that periodical has become committed. Those put forth in the document to which we now refer are most excellent, though we trust that, in the conduct of the Reviews, there will be used more temperate and guarded language than we find in part of this prospectus. We allude to this declaration—that on "the policy of the present British cabinet," not only "the peace of Europe, the welfare of the world," (there we agree), but even "the faith, and hope, and love, of the great universal family mainly depend." We have always believed that these latter depended, not mainly, but entirely, on certain words spoken to that universal family, by the only Being who had power to say them with meaning,—the words, "Lo, I am with you always, to the end of the world." This may seem catching at words, but we really feel words to be all important. However, this periodical promises to be most excellent, both intellectually and morally.

We are sure that our readers will both admire and approve of an "Address to the Limerick Philosophical and Literary Society," by William Monsell, Esq. (Dublin, Grant and Bolton.) We do both most cordially ourselves, though, on one particular point, we agree with the opinion of a contemporary, that Mr. Monsell speaks in too unqualified a way of the barbarism of the middle ages.

Now that the benefit of baptism is brought again into question, we have great pleasure in observing the quiet progress that many minds seem to have been making since that was last the case. "The Churchman's Brief Manual of

Digitized by Google

Baptism," by the Rev. C. E. Kennaway, A. M., &c. (Nisbet) is, we think, a very gratifying instance of this, and we have great pleasure in recommending it to our readers as an excellent treatise on the subject. We may also mention, that the Tract, by Presbyter, to which we called attention lately, has come to a second edition, to which we are glad to see the author's name prefixed. It is by the Rev. R. Greenlaw, of Blackheath.

The name of the Rev. R. W. Evans will, we trust, secure for his pamphlet, entitled, "An Appeal against the Union of the Dioceses of Bangor and St Asaph," (Rivingtons,) that attention to which its own merits and the gravity of its cause so amply entitle it. We do not believe that the parties who originally proposed the measure are now otherwise than disposed to abandon it, if they find the feeling of the Clergy and the Church at large to be decidedly adverse to it. Let us remember how the see of Sodor and Man was saved, and take courage.

We also acknowledge, with thankfulness, another contribution to the same cause in the shape of "an Appeal to English Churchmen against the Union of the two Bishoprics of North Wales." (Oxford, Parker.) Again we say it will be our own faults if this union takes place.

"Expository Lectures on the first four Chapters of the Gospel according to St. Matthew," &c. by the Rev. W. Blackley, B.A., (Hatchards,) are exceedingly good, though we can see, from indications rather than positive statements, that the author is not one who looks on religious matters from precisely the same light as ourselves. His interpretation of the words, "baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire"—referring the fire to the wrath of God on the Jews, and in a secondary sense on all the rebellious, we think quite untenable.

We call attention to an important and seasonable pamphlet, entitled, "The Use of the Offertory—a Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Worcester, &c." by the Rev. Richard Seymour (Rivingtons.)

"Christmas Day, and other Sermons," by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, (Parker) is a volume which ranks with those of Newman and Manning. For originality of thought, liveliness of address and illustration, we know no preaching better than this author's.

"The True Position of the Scottish Episcopal Church" (Edinburgh, Grant; London, Burns), is the title given by the excellent Dean of Edinburgh to a Sermon preached by him on the day appointed by the Diocesan Synod for receiving offerings to the Scottish Episcopal Church Society. The merits of this preacher are, we believe, well known on both sides of the Tweed. His sermon possesses a peculiar interest at the present juncture, and we earnestly beg our Scottish friends to get it, if it were only for the sake of the important matter contained in the notes.

A Sermon, "Ritual Conformity," &c. has been published by Mr. Norris, of Hackney, on that most prolific of subjects, the Bishop of London's late Charge. We need scarcely say, that it sustains the excellent author's character for prudence and learning. What a privilege, for one whose witness to catholic truth was for a long time almost single, that his declining days are gilded by the cheering prospect of a bright revival in that Church to which he has dedicated all his powers!

Among single sermons, we also recommend "The Light of Good Works," by the Rev. W. Dodd, A.M., Perpetual Curate of St. Andrew's, Newcastle, (Rivingtons); and here, too, there is an important and interesting Note; and "The Customs of the Church," by D. A. Beaufort, M.A. (Cleaver.)

Mr. Molyneux, of Woolwich, of course does not expect us to approve of his "Regeneration before the Ascension," (Seeley & Burnside;) a Sermon in some measure directed against ourselves. Mr. M.'s notions of the Pentecostal gift are, indeed, miserably low.

Digitized by Google

Leaving the Sermons of validly-ordained priests, we now come to a discourse which is really well worth reading,—"The Principle of Free Inquiry and Private Judgment," &c., by the well-known Dr. Candlish, of Edinburgh. Though very Scotch, we fully admit that it is clever and forcible. Its opinions, indeed, are lamentably false in their root, and must be evil in their operation. One thing is worth mentioning. In his appendix, we find Dr. Candlish gives us his views of unfulfilled prophecy, and holds the very opinion for which some of us are branded as Papists—that the prophecies regarding Antichrist remain yet to be fulfilled.

We are glad to find that we wrote under a false impression, when we announced, in our last number, the formation of a new Architectural Society at Cambridge. We may take this opportunity of mentioning, that a note, in our article on the Camden Society,—"The style called James I.'s Gothic," &c. the purpose of which must be quite unintelligible in page 91, where it occurs, was intended for page 90, with the remarks in the last paragraph of which it will be found connected.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

By Bp. of Ripon, *Jan.* 8.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—L. P. Mercier, B.A., University, by let. dim. from the Bishop of Durham; H. Robbins, B.A., Wadham, by let. dim. from the Bishop of Winchester.

Of Cambridge.—W. M. Brunton, St. Peter's, by let. dim. from the Bishop of Exeter; H. O'Key J. Belfour, M.A., Queen's; J. Gooch, B.A., Gonville and Caius; H. Townend, B.A., St. John's; T. Ramsbotham, B.A., Christ's; T. B. Parkinson, B.A., Queen's.

Of Dublin.—J. G. Glanville, B.A., and R. R. Wolfe, B.A.

Of St. Bees.—J. Davidson, R. Neale.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—W. Baldwin, and R. M. Martin, B.A., St. Edmund's Hall; R. J. Mapleton, B.A., St. John's; J. D. E. Jenkins, B.A. Jesus.

Of Cambridge.—G. Halls, B.A., Queen's; H. King, B.A. Jesus; J. S. Oxley, B.A., Queen's; C. Greenside, B.A., St. Peter's Hall; A. B. Hill, B.A., Jesus.

Of Dublin.—I. Lloyd, B.A.; G. R. Bluett, B.A.

Of St. Bees.—J. W. Jenkins.

Literate.—C. H. S. Nicholls.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Lincoln, *March* 12.
Bp. of Lichfield, *April* 9.
Bp. of Oxford, *June* 11.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Adey, W.	Lit. Baddow, v.	London	Colonel Strutt	£125	548
Arkwright, H.	Bodenham, v.	Hereford		*686	998
Armstrong, J.	St. Paul's, Exeter, R.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	172	1638
Blackburn, R.	Selham, R.	Chichester	Bras. Coll. Oxford	150	89
Bolland, H. J.	Siddington, R.	Gl. & Brist.	Lord Chancellor	*429	409
Bonner, R. M.	Ruabon, v.	St. Asaph	Bishop of St. Asaph	*588	3353
Boydell, E. N. V.	Wingate Grange, P.C.	Durham		150	...
Bunbury, R. S.	Ecclestone, P.C.	Chester		...	...
Clarke, W. J.	Swinderby, v.	Lincoln	General Clarke	*148	449
Cottingham, H.	Weston-on-Trent, v.	Lichfield		*106	608
Cranmer, —	St. Andrew's, Ancoats, Manchester	Chester	Manchester Coll. Church		
Dawson, W. A.	Flitwick, v.	Ely	Duke of Bedford	*285	636
Dodgson, C.	Croft, R.	Ripon	Crown	*825	692
Ethelstone, C. W.	Uplyme, R.	Exeter	Own Petition	*386	975
Evans, R.	St. John's, Compton-Greenfield	Gl. & Brist.	E. Richard, Esq.	*£144	40
Fenton, R.	Cockerington	Lincoln	Bishop of Lincoln	*163	214
Field, J. K.	St. Stephen's, Manchester, P.C.	Chester			
Garvey, J.	Hough-on-Hill	Lincoln	Lord Chancellor	99	565
Greene, E.	Tuscilth Chapel	Winchester		...	...
Harrison, G.	New Brentford, P.C.	London	Rector of Hanwell	*283	2085
James, T.	Theddingworth, v.	Peterboro'	J. Cook, Esq.	*137	283
Kirkness, W. J.	Minster and Ferrabury, R.	Exeter	W. Kirkness, Esq.	224	497

Digitized by Google

PREFERMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Lear, F.	Bishopstone, R.	Sarum	Earl of Pembroke	*806	663
Mossop, S.	St Bridget's, Beckermet	Carlisle	H. Gaitskell, Esq.	87	574
Powell, H. W.	Ripley, R.	Chester	Sir W. A. Ingilby	...	1219
Powell, H. W.	Heapham, R.	Lincoln	Sir W. A. Ingilby	201	143
Roberts, J.	Llanefydd, V.	St. Asaph	Bishop of St. Asaph	228	1130
Roberts, L.	Whitewell, P.C.	Chester	Vicar of Whalley	81	601
Simpson, H. T.	Marnhull, R.	Sarum	Own Petition	*800	1309
Stanbury, H.	St. Philip and St. Jacob, Bristol	Gl. & Brist.	Trustees	140	...
Stringer, T.	St. Ann's, P.C. Liverpool	Chester		99	...
Tower, Ch.	Chilmark, R.	Sarum	Earl of Pembroke	427	507
Ward, W.	Asgarby, P.C.	Lincoln	Bishop of Lincoln	*34	740
Whitelegg, W.	Hulme, P.C.	Chester	D. & C. of Manchester	236	...
Williams, D. A.	Merthyr, R.		Lord Chancellor	*158	246
Yule, J. C. D.	Bradford, R.	Exeter		*308	487

*** *The Asterisk denotes a Residence House.*

APPOINTMENTS.

Arrowsmith, J. — Head Master Leominster Gram. School.
Burrow, E. J. — Archdeacon of Gibraltar.
Buchanan, J. — Chap. to Forces, Gibraltar.
Boulton, W. — Surrog. Dioc. of Lichfield.
Caldwell, W. E. — Preb. in Lichfield Cath.
Carr, J. — Preb. in Linc. Cath.
Cavendish, T. U. — Preb. in Lichfield Cath.
Collis, J. D. — Hd. Mast. of Bromsgrove Sch.
Dalton, C. B. — Exam. Chap. to Bp. of Linc.
France, G. — Dom. Chap. to Earl of Erroll.
Hislop, W. — Surrog. Archdeaconry of Richmond.
Heard, J. H. — Dom. Chap. to Earl of Winterton.
Lonsdale, J. — Archdeacon of Middlesex.
Lucena —. — Canon of Cath. of Gibraltar.
Morewood, R. — Surrog. Archdeaconry of Richmond.
McKan, —. — Chap. to Bridewell, Marlborough, Wilts.
Pickwood, J. — Chap. to Bp. of Antigua.
Stewart, J. A. — Eng. Chaplain at Malines, Belgium.
Stokes, W. H. — Chap. to Sherbourn Hosp.
Singleton, W. — Vice-Prin. of Kingston Coll., Hull.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Anderson, E., Rec. of Hickling, Notts., 58.
Clayton, S., Rec. of Broughton Malherbe, 48.
Cust, W. T. Cur. of Welmslow, Cheshire, 26
Cardale, G., Rec. of Millbrook, Beds., 83.
Dalton, J. C., Rec. of Croft, Yorkshire, 79.
Durand, H., Rec. of St. Mary, Guernsey, 44.
Edward, V. Vic. of Broomfield, Essex, 74.
Evans, M., Rec. of Llangallo, 66.
Gardner, R. M., Cur. of Bp.'s Stortford, Herts, 35.
Harwood, T., at Lichfield, 76.
Haggitt, J., Rec. of Ditton, Cambridgeshire, 82.
Homfrey, J., Rec. of Sutton, Norfolk, 75.
Isaacson, A. A., Vic. of Newport, Monmouth.
Johnson, B., Vic. of Great Gedding, Hunts.
Lutwidge, C. H., Vic. of East Farleigh, Kent, 42.
Morehead, R. Rec. of Easington, Yorkshire, 65.
Montgomery, G. A., Rec. of Bishopstone, Wilts.
Marriott, R., Vic. of Ippleden, Devon, 65.
Morton, J., Chorlton-cum-Hardy, 48.
Parker, W., Rec. of St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, 65.
Pott, F., Vic. of Churchston. Devon.
Pring, J. H., Rec. of Llanfrathen, Merioneth, 38.
Price, R., Vic. of Shoreham, Kent, 69.
Puddecombe, S., Vic. of Morval, Cornwall, 69.
Reed, J., Rector of Eversholt, Bedfordshire.
Skey, W., Vic. of Little Bedwyn, Wilts, 68.
Wildbore, Ch., Vic of Tilton, Leicestershire, 76.
West, M., Vic. of Haydon, Dorset, 50.
Wrangham, Archdeacon, 74.

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

CHESTER.—*Liverpool Collegiate Institution.*—All the members of the Committee are Churchmen; and when the Rev. H. M'Neile *moved a resolution to admit dissenters* as members of it, he found himself with only seven supporters.

LONDON.—*Stifford.*—Low open seats have been partially substituted for lofty square pews in the parish church of Stifford, Essex; they are of oak, very commodious, and strictly ecclesiastical, being built after the design of Archdeacon Hale's new sittings in Charterhouse chapel.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PRESBYTERIANISM.—What the Church "has to contend against, is not so much adverse *opinion*, as direct and deep-rooted *hostility*. There is a mass of power and influence in Puseyism, and high Church Prelatism, and in other antagonist elements nearer home, upon which all reasoning is thrown away,—which is as blind to consequences as it is insensible to justice, and which we have no means of either reaching or surmounting."—*Witness*, (Scotch paper.)

Digitized by Google

AUTHORIZED VERSIONS OF PSALMS.

[For the following sensible letter we are indebted to the "Church Intelligencer." It is much to be regretted that Mr. Bennett should have mixed up the "New Version" with his directions about restoring certain rubrical observances; and we now see a book announced by the organist of the chapel, in which certain metrical psalms and tunes are to be *appointed for every Sunday in the year*. This is certainly a step backwards, and rather an unfortunate one at the present moment, when the impulse given by the Bishop of London's injunctions on the rubric seemed to afford a good opportunity for attempting a full return to ecclesiastical practice in the musical department of our service.]

"DEAR SIR,—In the address to the congregation of Portman Chapel, St. Marylebone, which appeared in the *Church Intelligencer* of the 4th of January, the New Version of the Psalms of David, is asserted to be "*authorised by the Church*." Now as this may unintentionally mislead many of your readers, more especially some of your young Clerical consulters, it is but right to state at once, that neither the New Version of the Psalms, nor that by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, was *ever authorised by the Church*. Neither of them, I believe, can claim even a royal *injunction* in its favour. Royal *permission*, indeed, was all the sanction which the most favoured of them received, and this at the request of the puritan party, who petitioned Elizabeth that they might be allowed to sing in the Church some metrical hymns or psalms, before and after morning and evening service. They were intended to be used also in private houses, and to supersede the ungodly songs and ballads of the day.

"I have by me a copy of the date of 1730, the title of which runs thus,—"The whole Book of Psalms collected into English metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, set forth and *allowed* to be sung in all churches, of all the people together, *before* and *after* morning and evening prayer, and also before and after sermon, and moreover in private houses, for their godly solace and comfort; laying apart all ungodly songs, and ballads, which tend only to the nourishing of vice, and corrupting of youth." In this collection there is the hymn beginning,—

"'Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word;
From Turk and Pope, defend us Lord;
Both which would thrust out of his throne,
Our Lord, Christ Jesus, thy dear Son.'

"Here the title sufficiently shows with what weight of authority this metrical version comes down to us, viz. that of being ALLOWED to be sung in all churches; and this not during divine service, or as an interlude filling up the intervals, as the custom has now crept in among us, but only *before* or *after* public worship.

"And that this permission, limited as it was, did not even gain anything by time and age, we learn from what took place at the last review, when the puritan party taking advantage of the metrical version being bound up with the Prayer-book, urged the Church party to proceed to consider it; the latter made answer,—'that as the metrical version was *no part of the Liturgy*, the consideration of it was no part of their commission.'

"Such was the fate the metrical version met with from the last commission which sat upon the changing fortunes of our Liturgy. And I venture to say the Anglican Church lost little by this refusal of its representatives to acknowledge the metrical version of Psalms to be any part of her voice.

"The only version of Psalms *authorised by the Church*, is that named upon the title-page of the Book of Common Prayer:—

"'*The Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be* SUNG *or said in Churches*.'

"I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours,
"JOHN ARMSTRONG.

"Walsend Parsonage, Northumberland,
"Feast of the Epiphany, 1843."

EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP SHORT'S PRIMARY CHARGE.

"Our first error, on which I will make any remark, is that we do not sufficiently act as a body. We work as individuals, and not as a Church. The greater part of that which is done by a Clergyman, must be accomplished in his individual capacity, but there is a part in which we ought to act together, and from not doing so, our ministrations are much less effective, and appear to need not only uniformity but unity. We are in want of *discipline*. I do not mean that species of authority which is possessed by a Bishop or any other ecclesiastical officer; but such an organization among ourselves, as shall give combination and energy to that which is done by us. The power of the bishop

Digitized by Google

in this island is sufficiently great—that of my episcopal brethren in England has, I am persuaded, been diminished, because, if I may be allowed to explain a paradox, ecclesiastical power has been vested in their hands too much. In looking at the early Church the governing power is the bishop with the presbytery, neither the bishop alone, nor the presbytery without him. If we look at the actual constitution of the Church of England, the dean and chapter are the council, the advisers, the assistants of the bishop. And it is, perhaps, because bishops have neglected so to use these bodies, that they themselves have lost somewhat of their own authority, of their moral influence; and the people of England have failed to perceive the advantage to be derived from cathedral institutions."

"It shall be my object in future years, if it please God to continue my life, to hold constant parochial confirmations, such as may fulfil the excellent Canon of our insular Church. But then, on the other hand, I must expect that you, my rev. brethren, will fulfil your part of the same Canon. That you will enter on and continue a regular system of catechising the children of the parish. I know of no better plan of doing so, in country parishes, than that which the Canons and Rubrics enjoin: viz. that after the second lesson in afternoon service you publicly question such young persons as you have appointed to be present. I have now during the whole of my ministerial life pursued this plan, varying in some degree according to the nature of the place where my ministry was exercised. I may say that I have been catechising nearly thirty years, and I have uniformly seen a fruit springing from this species of cultivation for which I must always thank God, and urge my fellow-labourers in the vineyard of our Lord to pursue the same plan. The advantage of catechising over any other species of teaching consists in this: that by it we give instruction, and not merely exhortation. The great mass of irreligion which prevails among us arises, I believe, from ignorance; and a superficial excitement of the passions may tend rather to increase than to diminish this evil. Our people do not know the doctrines of our excellent Church, nor will they ever know them, till we, the teachers of that Church, are in the habit of explaining them. The Church Catechism is an excellent compendium of these doctrines; but in order that it may be received as it ought, it must be understood, and there is no method by which this will be accomplished so sure, as that of explaining a portion of it every Sunday in a familiar manner, by questioning the children of the parish. Till this is done, the catechumens will never be properly prepared for confirmation, and if they be not, we can hardly hope that they will become consistent churchmen. I was myself never fully aware of the close connexion between the Church Catechism and the word of God, till I drew up a Tract in which the one was explained by the other. I would add that there is no one subject on which I find more frequent mention in the writings of him among my predecessors, whom we should all wish to take for our guide. Bishop Wilson again and again enjoins catechising, the insular Canons which form a part of the law of the island enjoin it, and yet as far as I can learn it has fallen into general disuse. I feel convinced that the neglect of the Church Catechism has done more to undermine the true principles of our Church than any other one thing. While we teach by a formulary we teach systematically. Without one, each man may teach what is right in his own eyes, and not the doctrines of the Church.

CHURCHES CONSECRATED.

Walton	Stafford	Bp. of Hereford, for Bp. of Lichfield.
All Saints	St. Pancras	Bp. of London.
Baswick		Bp. of Hereford.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We thank "A Presbyter" for his letter, and will examine the point to which the first half of it relates.

We have to thank H. S. E. for some interesting matter. The difficulty he suggests on the subject of going into the pulpit immediately after the Nicene Creed, seems to us no very forcible one. Such matters of habit are soon controlled.

We are again compelled to postpone W. K.'s interesting communication; also that by W. P. N. with which we cordially concur, and which we hope soon to insert.

On the whole, we agree with "A Country Curate."

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

MARCH, 1843.

The exclusive Claims of Puseyite Episcopalians to the Christian Ministry indefensible; with an Inquiry into the Divine Right of Episcopacy and the Apostolic Succession; in a Series of Letters to the Rev. Dr. Pusey. By JOHN BROWN, D.D., *Minister of Langton, Berwickshire.* Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute. London: Nisbet and Co. 1842.

The Presbyterian Review, &c. No. LVIII. *October*, 1842.

WE have never been able to speak of the learning of the Scottish Establishment in complimentary terms. Its very ablest members are exceedingly ignorant men, who not only are devoid of theological information, but who have hardly ever felt the want. The Universities take no great pains to suggest its importance to them. The professors of divinity have commonly, we suspect, known less of their science than such Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates as have been led into the study; and the pupils have acquired no more than what their masters' lectures may have supplied. Of all idle and unprofitable kinds of education, that which consists mainly in attending lectures is about the idlest and most unprofitable. None is so apt to persuade the learner he knows all about a subject, none so apt to dismiss him knowing next to nothing. If the professor examine his pupils, it is in what he has himself said; consequently they have little inducement to betake themselves to books. They thus pass through eight years* of nominal study, only two of which need be devoted to the classics, while the succeeding one is occupied with what is termed logic, but in reality consists of the elements of some one system of metaphysics, logic proper, and the belles-lettres; the next with moral philosophy, including both metaphysics and ethics; and the next, which winds up the *curriculum* in arts, with natural philosophy, attendance on which class is usually accompanied by attendance on the mathematical class. The student, now completed in arts, if designed for the ministry, commences his professional learning, and (will our Southern readers believe

* *i. e.* Half years, for the University *Session*, as it is termed, consists of no more than six months; and during them only do the students enjoy any assistance from the professors.

Digitized by Google

us?) is actually obliged to devote four years to Divinity, including the several branches of doctrinal and practical Theology, and the kindred studies of Hebrew and Church History. What is there in English ecclesiastical education to compare with this? Surely the Southern academic must exclaim, our Northern brethren, however wrong in their distinctive opinions, must be consummate theologians. Yet are they so? They are, in fact, about the least informed in divinity of any communion under the sun; nor is the cause difficult to explain. Admirable as the appointment of four years devoted to theology is in itself, the science is pursued, let it be remembered, in the very same way as the other pursuits of the University; *i. e.* by attendance on the lectures of its professors, which lectures, if the best possible, can never be useful, except as *guides to* study, and which, not being in the North the best possible, are there, we believe, *substitutes for* study. What is the standard of theology in the Scottish Establishment may appear from the circumstance of Dr. Chalmers filling the theological chair at Edinburgh, and of his having been appointed thereto by *merit.* We feel all the respect that Churchmen can well be expected to have for that remarkable man,—all the admiration that is undoubtedly due to his eloquence, his ingenuity, his powers of illustration. We reverence his possession of so much Christian truth under so many disadvantages as we cannot but regard them. But surely it needs but a very slight familiarity with his writings to pronounce him as fit to be a professor of divinity (on any principle recognised out of Scotland) as to be a professor of Chinese. Hebrew, we believe, is despatched in one year, *i. e.* one half year; and it is not long since the chair of Hebrew, in one of the principal Universities, was filled by a gentleman, whose great aim on commencing his professional labours was to be always himself acquiring a lesson or two a-head of his class. Church history is similarly acquired by listening to a professor's lectures. That much knowledge in so ample and varied a field, in many places, moreover, so rugged and difficult, could be gained in this way we never believed; at the same time, since the attendance of divinity students on such lectures is quite compulsory, we at one time were rather puzzled by the fact, that the ignorance of the Scottish ministers on this especial subject seemed not merely exceeding but complete. Our wonder, however, ceased on being told of what the course of lectures consisted. It extends from the Creation, either to or beyond the Reformation, and this extensive subject being handled by one man, in the course of a single session, *i. e.* half year, his auditors being engaged with other classes and pursuits, as well as this luckless one of Church History, it may easily be imagined that their progress in any department of it can be next to nothing, and that of the history of the Church, properly so called, they remain nearly as igno-

Digitized by Google

rant at the close as they were at the commencement of the session.*

Thus prepared, the candidate for the ministry proceeds to be examined before the Presbytery, his examiners having been educated no otherwise or better than himself, with the additional disadvantage of having probably allowed whatever attainments they possessed to get rusty. When once admitted to the ministry, there are but two ways of distinguishing himself open to the Scottish presbyterian. He may either succeed, perchance, as a preacher, by copying the vicious styles of writing and declamation which are in favour around him, or he may become a conspicuous party leader in the courts of the Kirk. Either way, he has neither mercenary nor much other inducement to pursue difficult or remote studies; for if he is to succeed as a preacher, his mind must contentedly travel round the very bounded horizon of topics with which the public mind of his community is familiar, and to which alone it is inclined to listen; if he is to obtain influence as a party man, it is obvious that he needs no learning beyond the records of the Presbyterian Kirk itself, and the complications of its present struggle.

Yet events are taking place around these men which may well make them alive to the importance of greater ecclesiastical knowledge and richer theological acquirements than they have hitherto possessed or desired. That Episcopal Church, which till lately it was so easy for them to overlook, is now appearing conspicuously, and bearing loudly the witness for apostolical order which it has always borne faithfully. Its very peaceableness, and abstinence from all assault on them, is assuredly an element of danger, inasmuch as it is a manifestation of virtue. Its own clergy have been distinguished by the possession of much learning, acquired under grievous difficulties; and now that their claims to Divine authority are attracting attention, their gainsayers must prepare themselves to meet not only their acquirements, but those of the erudite defenders of Episcopacy in our Church also,—the learning of Hooker, of Hall, of Hammond, of Taylor, and of Leslie. The presbyterians are beginning to feel the necessity of this; and accordingly we have before us two attempts to meet our learned divines with their own weapons. Of these the one is a laudatory review of the other.

In our September number we gave an opinion of that other, Dr. Brown's letters to Dr. Pusey. We then stated those letters to be "the work of a presbyterian minister, who certainly gives proofs of more learning than is usual in the community to which

* We are writing of the Scottish Universities as they have hitherto been. Considerable and creditable attempts at improvement have, we believe, been lately made; but, nevertheless, that cannot be imparted which nobody has got. Could Divinity professors be found as distinguished in their department as the present Classical professors at Glasgow in theirs, the case would be altered.

Digitized by Google

he belongs; but who, after all, is too ignorant to be qualified for the discussion he has undertaken. He ludicrously misconceives some of the most important elements of the question; and after the fashion of many others on his side, fancies he is startling and annihilating us with objections to which we have long been used, for which we are fully prepared, and which we can dispose of in an instant." A further acquaintance with Dr. Brown's book has given us no reason to alter or modify this opinion. That he has been what is called a reading man is obvious enough, and we respect him for so honourable a characteristic in such an absence of stimulants from surrounding example. But this very circumstance, that he is somewhat solitary in such studious practice, which in itself is highly to his credit, is a drawback to his proficiency. He has no means of measuring his attainments. He must of necessity find himself cited all around as the best, being the only, authority on all points relating to the past. Accordingly it is by no means easy for him to ascertain what he has left undone,—what he has overlooked,—what remains to be explored,—what additional elements bear on any question he has taken up. This is, perhaps, a greater advantage in our English academical education, even, than any positive acquirements that may be reaped from it—that a man who has been at one of our Universities, however little his positive knowledge, knows the amount of his ignorance,—knows what would be requisite to the satisfactory investigation of any subject. He may, by his own idleness and sloth, debar himself from the means of arriving at conclusions on any given question; but he is less likely than nearly any other person to fancy himself entitled, under such circumstances, to do so.

We need say little of Dr. Brown's reviewer. He is in all respects a much less respectable antagonist than the Doctor himself. Some of his remarks are in a strain of uncharitable ribaldry, which puts him out of the pale of honourable controversy, while his ecclesiastical knowledge is as fresh, raw, and uncontinuous, as can well be imagined.*

If our readers, then, feel disposed to confide in our estimate of these two champions of presbyterianism, their minds will be at ease as to any serious damage which the cause of the Church is likely to have sustained at their hands. Consequently we have no intention of answering either of them in detail. It is manifestly out of the question that we should consider and

* This anonymous writer makes much of a discovery which he has recently made, that the Canonists very generally consider bishops and priests as but one order. Nevertheless they held Episcopacy to be *jure-divino*, and necessary to ordination. Mr. Palmer has discussed their opinions in his Treatise on the Church. We must also refute a charge brought by the Presbyterian reviewer against the memory of Laud, whom he quotes as denying the necessity of visible succession. If he looks at the passages he brings forward again, he will, we think, see that Laud is speaking of visible succession *in one place*, i. e. the claims of the Roman see. He denies that there is a promise to the Church of perpetuity in any one place, though there is of her being always preserved, and therefore always existing somewhere.

Digitized by Google

answer Dr. Brown's arguments and *quasi* arguments one by one; for to do so would involve filling as many pages as his own thick duodecimo; nor is it necessary for our present purpose. By far the most of them are so utterly irrelevant, and so easily answered by any Churchman who at all understands the ground he takes, that they can occasion no disturbance in the minds of members of the Church, for whose sake, and not with a view of proselytizing presbyterians, we write at present. Of these misconceptions of our presbyterian controversialist, we shall therefore merely give a specimen or two, in order that the parties for whose sake we write may feel at ease as to their character, and then proceed to answer the one or two objections to episcopacy which are to a certain extent difficulties, and which may therefore occasion perplexity if left unnoticed.

The character, then, of Dr. Brown's arguments shows, we say, that he does not yet understand the question he has undertaken to discuss. And here there is no occasion for enlarging on his ignorance, not very blameable, of the laws, constitution, and state of the Church of England, as, for example, in the case of the authority held by the Canons of 1603.* But however excusable as a Scotchman and a presbyterian for not being conversant with English ecclesiastical law, he is by no means so as a controversialist for not making himself master of the ground taken by Churchmen anywhere,—for not understanding, in fact, what he is about. We have already spoken of the difficulty which a man of studious habits, in a place and community where he stands alone in them, must experience in measuring the extent of his acquirements, and so ascertaining whether he has really mastered any grave question, or has overlooked some of its essential elements. Still there is one test which he may easily apply, and which it would be well for Dr. Brown if he had proposed to himself. There is nothing which ought to make a controversialist more suspicious of himself than great and easy triumph. In proportion to its extent, and his facility in arriving at it, is the likelihood of its being premature. If the cause he is attacking be one which has been maintained by the learning and wisdom of ages, then numerous *reductiones ad absurdum* on his part afford a strong probability that he is labouring under some serious mistake. Were the position of high Churchmen one quarter so untenable as Dr. Brown has represented it, it would never have been perseveringly occupied by such men as Taylor, Hammond, Bull, Beveridge, Waterland, and Jones. And to show how easily one can get out of Dr. Brown's meshes, we will give a specimen or two of what he thinks the absurdities to which we are reduced.

In the first place, we have the old story produced, as if it

* Dr. Brown imagines that the Canons of 1603 possess no authority, as not having been ratified by Parliament. Any English lawyer, however, would have told him that they have been ever held to bind the clergy *proprio vigore*. They may therefore be appealed to as authoritative expressions of the mind of the English Church.

Digitized by Google

were a perfect novelty, and had never been discussed, or even thought of, by episcopalians, about persons ordained in the episcopal Church, who have never received episcopal baptism.* So delighted is Dr. Brown with this argument, that he pauses on it, reiterates it, illustrates it, amplifies it, and winds up by hoping that, after his having brought it forward, Dr. Pusey and his friends will reconsider the whole question of the succession. But facts, we think, tend to damp a sanguine expectation like this. The argument has been brought forward so very often, and the doctrine of the apostolical succession been persisted in notwithstanding, that we fear Dr. Brown will hardly find it answer his wishes in this respect.

In truth, had he been really conversant with the subject, Dr. Brown must have seen the answer to himself by dint of about ten minutes' reflection. The advocates of the apostolical succession have notoriously entertained different opinions respecting the validity of baptisms administered in the name of the Trinity, without the pale of that succession. Neither party, therefore, can regard its opinion on this latter point as equally established with its opinion on the former. Who, then, does not see that, were those who maintain the nullity of the baptisms in question convinced that such an opinion overthrew the succession, they would forthwith abandon it,—that they would look on it as brought thereby to a plain *reductio ad absurdum.* No such consequence, however, is really involved in the matter. However improper it may be to ordain persons whom we know to be unbaptized, the succession cannot be overthrown by this having been done from ignorance or a false opinion, unless we are prepared to maintain that none can be vehicles of grace from which they may be debarred themselves, an opinion which reaches alarmingly far.

Another prematurely sounded note of triumph will show how little Dr. Brown has entered into the spirit of episcopal ideas; and how, from inability to interpret, he is unable to refute, them.

He undertakes to dispose of the analogy which has been, more or less, insisted on at all times, between the three orders of the Christian, and the corresponding three of the Jewish, ecclesiastical polity; and he sets to work as follows:—

"In the *third* place, if the analogy be sanctioned in the New Testament, and the ministry of the Christian is to be assimilated to that of the ancient Church, it will furnish an argument for *the Papacy*, and not for your form of ecclesiastical polity.

"You are aware that there was only a single individual in the highest order of the Jewish hierarchy, and that he acted as high-priest to the whole people of Israel. Several high-priests are indeed mentioned occasionally as living at the same time, but, as is remarked by Ravius, they were either

* We beg our author's pardon. We find him making a slight reference to Episcopalian consciousness of this difficulty: but if he be really conversant with the way in which it is met, we have a worse charge to make against him than that of ignorance.

Digitized by Google

those who, though they had held that office, were deposed by the Romans, and retained only the name, or the heads of the twenty-four courses of priests of the second order, who, except as the presidents of these courses, differed only nominally from the common priests. And as this office was held only by a single individual, so he acted as high priest not only to the nation of Israel, as has sometimes been asserted, but to the whole ancient Church, whatever might be its extent. That Church, it is admitted, consisted, indeed, principally of a single nation; but still it included also the people of the Gibeonites, and many other Gentiles, and their number at some times seems to have been very considerable. Nay, whatever might be the proselytes who should be converted to the faith of the God of Israel, and however distant their dwellings from the land of Canaan, they were to be members of a church which had only a single high-priest. If we are to follow, therefore, the model of the Jewish hierarchy, we must adopt a form of ecclesiastical polity different from yours, and from that of all the other protestant episcopal churches, whose bishops must be laid aside, and though in some respects similar, different even from popery, and from every other form of ecclesiastical government which has been witnessed by the world. We would assuredly have a bishop, but there would not be another on the face of the earth; and all the cardinals would be dismissed, all the metropolitans would be discarded, and all the vicars-apostolic, with a single exception, would be done away; for though the high-priest had a deputy, he had no more than one;—and upon that single supreme universal pontiff would devolve the performance of every act of confirmation, ordination, and jurisdiction, not only in a particular country, such as England, or France, or Russia, or China, supposing it to be evangelized, but throughout the whole Catholic Church. Such, Sir, is the tendency of this boasted analogy between the polity of the Christian and the Old Testament Churches,—an analogy, I confess, which, if you were able to establish it, would be completely subversive of presbyterian purity, but which would be equally fatal to episcopal pre-eminence, and even to popish supremacy, and which would introduce a system not only impracticable in itself, but in a great measure dissimilar to every other government which has existed in the Church."—Pp. 108—111.

"And I would observe, in the last place, that if he were only a bishop, so far as it furnished an argument for an order superior to priests and deacons in the Christian ministry, it would prove by far too much. It would demonstrate, indeed, that there ought to be such an order, but it would be an order which could include only a single individual, and on that individual would devolve not only the duties of ordination and confirmation, but of jurisdiction and discipline throughout the universal Church. But as an argument which leads to such obvious absurdities contains within itself its own refutation, it must be upon very different grounds that you will maintain the cause of diocesan episcopacy, and persuade us to embrace your favourite doctrine, that where there is no bishop there can be no Church."—Pp. 125-6.

It is no part of our present business to stand up for this analogy, or to investigate the limits of its safe application; but we must say it comes scatheless out of the ordeal of Dr. Brown's reasoning. Had he at all caught the patristic meaning, he would have seen that his objections are worth nothing. There was but a single high-priest among the Jews, because the Jewish Church was not only one but single, *i. e.* alone as well as one. The Christian Church being universal does not seem calculated to have the one of these attributes, although the other is its essential character, its very end and aim. The consequence is, that the Catholic Church being not numerically, but internally

Digitized by Google

and characteristically, one, is all in every part, each specimen is a microcosm of the whole, and therefore, if we are to count on discovering an analogy between the Church and the Temple, we are to look for it in each diocese. There was but one high priest, and nowhere can there be two bishops. The episcopate is one; and the Catholic believer, in passing from diocese to diocese, considers himself to be under the one apostolate, just as he is under one sky and one sun. Every where he finds the Bishop. The men, as men, are numerous and different, but the sacred office is one and the same.

We might skirmish long with Dr. Brown on his misapprehensions and ignorances; but we have said enough to show our lay Church friends in Scotland that he is not an authority to be trusted, and that their own familiarity with divers matters in which he is quite at sea may enable them to dismiss from their minds any uneasiness about his power of damaging their cause.

Before, however, entering on our remaining task, we must take some notice of a fallacy under which he, along with many others, is labouring, because it is not merely a great one, but tends to darken the whole question. He thinks the great point is, how far the episcopal Churches correspond with, or diverge from, the primitive model; and finding, as he could hardly fail to do, many points of exceeding dissimilarity between them and what he imagines to be the Church of the apostolical age, as exhibited in the New Testament, as well as that of subsequent, but still comparatively primitive, times, he conceives that he has made out a strong case against us.

Now, in the first place, well-instructed Churchmen will hardly, with Dr. Brown, look in the New Testament for the model of a Church, and for these plain reasons, that they have received no warrant for expecting to find such a thing there, and that the times of the New Testament being the times when the Church was not completed, but in a state of gradual formation, they feel that nothing can be more unlikely than their finding such a thing there. And in the next place, they do not seek for a model Church at all, and therefore are little moved when the early Church, the final result of apostolic labours, is urged against them *in this regard.* If, indeed, there be any thing in their ecclesiastical polity which they are called on to re-arrange or adjust, they will, on the whole, consider that Church as their best example. But this is a duty to which they are seldom called; and at all times they feel that the great question is not their similarity in every respect to the apostolical Church, but their identity with it. Have the promises bestowed on it run on to them? Christ, through His apostles, instituted a great society, His Church, in which He was to be mystically present throughout all time, and by incorporation into which men were to become partakers of Him. Is the religious society to which we belong part of that great society? He commissioned certain

Digitized by Google

to go forth, to preach, to baptize, to consecrate His holy Supper, to bless, to bind, and to loose, in His name. Have our clergy received their share of this commission? These, obviously, are the great questions. It is easy to see that the continuity of the Church is not affected by certain changes in its proportions. Such changes are but natural, and analogous to those undergone by every other polity in the lapse of ages. The British Constitution remains, though King, Lords, and Commons have greatly altered from the days of yore, in respect of relative prominence and power. And in exactly the same way, while we proclaim our own identity in essential being with the early Church, we may frankly admit that vast changes have taken place. Our bishops are true bishops, and are genuine successors of early prelates, but they are not in precisely the same relation as their primitive ancestors to the body of the Church and the public services of religion. In primitive times we need not tell our readers that the bishop was the principal ordinary minister of the Word and Sacraments. Such a disposition of matters was doubtless good and edifying; but not being essential to the existence and continuation of the Church, there may have been reasons in the Providential course of things why it should have been allowed in some measure to disappear; for the Church is too living a body not to grow, and in growth to modify the proportions of her members, those members all the while remaining, and her continuity being carried on without interruption. Two causes at once occur to account for the considerable withdrawal of the bishop from the ordinary offices of religion which characterises the modern system; one connected with the Church's growth and development, and therefore not to be complained of; the other, as we believe, a fault, and therefore to be deplored. The first cause is the rise and progress of the parochial system, which was in most respects unknown to the early Church; the second is the monstrous size of modern dioceses. Either of those topics suggests matter for much reflection, on which we cannot enter now.

The great question then is, not absolute correspondence with a certain primitive model, but connexion with the primitive body in which the promises were lodged; in other words, the question of the Apostolical Succession. How is this connexion guaranteed and authenticated? How is this succession conveyed and continued? We say by an order of men succeeding the apostles in their plenitude of ecclesiastical power, and therefore capable not only of carrying out the ministry of reconciliation themselves, but of enabling others to carry it out also, *i. e.* by bishops, and by their ordination. This is the one great question between Dr. Brown and ourselves; for we will not at present stay to inquire whether, were we to grant that the episcopate is not the essential channel of ordination,—that the presbyterate can keep up the apostolical gift and office,—we

Digitized by Google

could find a real succession of presbyters in any non-episcopal community. Waiving this, we now betake ourselves to Dr. Brown's arguments against episcopacy, which are derived from two sources, first the New Testament, and secondly the early Church.

As regards the first, it is important to keep in mind a consideration to which we have already had occasion to advert, that, throughout the New Testament, throughout at least all its books but the last, any notices we may gather of an ecclesiastical polity are descriptive of the gradual formation, not the finished result, of the apostolical system. There is a well-known passage in Epiphanius's answer to Aerius, which furnishes the clue to many of the presbyterian objections to episcopacy. Aerius, in defence of his position that presbyters were altogether equal to bishops, seems to have laid stress on such passages as St. Paul's salutation to but two orders, bishops and deacons, in Philippians i. To this St. Epiphanius replies, that the apostle, during the infancy of the faith, wrote *pro re natâ*,—that all things could not be at once appointed and ordered in the Church by himself and his colleagues,—that there was an immediate necessity for presbyters and deacons to carry on the ordinary ministry, in places where there could not at first be found any one fit for the station of a bishop,—that when there were such, bishops were appointed, even though, by reason of the paucity of believers, there was no need of presbyters, nor any found to fill the office. A bishop, however, must be provided with his deacon; hence two orders are always mentioned. Epiphanius then reiterates his assertion, that the formation of the Church, like that of every thing else, was of necessity but gradual. (Epiph. Hæres. LXXV.) Add to this, that during the lifetime of the apostles they exercised the episcopate in many places themselves; and we shall find additional reason for judging their mind, not from the progress, but from the perfected result, of their labours,—from the Church, not as they lived in it, but as they left it.

When we consider these things, our wonder will perhaps be, not that the direct information on ecclesiastical polity conveyed by the New Testament should be so scanty, but that there should be so much; not that it should be hard for us to press it into the service of episcopacy, but that it should be so easy.

These considerations will apply to most of Dr. Brown's objections to episcopacy from the New Testament. He does not, as he cannot, deny that there are many positive arguments in its favour to be found there. These he tries to refute *seriatim*, but brings forward, as far as we have observed, nothing new, and we have not time to fight all "our battles o'er again," even though we might again count on "routing all the slain." What we have said will suffice to show that nothing can be argued from the occasional mention of but two orders,—that where an

Digitized by Google

apostle was present, there there was *ipso facto* a bishop, and, by the way, a strong probability against there having been as yet any other bishop,* in such place,—and that it is incumbent on those who argue against episcopacy from such notices of undeveloped and unarranged Churches, to prove that it was indeed the episcopate that was as yet unsupplied. In many places it may have been the presbyterate. From the names *presbyter* and *bishop*, as Dr. Brown must well know, nothing can be argued. He who was not only an apostle, but the symbol of the apostolate, could call himself συμπρεσβύτερος with the presbyters, and so may, and (as we shall by and by see) so did his episcopal successors.

But even if Dr. Brown could find in the New Testament notices of something more to his purpose than occasional uncertainty as to whether Churches alluded to had or had not the three orders,—even if he could find clear instances of *government by presbyters*,—he would not have thereby vindicated his position. For even while the Churches were incomplete, and those arrangements which were to give its bishop to each were not yet carried out, they must have had affairs to be managed; they must have been governed in some way. An apostle could not have been always present; and no arrangement could have been more natural than to commit the management of affairs to a council of the presbyters; just as, *sede vacante*, the Roman presbyters governed their Church during the year and a half between the martyrdom of Fabian and the election of Cornelius, and just as, in the like circumstances, the dean and chapter of Canterbury, at this day, preside over the diocese. This state of matters may have lasted a longer or a shorter time, according to circumstances; and thus St. Jerome, in a well-known passage, which we shall have to consider by and by, may have asserted what was in a great measure true, but which, however true, did not warrant his conclusions from it.

The one thing for Dr. Brown, or any writer on his side, to do is, to bring forward an authenticated case in Scripture, or the early Church, of other than episcopal ordination. Ordination is the *differentia* of the bishop. Jurisdiction is an almost inseparable adjunct to such a power, but its degrees may vary with circumstances, and in the bishop's absence it may be exercised by others. But we say that the bishop is the necessary minister of ordination, and therefore that his office in this respect is indispensable to the prolongation and continuance of the Church. And the New Testament contains but two difficulties in the way of this view of the subject.

The first is the narrative in the opening of Acts xiii.:—"Now there were in the Church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been

* See Christian Remembrancer (New Series), vol. iii. p. 215.

Digitized by Google

brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and *laid their hands on them*, they sent them away."

It does not appear to us perfectly certain who were the imposers of hands denoted by the word *they*. It is on the whole most natural to refer it to the prophets and teachers just mentioned; but in that list appear the names of Saul and Barnabas themselves, so that it must undergo some modification before we can identify it with their supposed ordainers. May not *they* mean the proper ministers of ordination, whoever they were, to whose function recourse was had in order that the mandate of the Spirit might be fulfilled, and who might, we think, be thus designated in ordinary language, just as one says, They have passed such a law, They are going to make such a change, and the like?*

Next; it is extremely uncertain that the ceremony narrated in this place was ordination at all. If it was, how are we to understand St. Paul's declaration in the Epistle to the Galatians, that he was "an apostle not of man, neither by man?" It is surely natural to infer from these words that, whereas there were apostles designated to the office by human choice, and ordained to it by human hands, St. Paul was neither, having been, like the original Twelve, both directly selected and directly commissioned by the great Head of the Church? an argument, by the way, for episcopacy, which Dr. Brown has occasion to quote along with other matters from the late Bishop Gleig, but which he has omitted to answer. Laying on of hands was, we think, practised on so many occasions, was so much the recognised form of blessing, as to make Jeremy Taylor's conjecture far from improbable, that on this occasion it had reference only to the especial mission on which the two apostles were going to set out; and was not the conferring on them any standing, place, or office, in the Church which they had not possessed before.

But granting that it was ordination, two things are to be considered: first, that it was performed in virtue of direct revelation, which, of course, gives all that warrant and authenticity to the performance, which in its absence is supplied, according to our opinion, by the apostolical succession. It cannot therefore be reasoned from. Next, we are altogether ignorant of the precise standing and offices of the prophets and teachers in question. They may have had the plenitude of power, *i. e.* may have been bishops.

The only other place in Scripture which even seems to favour presbyterian ordination is, 1 Tim. iv. 14.:—"Neglect not the gift that is in thee by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." On which we may remark that many, among whom Calvin is to be

Digitized by Google

* Compare Luke xxiv. 33—36.

found, connect the genitive τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου with gift: "Neglect not the gift of the priesthood that is in thee by the imposition of hands." In another place, St. Paul mentions his having ordained Timothy himself. Nor can we argue from the title presbytery, even if we determine to connect it with the laying on of hands, that the body thus collectively styled were not in the highest grade of the ministry.

These, then, constitute the whole case of our opponents from Scripture, and these in our view do not forward their interests one step. Let us now see how they fare with Christian antiquity; to which, as giving us the finished result of apostolic labours, we are constrained to have recourse in a question like this.

And here, too, we may discard a great many of Dr. Brown's citations as totally irrelevant: for example, his quotations from Clement of Rome, Irenæus, and others in which mention is made of but two orders of clergy, or in which the succession and the government and administration of the Church is spoken of as residing in presbyters.* Nothing, under the circumstances, was more natural than frequently to speak of the two upper orders together, and separate from them the third, who differed more in their ordinary ministry from the second than the second from the first. For be it remembered that the bishop in those days was *summus sacerdos*,—that he was, as we have said, regularly occupied with the ministration of the Word and Sacraments —that therefore he and his place and duties were oftener presented to men's minds in reference to those matters which were common to him with the presbyterate, than in reference to those which, being altogether peculiar to him, constitute the *differentia* of his office. The like sometimes happens with us in the exactly opposite direction. The bishop has in great measure retreated from the ordinary ministration of the Word and Sacraments, upon those functions which are solely and distinctively his, and therefore in no comprehensive reference to our hierarchy could we easily overlook the episcopate. But the deacon is seldom seen in his distinctive capacity. To superficial observers priests and deacons seem to exercise on ordinary occasions an identical ministry, and therefore we naturally speak of the bishops and the clergy; and it might quite as reasonably be inferred from such expressions that the Church of England had dispensed with the diaconate, as from the corresponding ones in question, that the early Churches felt at liberty to dispense with the episcopate. We repeat it, on ordinary occasions the bishop was seen engaged in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments,—nay, he was the ordinary stated minister of them, the presbyters appearing on occasions comparatively accidental. He was therefore spoken

* One of these, that from Firmilian, is so obviously useless for his purpose, that the writer must be *in antiquitate plane hospes* who ventures to quote it in defence of presbyterianism. Its true use, as coming from one in whose time the existence and universality of the three orders is beyond all question, is to show how little those similar ones brought forward from earlier fathers can serve the antiepiscopal cause.

Digitized by Google

of and thought of in reference to those ordinary duties of the priesthood which he was continually seen discharging.

Of course Dr. Brown labours to do away with a body of distinct evidence on our side which he must feel, if admitted, nullifies all the chance expressions elsewhere, at which he catches as favouring his—we mean the smaller Epistles of Ignatius, much of which even the German Neander allows to be of incontrovertible antiquity. We do not mean to enter the lists with him on this subject; suffice it to say that his objections, neither very novel nor very far reaching in their effects, extend only to the Greek version discovered at Florence by Vossius,* the Latin one found about the same time at Cambridge remaining untouched, as regards most of the evidence in its favour.

To come to our point, however—has Dr. Brown produced any cases from Christian antiquity of ordinations other than episcopal? Of course he fastens on the statements of St. Jerome and of Eutychius regarding the early practice of the Alexandrian Church, a subject on which we mean to pause for a while, because we think it has been somewhat slurred over by some of the most distinguished writers on our side, and because it is one of the few arguments advanced by Dr. Brown, which may occasion perplexity to such intelligent Churchmen in Scotland as may not have leisure for its investigation.

The assertions of St. Jerome, at which Presbyterians catch, occur, as is well known, in two places, his Commentary on Titus, and his Epistle to Evagrius or Evangelus. Elsewhere he throws out in a chance way the assertion that the difference between bishop and presbyter is one, not of office, but of name. As, however, it is only in the two places in question that he at all vindicates and illustrates such a position, it is with them only that a controversialist need concern himself. Of the former—that in the Commentary on Titus—it is sufficient at present to observe that it is merely the author's way of explaining the phenomenon he found in the sacred document before him, the interchangeable use of the titles bishop and presbyter; and as his assertion of the original identity of the two offices, and of the subsequent distinction being made in order to suppress schism, of which Corinth had presented so deplorable an example, is advanced without any attempt at proof, we must consider it as but a conjecture to account for a difficulty which needs no such solution. It is at variance, as it stands, both with the sacred, and with much earlier and so far more trustworthy, ecclesiastical history; and even granting that with some modifications necessary from these circumstances, it may not be wholly without foundation in fact, it need occasion us no perplexity, on the principles we have been laying down. For, in the absence of apostles, and before the complete organization of Churches, their affairs not only may,

* And even as regards that, it must be observed, that they are nearly all drawn from one epistle, that to Polycarp,—of the smaller, that which is perhaps the only questionable one.

Digitized by Google

but we may almost say, must, have been mainly administered by councils of presbyters, and St. Jerome in this place asserts no more than this. He does not here allude to ordination.

We may therefore leave this passage and confine our attention to the Epistle to Evagrius, and the statement of Eutychius connected with, and very possibly born of it.

Now, the former of these, taken by itself, proves nothing on the side of our opponents, inasmuch as Jerome seems to refer mainly to the fact of the Alexandrian presbyters in early times electing their bishop, and says not one word as to who might then ordain him. It is quite natural, quite in accordance with the usage of common speech, to speak of the former proceeding, as *placing the presbyter elected in the loftier grade*, seeing that consecration followed it almost as a matter of course, just as we now-a-days speak of the Crown or the Minister making such an one a bishop, though all the world knows, that he is not really one till consecrated.* It is probable, as Hooker says, that the force of Jerome's argument, which is directed here against the pride of deacons rather than of bishops, consists in the presbyters having elected one *of themselves* as bishop, instead of having one imposed upon them from an external source; which would be a very good argument for the inherent dignity of the presbyterate and its capacity of administering ecclesiastical affairs. His only allusion to ordination here is in a sentence which, as far as it goes, is on our side; "What does the bishop which the presbyter cannot do, *except ordination?*"

From this passage then, by itself, nothing can be concluded in favour of our opponents, since there is no distinct indication of St. Jerome's having even thought of episcopal consecration while he was composing it.

It might, however, receive some meaning to that effect, did we admit the parallel statement in Eutychius, which Dr. Brown, too fastidiously critical to ascribe any authority to the smaller Epistles of Ignatius, on the ground of one or two Latin words that are to be found in them, eagerly embraces and contends for, in spite of its manifest opposition to known facts. That we may not seem unfair, we give his whole argument from it.

"And says Eutychius, who is represented by Ebn Abi Osbae as a 'man well acquainted with the sciences and institutions which were in use among the Christians,' and whose testimony coincides with that of Jerome, 'Hananias was the first of the patriarchs who were set over the Church of Alexandria. For Mark the Evangelist appointed along with the patriarch Hananias twelve presbyters, who should continue along with the patriarch, so that when the patriarchate became vacant they should choose one of the twelve presbyters, upon whose head the other eleven laying their hands, *should themselves bless him and create him a patriarch;* and then they should

* And, moreover, election does confer certain episcopal privileges. The bishop of Rome is considered by his followers head of the Church from the day of his election, even if not yet a *presbyter*, although as yet incapable of such spiritual acts as require an ordination to them; and just so the bishop elect with us has a certain jurisdiction over his diocese, though he must wait for his consecration before he can confirm or ordain.

Digitized by Google

choose some distinguished man in his room who was made patriarch, that so there might be always twelve. Nor did this institution respecting the presbyters at Alexandria, that they should create the patriarchs from the twelve presbyters, cease till the time of Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria, who was of that number three hundred and eighteen. But he forbade the presbyters afterwards *to create* the patriarch, and decreed that when the patriarch was dead the bishops should assemble, who should ordain the patriarch. Also he decreed, that when the patriarchate was vacant, they should choose either from any quarter, or from these twelve presbyters, or from others, some eminent man of approved probity, and should create him patriarch. And *thus vanished that more ancient institution, according to which the patriarchate was wont to be created by the presbyters*, and there succeeded in its place the decree respecting the creation of the patriarch by the bishops. And as it is obvious that he could have no inducement to make this statement, but a regard to truth, because, as he himself was a patriarch, it was fitted to lessen the respectability of his order, inasmuch as it showed a deviation from the mode of creating the patriarchs, which had been recommended by the Evangelist; and as it is confirmed by Jerome, who was born only *about eighty years* after the change took place, and who had the best opportunities to become acquainted with the fact, as he lived much in the East, it is perfectly capricious on the part of episcopalians to question their testimony. Ussher, who was one of the most able and learned of their bishops, examined the evidence in former times with the utmost care, and declared himself to be satisfied, and there appears to be no good reason why it ought not to satisfy them now. If they have perfect confidence in the lists of bishops of some of the Churches given by Eusebius, though he lived *nearly three hundred years* after the time when they commenced, nothing but a conviction that it bears so strongly against diocesan episcopacy, and the apostolical succession, could prompt them to doubt the statement of Jerome, who lived *so much nearer to the event* which he reports, corroborated as it is by another individual who himself presided over the See of Alexandria, and might have access to its records, and who will be acknowledged at least to be an impartial witness. But if the bishops of Alexandria, as Ussher affirmed, *for two hundred and fifty years* were made by presbyters, either by election without ordination, or by laying their hands on their heads, and setting them apart to their office, I would like to be informed whether the succession must not have been broken even at the very beginning, during that long period. And as Alexandria was one of the largest and most populous bishoprics in the early Church, I shall leave it to any candid individual to say, whether he can estimate the amount of the disorder and confusion which may have been introduced into other sections of the Christian Church, by clergymen coming into them, whose orders, upon your principles, must have been irregular and invalid."—Pp. 280—283.

In spite even of the high authority of Ussher, we imagine there are few who will not agree with us in considering this whole story from Eutychius as of very little value. His annals, written in the tenth century, contain other legends palpably false, and that in question is, as we have said, inconsistent with plain history. For its chronology is so manifestly absurd, that even Neander, who, for obvious reasons, is disposed to treat the passage indulgently, confesses that it cannot be allowed for true as it stands, and does but cling to a persuasion that it may indicate something of a truth. The probability is, that Eutychius rested on the authority of St. Jerome, whose facts however he distorts.

Nevertheless, let us pay the patriarch of the tenth century a compliment which he scarcely deserves, let us make what will

Digitized by Google

at first sight seem rather a startling concession to Dr. Brown, and accept not only the statement of St. Jerome, but so much of the story told by Eutychius as is not inconsistent therewith. The two statements, thus reconciled and put together, will then amount to the following. In the Church of Alexandria, from the time of St. Mark to that of Heraclas and Dionysius, the presbyters, twelve in number, chose from among themselves, and laid hands on their bishop, the remaining eleven coming up to him and each blessing and laying hands on him.

Even if this were so, it would remain to be shown that we are here told of anything but a peculiar ceremony whereby the party elected was designated to what undoubtedly was a very peculiar patriarchate, and whether, if not already in episcopal orders, he had not still to seek episcopal consecration from the only persons who had power to confer it, the neighbouring bishops. That the imposition of the presbyters' hands was but a ceremony of recognition is, we think, apparent on the face of the narrative, the details bearing no resemblance to any known ceremony of ordination.

Nor are we disposed to consider the story taken thus as altogether improbable. However little regard we may pay to the authority of Eutychius, still it must be remembered that he sate on the patriarchal throne, and must have been in contact with the traditions, of Alexandria, which makes it likely that his story, though manifestly untrue, represents a truth. Nor have we any reason for accusing St. Jerome of making an entirely gratuitous statement. We are, therefore, constrained to believe that the Church of Alexandria underwent a change in her constitution sometime in the third century,—a change, which tended to assimilate her to the rest of the Church. That St. Mark, guided by considerations to which we have no clue, originally imposed on her a very peculiar constitution, is probable enough, seeing that, after the change in question, she was still different in constitution and practice from other Churches. This is a fact which must strike all who are conversant with ecclesiastical antiquities. The patriarch of Alexandria, according to some, possessed a jurisdiction to which the rest of the Church presents us with no parallel. He alone, say they, ordained throughout the patriarchate, although it contained numerous bishops besides. The Egyptian presbyters, too, seem, even in the fifth century, to have enjoyed a consideration, and to have been trusted with a discretionary power, withheld from their order at that time elsewhere. Other circumstances might be referred to, showing how the peculiar situation, circumstances, and duties of the Alexandrian Church were connected with peculiarities of custom and constitution.

Now, were we to carry our conjectures, as to the peculiar constitution bequeathed by St. Mark to the Church which he founded, so far as to embrace the statement of Eutychius, except

Digitized by Google

as regards its manifestly absurd chronology; were we, connecting his story with Jerome's, to believe that the patriarch had no other inauguration to his office than what consisted in the election of the presbyters, and the ceremony which has been described; even then, to what conclusion are we brought? Neither Dr. Brown nor ourselves can believe that the laying on of the presbyters' hands gave the patriarch any directly spiritual gift which he did not possess before; neither of us can hold that it really added to him any power of order; neither of us can, therefore, consider it a new or a fresh ordination. It must have been, on the ground taken by us both, but a peculiar ceremony of recognition. Well, then, it would seem that St. Mark, differing in this from the practice of those who founded the other Churches, bequeathed to twelve men in Alexandria the plenitude of spiritual power,—of such spiritual power as was to be continued in the Church; *i. e.* he bequeathed twelve bishops, for one, to whom the plenitude of ordinary spiritual power has descended, is what we mean by a bishop, whether he was ever called so or not. Those bishops, according to this story, chose their own archbishop, the patriarch, to whom, moreover, the right of ordaining was surrendered, and to whom, as we have said, it was, according to some, by a strange anomaly, confined throughout all Egypt long after this peculiarity was abandoned at Alexandria. Whatever good reason there may have been for a constitution like this, we can easily understand how, as time went on, and an increasing intercourse with the rest of the Church became both more necessary and more practicable, it should have been found inconvenient, and accordingly abandoned, as it must have been singularly perplexing and unintelligible to other Churches. The Church of Alexandria must have come, on this supposition, to the resolution of having for the future but one bishop, surrounded by presbyters, not materially differing from those to be found elsewhere. But, even if all this really was so, does it afford any sanction for dispensing with the apostolical succession? Does it do away with our leading position, that, until the sixteenth century, no ministry was recognised which was not derived in a direct line from the Apostles? Does it justify presbyters, at an interval of sixteen hundred years from those Apostles, resisting the authority of the successors of the Apostles, and assuming a power with which *they*, at least, had never been intrusted? Presbyterians must be made to learn, at last, that it is not mainly because their ordinary ministers have no general over them, (though this, too, we believe to be part of the true scheme of the Church,) that we object to them, but because we do not see that those ministers have received any valid authority to perform the functions on which they venture. Now, we trust that our readers agree with us in finding no argument in the *conjectured* practice of the early Alexandrian Church for believing that the presbyterian clergy have such authority.

Digitized by Google

This case of the Alexandrian Church is the only one that can be regarded as even a seeming difficulty. The one or two other instances of alleged presbyterian ordination brought forward by Dr. Brown have been fully considered and disposed of by others; and as our readers will remember, that our expressed intention was not to answer his arguments, but to guard our lay Church friends in Scotland against the only ones that might occasion them perplexity, we consider that we have now done enough as regards the general question. We have not been writing a treatise on that question; and, therefore, presbyterians, looking into our remarks, must not judge them as if we had, or suppose that its merits are confined to the one or two points on which, for a particular purpose, we have now been dwelling. As for Scottish Churchmen, we can assure them that they may satisfy themselves as to the amount to which Dr. Brown has injured their cause from the specimens they have seen.

One particular topic, however, demands attention. Dr. Brown contends, that, if apostolical succession be necessary, the episcopal Church in Scotland has it not. It is true, he says the same of every Church whatsoever, and on similar grounds,—grounds which, as we shall see, are altogether untenable. The facts * which, according to him, have broken the succession in Scotland, are occasional canonical irregularities in ordinations, of which the only two that are worth dwelling on are the consecrations performed by Bishop Rose at the time of the revolution, wherein he may be considered, (though perhaps not by a fair use of the canon of Chalcedon,) to have ordained bishops ἀπολελυμενῶς, and the consecrations of the Usage-party in opposition to the College. On this latter subject something may, perhaps, be said in a future number, and the unfairness of Dr. Brown will appear, who quotes Skinner's narrative of the proceeding, but omits to mention what Skinner, at the very place quoted, tells us,—that by a concordate between the two parties peace was brought about, and the Usage-bishops acknowledged. However, like one or two other reasoners with whom we have come in contact, he considers every uncanonical ordination invalid; on which supposition we fully grant that it is idle to seek for the apostolical succession anywhere. But who is so ignorant of jurisprudence as not to be familiar with distinctions between irregularity and nullity?

* Besides these, he revives the old story of Iona and the Culdees: as, however, we do not find him attempting to answer Bp. Russell's arguments on this subject, we see no reason for entering on it now. Even if his facts could be allowed him, they would not suit his argument, which is, that in consequence of those facts there is no real Episcopal succession in the British Churches. But the English Church has a clear succession from Theodore and his coadjutors, and the Scotch bishops are an offshoot from that succession; so that any alleged defects before that time need not be considered. Were the case of the Culdees as Dr. Brown represents it, we admit that it would so far serve his cause, as to show that at the times and places in question, Episcopacy was not thought essential.

Digitized by Google

Fieri non debet sed factum valet is a rule that confessedly applies to some things, whether or not it does in that regarding which it is generally cited.

Dr. Brown, however, may tell us of canons that pronounce some ordinations to be altogether null; in particular he may refer to that of Chalcedon, which says as much of those given ἀπελελυμενῶς, and to others against such as are simoniacally bestowed. To this we answer, that the word *nullity* is apt to mislead on such a subject, from its having been unluckily transferred from law to theology. In law, including canon law, the *de facto* existence, say of a testament to a particular person, may not be enough to warrant us in upholding such a disposition of property. For the public good, it may be requisite that certain formalities be insisted on, and that the will be pronounced invalid if such formalities have been neglected. This invalidity is conventional; it resides not in the nature of the thing. But, in theology, we are concerned, not with conventionalities, but with facts; *the nature of the thing* is what we have got to consider; and when we reject baptism or an ordination on theological grounds, we reject it, not simply because certain laws have been neglected, but as not having even a *de facto* existence, as not being a baptism or an ordination at all; and this is commonly called considering such baptism or such ordination *invalid*. But it is plain, from what has been said, that mere legal invalidity presents us with a very imperfect analogy to theological, and that the use of the same word for both may be much calculated to cause confusion.

Now canon law, though the law not of an earthly polity, and though devised by *theological* legislators, and with reference to theological considerations, is, after all, in its essence, but law. It deals with matters so far conventional, that they are of its own creation. It looks to the circumstances in which its several features originated; it defines, arbitrates and regulates the subject matter before it, but it cannot create substantial things; its validities and its nullities can have no meaning beyond what has reference to itself.

To say this, however, is no disparagement to the canon laws. Its work was and is necessary. Our Saviour has given his gracious ordinances, but he has left to his Church the task of guarding them and regulating their exercise. Therefore, even when his ordinance has been observed, it is competent to the Church to determine, whether it has or has not been observed under such circumstances as make it safe for her to allow its effect. The determination of this class of questions relates to what we mean by canonical validity, as distinguished from theological, which latter looks to essences,—asks not whether the divine ordinance has been duly, but whether it has been at all observed. Thus, the question of presbyterian ordination is a theological one; it relates not to whether a *de facto* ordination

Digitized by Google

has been held with due observance, but as to whether we have the necessary constituents of an ordination. The question, on the other hand, of an ordination to no charge, or an ordination administered with regard to improper considerations, is a canonical one. The inquiry is not into the very being of the ordinance, but as to whether it has been so properly administered as to make it safe or right for the Church to allow it to take effect in that instance: and, therefore, such a question must share in the limitation which attaches to every merely *legal* one. There must be a time when, in regard to certain cases, it becomes impertinent; it must, at best, be not essential but conventional.

This will explain what must otherwise cause nearly hopeless perplexity, the frequency with which nullity of ordinations is asserted in the Canons, when the mind sees no nullity in the nature of the thing. Thus in the Canon of Chalcedon, to which we have twice referred, ordinations to no charge are pronounced invalid. This means merely that the Church will not sustain such,—that she will not allow those thus dangerously ordained to have the privileges, or exercise the functions, of clerks. And such a regulation she had manifestly a right to make if she saw fit. At the same time it is but conventional, as may be seen from this fact, that the party ordained to a charge may resign that charge, and yet retain his orders; and if there be, as assuredly there is, a place and a use for him after such resignation, then, as far as the essential nature of ordination is concerned, he might have been originally ordained to that place and for that use. Therefore the Canon of Chalcedon, like any other law, must be considered as but conventionable and changeable; and accordingly the English Church has superseded it by a Canon of her own, which admits of such ordinations under certain restrictions.

From all this it will appear, that it is idle to allege Canonical deficiency when there is neither a proper tribunal before which it can be tried, nor any power of correcting the fault; when the whole matter is altogether bygone, and there are no parties who can put in a better claim than the one impeached. The present Scottish bishops have lineal descent from the apostles, theologically speaking their ordinations throughout the line are unimpeachable, there is no canonical shade resting on them which can now be fairly considered, even if there were an existing authority superior to herself by whom it could be tried.

On the same principle, by way of finally illustrating our meaning, we have always thought the question of how far Tillotson and his coadjutors were canonically ordained a question with which no particular man need now trouble himself, there being no parties to put in a better claim than their successors, no tribunal before which such claim could be tried, and the essence of ordination, its theological validity, having unquestionably been preserved to us.

Digitized by Google

The Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. Translated from the German of J. A. Möhler, D.D., *by* Henry Rymer Jones. London. 1842.

Anselm von Canterbury. Dargestellt von G. F. Franck. Tübingen. 1842.

The attention which of late years has been paid to the life and times of St. Anselm by our continental neighbours, naturally leads us to review the leading events of his painful life. The industry of the German ecclesiastical writers has not left us without able guides. Portions of Anselm's works have been edited and annotated by Hegel; in the Gesammette Schriften und Aufsätze, Möhler has contributed his share to our knowledge of the ecclesiastical, literary, and moral life of the times of Rufus and Henry; and now, last of all, Franck has devoted his abilities to the dogmatic theology of the primate. In the work of Dr. Möhler, as translated by the student in the Roman Catholic College of Old Hall Green, though a very fair portion of the work is dedicated to the literary labours of Anselm, the writer's attention has been more especially drawn to his acts, as prior of Bec, and primate of England; and apparently with the great object of dragging in, at every conceivable opportunity, a defence of the various doctrines and claims of the Roman church, not only such as were called in question in the contest, but of all that can be made to hang on to any saying or act of the subject of the biography. Franck, on the contrary, has slurred over the facts of the contest, and preferred to consider Anselm as a scholastic theologian, rather than as a firm defender of the Roman claims, as put forward by Gregory. Though Möhler's work is full of the defence of his church, we greatly prefer it to any other, and recommend it to those who desire to learn at full length the events of those days. The great author of the "Symbolik," was far too honest a man, and too good an historian, to permit his religious bias to influence him in the statement of his facts, however it might sway the conclusions he desired to draw from them; and in this little work, especially, his intention of writing a defence of Rome under the form of a life of St. Anselm, is too palpable to mislead any reader. Agreeing generally with his facts, as he has drawn them from Eadmer's biography and the letters of Anselm and his cotemporaries, and disagreeing with the conclusions he would deduce from those facts, we will endeavour to present to our readers the contest of that eventful time, when an English king for the first time desired to renounce his connexion with the see of Rome. The contest was with the papacy, not with the particular pope.

Of the parents of Anselm we know little more than their names and their countries; his father, Gundulph, was a Lombard; his mother, Ermenberg, a Burgundian, alike descended from families of rank and wealth. Of these parents, in the beginning of the eleventh

Digitized by Google

century,* was born the subject of our memoir; and though we have no evidence in favour of the statement, yet when the state of society at that time is considered, we may believe that the worldly principles and rude education of the Lombard father soon estranged him from his son, whilst the parental care of his tender mother fostered his early tendencies, and increased his natural affection for his parent. In the absence of incidents in his earlier years, visions, coinciding with the conduct of his after-life, have been inserted by his biographer, either from the tradition of the monastery, or the fertility of his own imagination. When in the close of his eventful career his piety and humility had been fully proved, the vision or dream of his early years, where, in child-like simplicity, the vision-rapt boy feared not to approach his God face to face, appeared too probable, especially in the days of his biographers, to be questioned or investigated.† The natural bent of his mind was prematurely disclosed; at the age of fifteen he earnestly sought to enter a monastery, and when refused by the friendly abbot, he sunk into despair; and, after ineffectual struggles against his feelings, fled from his native town, Aosta, determined to seek refuge in the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, and braving in his enterprise the perils of death, in passing the peaks of Mont Cenis to the plains of Burgundy.

It was now but a few short years since the kinsman of the Duke of Normandy, the noble, valiant, and much-courted Helluin, changed his manners and his associates, retired to solitary contemplation, and, deterred by the uncouthness of the monks from entering a monastery, resolved to found a new institution. He, and his companions whom he had gathered round him, adopted the code of St. Benedict, and founded the monastery of Bec. There was yet one drawback: Helluin—though, unlike other nobles, he could read—soon felt that one of higher powers was required to superintend the new society, than the reformed noble. Such an one was the Lombard Lanfranc, the restorer of Latin literature, whom Helluin raised to the priorship of the new foundation. Great as was the reputation of the new monastery, no similar institution, says the chronicle of Bec, was at that time thought poorer, being compelled by its poverty from conforming with the usual custom of keeping a light constantly in the church; whilst, in after times, the alms of Lanfranc saved its inmates from entirely perishing. Such was the abbot and prior, and such the institution, to which Anselm fled.‡

Under the care of Lanfranc, Anselm rose to so great eminence in the fraternity, that, when William the Bastard compelled the prior to accept the abbacy of Caen, he was immediately raised by Helluin to the place of Lanfranc. A curious conversation, preserved by Eadmer, presents us with a comprehensive view of the new prior's

* At Aosta, in Piedmont, in the year 1034.

† Eadmer's Life of Anselm, lib. i. Chron. Beccense. The chronicler treats the dream as a vision,—"per divinam visionem ad sedes cœlicasque in spiritu raptus."

‡ Chron. Beccense, p. 227. Life of St. Lanfranc, c. i. Anselm's Letters, lib. i. 1.

Digitized by Google

discipline. In a discourse with a neighbouring abbot, the latter complained of the untractableness of his brotherhood :—

"He ceased not, he said, from chastising them day and night, but still they did not improve. 'And when they are grown up,' said Anselm, 'how are they?' 'Stupid,' replied the abbot, 'and like unto brutes.' 'A melancholy education that,' said Anselm, 'which transforms men into brutes.' 'But can this be our fault?' said the abbot, 'we use force to oblige them to advance in all good, and, despite of us, they make no progress.' 'You force them!' asked Anselm. 'Tell me, I pray you, my lord abbot, should you place a plant in your garden, and so bind it on all sides that its branches could not expand; and should you some years after remove the bands, tell me what kind of a tree you would find.' 'Doubtless an useless one, with its branches and boughs bent and entangled.' 'But the fault would lie with you, since in an unnatural manner you impeded its growth. Thus it is with your scholars: they are planted in the garden of the church, and entrusted to you, that they may increase and bring forth fruit to God; but you have so bound them on all sides with fear, with threats, and with chastisement, that they enjoy no freedom. Thus oppressed through want of foresight, evil thoughts, like thorns, entangled in each other, shoot up within them. Their thoughts they foster, and cherish, and always fixing themselves more firmly in the direction in which they have been bent, they become obstinate and incapable of any improvement: since from you they experience no love, no gentleness, no mildness, they consider your conduct towards them as the effect of hatred and severity. It now lamentably appears that, with their age, their hatred and suspicions are increased, and that they are ripe for every vice; love having never been shown them in their education, they now look upon other men with eyes of suspicion and distrust. But, in the name of God, why are you so inimical towards them? Are they not men of the same nature as yourself?' The abbot thereon replied, that he had wished to bring up men capable of supporting great burdens. Anselm answered: 'The design is good; but to new-born infants we give milk, and not bread; for bread, in itself nutritious, would prove to them destructive. Strong souls are patient in affliction; when struck on one cheek, they present the other; they pray for their enemies, and love those that hate them. But he that is yet weak in the service of God requires the milk of mildness and kindness, of friendly exhortations and affectionate compassion. Let this be your conduct towards the strong and the weak; and by the grace of God you will, as much as lies in you, gain all to the Almighty.' The abbot was now convinced how pernicious his heat had been."—Pp. 12—14.

During his priorship, Anselm bestowed his greatest attention upon the education of youth. "These," he said, "are like wax, soft enough to receive, and hard enough to retain, an impression. If too hard, it receives no impression; if too soft, it retains no figure." The time he could spare from these labours, and from the unpleasant duties of his office, which the opposition of his younger brethren occasioned, was devoted to literary labours, by which his reputation was raised to a level with that of his predecessor. It was at this time that he wrote his *Monologion*, in which he endeavours to attain to a knowledge of the being and attributes of God, and also of the Trinity, by the unassisted power of reflection. His *Proslogion* was also a work of the same period, in which he sought to arrive, in a more simple way, at those holy truths which he had previously elaborated in an abstruse manner. To the same period are due his treatises on

Digitized by Google

Truth, or the Freedom of the Will, on the Fall of Satan, and the Origin of Evil; as also his Grammar. His prayers and meditations were also manifold; expressive of his deep sense of his own unworthiness, his incapacity of pleasing God in this life, and his almost hopeless struggle with the demon of despair: yet again, his soul seems full of confidence in the mercy of his God, mindful, that though our Judge, he is also our Saviour, and our Redeemer. Highly as his dogmatical works were estimated, his practical exhortations and meditations seem to have been even more widely circulated and applied. Anselm had written a meditation beginning thus:—

"Terret me vita mea quia, diligenter discussa, apparet mihi tota peccatum aut sterilitas fere tota vita mea; et si quid fructus in ea videtur, sic est aut simulatum aut imperfectum, aut aliquo modo corruptum, ut possit aut non placere aut displicere Deum."

"Many youths, and among these especially two of distinguished merit, named William and Roger, have acquainted us with the unction and loveliness of your name, and with the piety of your sentiments. Your work, commencing—'My whole life terrifies me when I attentively consider it,' and other effusions of your contrite and humble spirit, have told us of the tears which so devoutly you have shed, and have even forced like tears from us; so that we are astonished at the dew of so great a blessing in your heart, and at the sweetness with which it has flowed into ours. In truth, your divinely inspired words awaken within us our slumbering compunction, so that we hasten, as it were, in spirit to rejoice with you, loving these things in you, or rather you in them, but above them, and before all things, God."

The correspondence of Anselm was most extensive—from kings of Jerusalem to those of Ireland, from popes to monks, from queens to nuns; now giving counsel, now consolation; now pleading for the widow, now ordering the life of some noble penitent; now exacting strict justice from some overbearing lord. We have now more than four hundred of the valuable letters, in which the entire political and religious history of his day is freely sketched, and the manners and customs of the people of England and France illustrated by his graphic pen.

The necessity of seeking the protection of William for the possessions of the monastery, to the abbacy of which he had been raised on the death of the aged Helluin, compelled Anselm to visit England. His reputation had preceded him; his old master longed to converse with the pupil who had out-rivalled his teacher; and multitudes, says Eadmer, flocked to see the Abbot of Bec, whom they considered as a saint. William himself, naturally stern and unbending, seems to have been greatly influenced by the mild persuasion of Anselm; though we need hardly admit with Eadmer, that the conqueror became an altered man after the visit of the abbot.* His historian has preserved a conversation between Anselm and Lanfranc, characteristic of the deference of the one, and the acuteness of the

* "Rex ipse Wilhelmus, qui armis Angliam ceperat, et ea tempestate regnabat, quamvis ob magnitudinem sui cunctis fere videretur rigidus et formidabilis, Anselmo tamen ita erat inclinis et affabilis, ut ipso presente omnino, quam esse solebat, stupentibus aliis fieret alius."—*Eadmer*, lib. i. vol. ii.

Digitized by Google

other, of these two great men. Elfig, or Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, many years before had been seized by the Danes, and having refused to order his already impoverished clergy to contribute towards his ransom, had been murdered by his captors, and regarded as a martyr and saint by the people. Lanfranc, however, doubted as to the correctness of the claim; his life had not been sacrificed in the confession of Christ. In his doubt he sought the advice of Anselm, who thus resolved the question:—

"It is not to be doubted, that he who, to avoid a small offence, feared not death, would have been far more willing to die rather than grievously offend his God. And it is certainly a more heinous offence to deny Christ, than to oppress men by requiring them to contribute to a ransom. If, then, Elfig would not offend his God in things of less moment, how could he possibly have denied Christ when threatened with death? From this may we perceive what virtue inflamed the breast of Elfig; he preferred death rather than wound charity, and was far from imitating him of whom it is said, 'Woe be to him by whom scandal cometh.' Moreover, Christ is righteousness and truth; and he who gives his life for the former, dies for Christ, equally with him who is sacrificed for truth. Elfig, therefore, has died for Christ, and is truly a martyr."

Convinced by the arguments of Anselm, that actions receive their value, not from the outward act, but from the inward spirit, Lanfranc bowed to the subtle acuteness of his friend, and considered Elfig as an illustrious martyr. After a time Anselm returned to his convent, and passed several years in the due regulation of its inmates, for whom he endeavoured to obtain that immunity from episcopal superintendence, so much desired by these establishments, and so prejudicial to their existence.

For five years had William the Second refused to sanction an appointment to the vacant primacy, when Count Hugo of Chester summoned Anselm to England, to regulate a new religious house he had lately founded, and to administer consolation to its sick patron. He obeyed the request, came to England, advised the count respecting his new convent, consoled him in his sickness, and was preparing to return to Normandy, when the king forbad his departure. It is not easy to account for this conduct on the part of the king. But a short time before, his clergy had obtained from him permission to offer up prayers for a happy election to the see of Canterbury. Rufus understood the hint. Some one mentioned Anselm in his presence, as one who loved God alone, and desired nothing earthly—"No," replied the king, with a sneer; "not even the archbishopric of Canterbury." All hope was seemingly banished, when a sudden sickness predisposed the king to submission; persuaded by his nobles, he sent for the abbot of Bec, humbly confessed his sins to him, promised a release of state prisoners, an annulling of debts, and a universal amnesty, and general amendment of his future life. The nobles pressed upon the repentant monarch the state of the primacy; he yielded, and consented to appoint Anselm. But the abbot refused. Well did he perceive that the king's illness was not unto death, and

Digitized by Google

that with returning health would come a return of oppression. "You would yoke to the same plough," said he to his friends, "an unmanageable steer with an aged and powerless sheep. The wild nature of the king will oppress me. You will see the Church laid waste during the shepherd's life." Persuasion at length overcame his opposition. He was conducted to the king, and received from his hand the sign of his investiture, the pastoral staff. Some delay occurred in the conclusion of the ordination. Both Rufus and Anselm had to make terms with each other. At length differences were settled, the main point, the recognition of Urban as pope, was conceded by the king, and the primacy was at length filled.*

No sooner was William restored to health, than all his promises were forgotten; the prisoners were not released, the abbacies were not filled, or the spoils of the Church restored to her ministers. Sorely was Anselm grieved at this conduct of the king's; he sought to persuade him to the performance of his promises; but Rufus was too eager to embark on his Norman expedition to spare time for discussion, and too enraged with his primate for refusing the usual bribe to his sovereign, to listen to his mild persuasions. "In what does it concern you?" said the king, when Anselm pleaded the state of the abbeys. "Are not the abbacies mine own? You manage your possessions. Shall I resign my right over mine?" "True, O king," replied the primate, "thine for good, and not for evil,—thine to support and defend, not to bring to destruction." "Depart," replied the king, "pro certo noveris, mihi valda contraria esse quæ dicis." They parted; the one to mature his implacable hatred of a man whose principles he detested, the other to fortify his own intentions by the advice of his bishops. Their advice was that of cowards and time-servers—submission and bribery. "No," replied their primate, "that will never do; it shall never be said of me, that I showed by my deeds, that the affection of my sovereign was to be purchased by a bribe. Shall I insult him by buying his favour, as I would a horse or a mule?"

William returned from Normandy, his temper soured by his failure. Anselm applied for permission to proceed to Rome, for the pallium, and to consult with Urban on the misfortunes of the English church. The king refused his consent; he had not acknowledged Urban. Anselm reminded him that he, when abbot of Bec, had acknowledged Urban as his pope, and that such a recognition had been a condition precedent of his acceptance of the primacy. It was not, however, a mere question of Urban or Wibert, but of reconciling allegiance to the king to obedience to the pope. Rufus desired to have raised himself to such a command over the Church as was

* Anselm's letters would warrant the supposition of personal violence, unless his words were more figurative than real. This view has been adopted by a writer in the "British Critic," with reference to whose article we may here observe, that this was written some months since, and only excluded from our last Number by press of matter.

Digitized by Google

assumed by Henry the Eighth; he wished to have been the royal Pontifex Maximus of his kingdom. Nor were his bishops and nobles averse to such a plan. The rule of the pope had ever been regarded with distrust by the clergy and laity of the realm; and the enforcement of the rule of celibacy by Gregory, had gone far to mature a desire of separation from the temporal, if not from the spiritual, sovereignty of Rome.* Such were the feelings that influenced the council to advise Anselm to submit to the will of their sovereign, and to withdraw his desire of investiture. Anselm appealed to our Saviour's address to St. Peter, and denied on its authority the right of any but an ecclesiastical power to rule the Church. "This, therefore," said the primate, "would I wish all and each of you to understand, that in whatever relates to God, I will obey the successor of St. Peter; and in whatever appertains to the earthly authority of my lord the king, I will dedicate to him my fidelity and my assistance, according to my knowledge and my conscience." Trembling for the life of their bold primate, whose principles they could not but admire, however they might refuse to sacrifice worldly gain in following him, the bishops warned Anselm of his danger, and declared that they dared not repeat his words to the king. "Fear not," said Anselm, "I will do so myself;" and thus saying he sought the presence of Rufus, and declared to him his determination. Though we have no Peter of Blois to sketch for us the king in one of his transports of passion, sitting, as his successor the second Henry, on the bare ground, rending his garments and gnashing his teeth, we may readily conceive the anger of Rufus on the words of Anselm.

Again the spiritual and temporal peers were summoned before the king, and an attempt was made to shake the determination of the primate. They bad him believe that the whole kingdom complained of his insults to the king; they warned him that Rome, open to bribery, would support the most powerful, the most wealthy. "Shake off, therefore," said they, "the pope, obey the king as a subject, and receive the power of the primacy increased an hundred-fold." "It is in vain," said the primate, "that ye seek to separate me from the pope; but let me think upon what ye have said; I pray a day's delay." The princes mentioned his wish to the king, and, deceived by the apparent vacillation of Anselm, recommended Rufus to grant no delay. Anselm smiled when they returned with the king's refusal. "I am ready now—yea, directly—to answer to any one who affirms that my submission to the pope is inconsistent with my allegiance to my king, and to declare the grounds of my determination." The council feared to meet his arguments, and declined to hear his defence. The second day of the discussion was ended.

* It has been said by Romagnosi, that we must look to the small states of Italy for the first attacks on the papacy. Such an assertion shows a great ignorance of the opinions held by the kings and clergy of England during the contests of Rufus and Anselm, Henry and Becket, and John and Innocent. The papal yoke never sat easy on our Church.

Digitized by Google

When the council assembled on the morrow, one of the prelates openly proposed to use violence towards the primate, to despoil him of his ring and staff, and expel him from the kingdom. He had miscalculated the feelings of the nobility; to a man they cried out against the proposal. "Ye have brought me into this contest," said Rufus to the council. "What do ye counsel? Either condemn Anselm, or I condemn ye." Fatigued with these harassing discussions, Anselm had heretofore snatched a few hours' repose whenever the princes and bishops had left him, to consult with the king. "I know not what to think of our plans against the primate," said one of the nobles; "we labour to accuse him, and he sleeps in peace; and yet, when we return, by one word he crosses our plans." Influenced by the threats of the king, the bishops—except Gundulph of Rochester—agreed to renounce their allegiance to Anselm. The king declared that he withdrew his protection from him, and called upon the nobles to renounce their allegiance to the primate. Their reply effectually defeated the projects of Rufus. "We owe him no fealty," said they, "as we have not sworn to any, so can we not renounce it. But we do acknowledge him as our primate, for that he hath not proved himself unworthy of that high dignity." The king adjourned the council; the passive resistance of Anselm had achieved a triumph over the violent attacks of his enemies—against the king who sought to rule the Church as he did the State, by oppression and violence—against the prelates who feared to resign the pleasures and profits of this world, for lives of piety, self-denial, and asceticism. The people formed no incorrect judgment on the matter. To them the grounds of the quarrel were little known, less cared for; they judged alone by the characters of the actors:—on the one side was violence, selfish vanity, grasping ambition; on the other, meekness and passive endurance under evil. They entreated Anselm "not to be troubled with the words he heard, but to remember how Job in his lowest abasement subdued Satan, to whom Adam in his greatness and prosperity had fallen;" and they reviled the prelates as fit followers of the traitor Judas, the undiscerning Pilate, and the cruel Herod.

Before the council could meet again at Whitsuntide, the differences between the king and the pope had been apparently settled; Rufus, after a vain endeavour to procure the deposition of Anselm, acknowledged Urban as pope, and permitted the primate to receive the pallium from Rome. Still, however, Anselm's plans for the reformation of the clergy were entirely fruitless; countenanced by the king, and supported by their powerful relations, the English clergy refused to obey his orders, and, taking advantage of that national feeling which ever led them to hold themselves apart from Rome, and independent of her commands, refused her discipline, at the time when they rejected her encroachments. But the peace was of short duration. The occasion of the expedition into Wales, and the failure of Anselm to contribute as many men as the king expected, once

Digitized by Google

more placed him in open opposition to Rufus. For a year the king's anger seems to have found vent in other ways, but in 1097, when Anselm, unable to effect what he deemed the necessary alterations in the English Church, and to establish the scheme of Gregory, sought permission to visit Rome, and consult with Urban on the matter, the king's anger appeared in his answer to the request. Anselm waited until the council met in the autumn, when he again renewed his request, and besought his bishops to support his petition; their reply was characteristic:—

"'Lord, father,' they replied, 'we know thou art a pious and holy man, and hast thy desires in heaven. We by our relatives whom we support, by temporal circumstances in which we are engaged, are withheld from ascending to your magnanimity, and from turning our backs on the world. But if you are willing to descend to us, and imitate our conduct, we will assist you with the same counsel with which we assist each other, and will succour you in your embarrassments. But should you abide by your former principles, we will not desert our allegiance to the king, nor separate ourselves from him.' Anselm replied:—'You have answered well, go to your lord—I remain with my God.' The primate was now entirely deserted. Many of the princes and bishops were sent to him by the king, and addressed him in these words: 'You have been a constant uneasiness to our sovereign; and the more you obtain, the more you desire. You have violated the oath which you took to the crown. It is unheard of that a noble, much less a primate, should leave the kingdom without the king's consent. You should pledge yourself by your oath under no future cases to appeal to the pope; and then visit the court, and beg pardon for your offences.' Hereupon they departed."

Unwilling to be deemed a perjured man, Anselm followed them to the council, and defended himself before Rufus. So far as consistent with the laws of God and with justice, he had sworn to obey the customs of the realm. "God and justice," said the king, "are not in the oath." "What then is therein, if God and justice be not there?" replied Anselm. His opponents were silent, and Anselm continued his defence. "A sermon!—a sermon!" cried they, interrupting him. Still the primate continued his address. "Go," said the king, at length. "Go to St. Peter and the pope; but remember I abide not by his determination." Anselm obeyed, left the council, returned to his palace, and prepared for his departure. Taking his staff from the altar, he set off for Canterbury, on his road to Dover, whither his few goods had already been removed to evade the rapacity of the king. Considered as a martyr to the Church, his journey to Bec, and thence to Lyons, was one continued triumph; and happy did that man deem himself, with whom the exiled primate consented to abide even for an hour.

It was now winter, and Anselm besought the pope that he might remain at Lyons, and defer his presence at Rome until the ensuing spring. Urban, however, was not to be denied, and the primate proceeded to the papal court. The praise with which he was there received, the brotherly affection of Urban, the seeming earnestness in his cause of all at Rome, could not reconcile the primate to the confusion, the plots, the intrigues, the splendour of the Roman court:

Digitized by Google

Disgusted with their ways, and suffering from the unhealthy winds of the approaching summer, Anselm retired to the neighbouring mountains of Campania; and in his pupils' cloister, at Telesina, applied his energies to his doctrinal writings. The treatise, "Cur Deus Homo," commenced amid the troubles of England, was here completed. But even in this secluded cloister the woes of his Church and his adopted country were an hourly affliction to Anselm. Every messenger told of increased violence and sacrilege on the part of Rufus; nothing seemed sacred from his attack, but violence itself. All hope of reformation seems to have passed from Anselm's mind; he shrunk from continuing the contest, and requested permission to resign his primacy. The pope rebuked his cowardice, and summoned the council of Bari to enforce obedience on the English monarch. The council pressed for Rufus's immediate excommunication; Anselm alone opposed it, and the council were content with re-enacting the laws against lay investiture. This was as nought; the power or bribes of William procured the suspension of all discussion until the autumn of the following year (1099). It was in vain that the general feeling, as represented in the bold appeal of the bishop of Lucca at the Easter council, cried aloud for immediate and energetic action. The pope with his usual policy—some call it moderation—deferred his final answer, which the death of the king in the following year rendered unnecessary. The pope, too, soon followed his regal opponent to the grave.

Everything now wore a different aspect. Henry, eager to secure on his side the reputation and influence of one so beloved as Anselm, welcomed him to England, and attempted to overcome his refusal of investiture, by promising to send a messenger to the new pope to settle the question. Anselm admitted the excuse, and used his efforts in Henry's favour. When Robert attempted to gain the allegiance of the English nobles, the example and the arguments of Anselm secured Henry on the throne of England. Paschal, the new pope, answered the king's request, by a long and apparently stern letter of denial. He quoted Scripture and St. Ambrose, against the king's claim, and cited Justinian and Constantine as models of kingly obedience to the holy see. Many words indeed there were, and in those words a plain refusal of the king's demands; but here the letter ended; no ulterior measures were even hinted at; no threats, not even a warning of the probable effects of the king's disobedience to the pope. Such conduct may seem strange; Möhler would call it moderation. Yes, it was moderation, and with a reason. "Thou knowest," wrote Paschal to Anselm, "the poverty of our condition. Since the Church of Rome laboureth for all the churches, whosoever taketh aught away from her is guilty of sacrilege, not only against her, but against all the churches." There was much more in the letter; words, and words of meaning; it said, "Collect the Peter's pence." It was always an established rule in this country that this tribute could not be raised, but by the king's authority and

Digitized by Google

permission. Henry might be glad to purchase silence; Paschal would not object to barter execution for money, if he was allowed to set his adverse judgment on record. Truly this was Paschal's moderation. Henry received the letter, and talked of further negotiations.

So long as Henry had aught to fear from his brave brother Robert, he contrived to satisfy Anselm with projects of further embassies. At length, however, relieved from all fear as to his kingdom, he was encouraged to renew his opposition to Anselm and the papal claims. The primate was called upon to consecrate the king's nominees to the vacant sees and abbeys, or to leave the realm. Anselm refused; he would neither consecrate nor depart from England; he would return to his see, and there execute his episcopal duties. Foiled by the patient endurance of Anselm, Henry proposed a new embassy to Rome; three bishops represented Henry, two monks were the primate's ambassadors. The accounts that came back were entirely at variance with one another. Paschal, by his letter, denominated the king's claim of investiture as an adultery with the Church, the spouse of God; these and many other hard words were written by the pope; he proceeds not any further; again no threats of ulterior measures. The three bishops declared that Paschal had privately assured them that he excused what had been done, and permitted Anselm to consecrate those whom the king had already appointed to the vacant sees, but that he feared to say so in his public letters, lest other kings should make the same demands. This the two monks strongly denied; all the words of the pope which they had heard were strongly against such a permission. Were not all these accounts true?

The letters of Paschal merely denounce the principle of lay investiture, and, in the general nature of the terms, apply not to particular instances. The public words of the pope, as heard by the monks, were doubtless to the same effect. Still, in private, he may have granted his permission to Anselm to consecrate those already elected; he may have been content to secure his claim for the future, at the expense of present private concessions. Paschal's conduct to the emperor, Henry V., would lead us to admit many a charge against him for falsehood or perjury. But is it necessary to suppose this as such an instance on his part? The supposed private terms are only those on which the matter was eventually compromised by the aid of Matilda—immunity for past offences. Nor is it at all inconsistent with the papal court for their public and private instructions to be totally at variance. A far better man than Paschal, not so very many years after, wrote thus to Henry II.:—"As to the variations which you might have discovered in our letters and our legates, this should in no wise surprise you, as we read of the blessed Paul that he more than once changed his purpose."*

* Divi Thomæ Epistolæ, lib. iv. let. 3, from Pope Alexander to Henry II.

Digitized by Google

Anselm refused to believe the report of the bishops, and the only resource was another mission to Rome, to ascertain the pope's wishes. "Paschal remained firm," we are told; whether as to the remission of past offences, or the exaction of his claim for the future, we cannot accurately discover. Anselm was now requested to proceed to the papal court; he assented, proceeded to Rome, and in no way placed matters on a more conciliatory footing. As he returned, his companion, Henry's own ambassador, warned him of his danger. "If you are returning with a determination of imitating the conduct of your predecessors toward our former monarchs, you will be welcome." "Have you nothing more to say to me?" asked Anselm. "Do I not speak to a man of understanding?" was his companion's reply. Anselm understood the hint, and remained at Lyons with his friend, the archbishop; he was unwilling to compromise either the safety of himself or the claims of his church; he saw one or the other must result from his return to England.

The conduct of the king towards the clergy at last persuaded even the most violent opponents of St. Anselm that those concessions from which they "expected prosperity, had instead brought distress upon them; and that the peace which they had hoped for had departed further from them." Henry was no foolish tyrant; he well knew how to punish his opponents through their own weapons; parading forth himself as the defender of the truth and the asserter of the Church's discipline, he converted the fines for marriage among the clergy into a source of revenue: and when the guilty became too few to satisfy the king's demands, the innocent were classed with the former, and rewarded for their guiltlessness by the severity of their fines. Were but one tithe of the atrocities charged against the king by the ecclesiastical biographers substantiated, well might the six bishops regret their previous opposition to the primate, and declare that "the streets of Sion lamented, because they were trodden by the uncircumcised;" and "how the temple mourned, for the people had advanced, even to the holy of holies, yea, even to the ark of the covenant." They besought him to rise, like another Matthias, and come in person to their aid. To the address of the bishops, Anselm thus replied:—

"I lament, and with you mourn in spirit, over the afflictions which have befallen you and the English Church; but it is impossible that I should comply with your and my wishes, and come in person to your assistance. Our ambassadors have not yet returned from the pope. But yet it is to me most pleasing and satisfactory, that you at length perceive whither (to use the mildest expression) your patience has led you, and that you engage to me your assistance, not in my cause, but in that of God, and invite me to visit you without delay. As yet I cannot do so, as the king will not permit my return, unless I oppose the decrees of the pope and conform to his will. Yet I rejoice at your good desires, and at the truly episcopal fortitude which you promise."

Fortunately for England, Anselm had a true friend in Matilda, the king's spouse. From his decision in favour of her union with Henry

Digitized by Google

had commenced her respect for the primate, which their continued correspondence, even during his banishment, had raised to a firm attachment. Paschal, too, was tired of contending with one at once so powerful and so obstinate as the English king. And Henry was too shrewd an observer of human nature, not to perceive that the patient endurance of Anselm under every indignity was no mean argument in favour of the papal claim, an argument daily increasing in strength as the contest and the exile of the primate was prolonged. "Discover some way," Matilda had written to Anselm, "in which you, who justly claim precedence, may not suffer, and in which the rights of regal majesty may not be injured." Another friend of the primate's had acted on the same principle, and at last the solicitations of Matilda and Henry's sister, the countess of Blois, had their effect, and matters were compromised between the pope, the primate, and the king. On Henry's part, the freedom of election and claim of investiture were conceded, the clergy were relieved from the marriage fines, or, if already punished, were excused all imposts for the seven ensuing years. On the part of Paschal, the feudal oath to the king, "Quæ Urbanus," as Eadmer says, "æque ut investituras interdixerat," was conceded previous to consecration, and those who had been regally invested during the contest and exposed to the dangers and penalties of excommunication, were allowed to continue in their bishoprics without any further question. Such was the termination of the contest.

The term of Anselm's life was now rapidly drawing to a close, and the continued discussion regarding the assumption of the primacy by the archbishop of York tended to embitter his latter years. The king, who had never forgiven the primate, specious as were his words towards him, secretly fomented the adverse claim; whilst the too great abstemiousness of the primate's life tended to render every discussion a source of great anxiety to one whose spirit indeed was strong, but his body weak. The violence which he did to nature in his long and bitter fasts broke the corporeal strength of the primate; his mind, however, was still bright, and his theological researches were continued to the day of his decease. Anselm had just completed his treatise, in which he strove to explain the reconciliation between the prescience of God and the predestination and free will of man, when he perceived that the hand of death was upon him. He summoned his friends, gave his last blessing to the king, Matilda, his country, and his children, the monks of Canterbury; and as one of his friends read to him the gospel narrative of the last supper and passion of our Lord, he closed his eyes in death as the reader pronounced the words, "Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations. And I appoint unto you a kingdom as my father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom."

We have now spoken of St. Anselm as monk, prior, and primate; we have traced him from his earliest years to his dying day, and seen

Digitized by Google

him amid the temptations of ambition, flattery, and power, and the threats of suffering and death, still the same patient yet unbending character, willing, indeed, to resign all worldly honours for the peace of his fellow-countrymen, and to suffer persecution in their cause, but never to be bent from his purpose or dissuaded from his opinion; never taking up opinions in haste and without careful search and discrimination, but when once persuaded that he holds the truth, immovable by every worldly threat. It remains that we speak of Anselm as a theological writer—as the chief, the acknowledged, model of the theological writers of his own times.

The attempt which was made from the eleventh to the sixteenth century to demonstrate Christianity as rational, and everything truly rational as christian, is what is generally called scholastic theology. The means by which this study strove to attain its end were not, indeed, entirely distinct from those by which all other studies worked, but its spirit and its object were particularly distinct in character. Nothing is more common than to hear complaints of the effects of the various systems of heathen philosophy on the studies of the schoolmen; to hear of their works being characterized as mere Platonic, Neoplatonic, or Aristotelic disquisitions, overlaying and frittering away Christianity by heathen philosophy. So far as Platonism, when enlightened by Christianity, is Platonism still; so far as Aristotleism, regenerated by the same power, is still Aristotleism: the remarks are true. But should we not be nearer to the truth, were we, instead of considering the influence of heathen ethics on Christianity, to regard the influence of Christianity on heathen philosophy—to regard the works of the schoolmen as christianized philosophy, not as philosophized Christianity?

"As to the form of scholastic discussion," says Möhler, "although it must be confessed that the syllogism greatly prevails, yet are they greatly in error who would ascribe such importance to the syllogism as to assert that without it scholastic writings would be useless, and have no medium for mental development. In the works of St. Anselm, it is unemployed, and in its stead dialogue and unfettered expositions are the medium of instruction. Indeed, so little is the syllogism associated with the idea of scholastic writings, that many would not exist as such, were the syllogistic form acknowledged as the exclusive and necessary associate of the scholastics."

Subtlety of research and devotion to useless and unfruitful questions, is another charge against the schoolmen, a charge not to be denied, as to many of their writers, and a particular period of their learning. But is not this objection natural, as well to the infidel as to the opposer of unbelief and the faithful Christian? The infidel cannot believe in the positive truths of Christianity, in the divinity of Christ our Saviour, as the author of regenerating grace; to him, therefore, speculative researches on the Trinity and the relation between nature and grace are mere useless subtleties. His unwillingness to believe renders him incapable of appreciating the importance of apparent trifles. The charge of useless subtleties deadens the stings of conscience.

Digitized by Google

What is the result to the believer, taking the average character of Christians and their general position in the intellectual scale? These discussions are too far above the majority to be felt or comprehended. They feel that between their minds and those of such writers there is not common ground, no point of agreement, and they naturally condemn that which they fail of comprehending; they cannot see the immediate use, and will not take on credit. There is yet a third class, the *faithful* believers, those who hold that reason is never to be brought to the aid of revelation; to them it seems more than useless, to attempt to explain the words of God himself. With them may be joined those who regard a christian life as solely practical; these err in knowledge as well as experience; they know not that Christianity is neither solely theoretical nor solely practical; that purity of knowledge and purity of will must be combined in the true spiritual life. They err in experience, not remembering the lives of the greatest of the scholastic theologians; not regarding the actions of Anselm, Peter the Lombard, Bonaventura, and Aquinas.

It has been maintained, with an apparent fairness, that to Anselm we are to look for the foundation, and to the schoolmen for the development, of the science of natural theology. Had we space, we would here set forth such passages from St. Anselm's treatises as would show the erroneous nature of such a theory. Möhler has carefully collected them. Natural theology might on one supposition arrive at a knowledge of a divine being—of God—but not of his Trinity; it might discover the free will of man, but must be ignorant of grace; it might know of immortality, of the resurrection it must ever be ignorant; it might perceive the sinfulness of our nature, it must remain blind to regeneration. "But Anselm," says Möhler, "knew God only in his Trinity; considered the freedom of man solely as united with grace; immortality as linked with the resurrection; man's sinfulness joined to his regeneration. To him this was natural: the others would have been unnatural."

Doubtless, in several of his researches, St. Anselm proved unsuccessful, and Gaunilo was not far wrong in his attack on the nature of his proof of the existence of a God. Still do his works merit our gratitude, and his proofs of the identity of revealed truths with such as true reason can develop, are for the most part faultless. His meditations were thought worthy of being recommended to the study of the members of our Church, by one of her ablest teachers, and were united by their reverend translator with those of St. Augustin and St. Bernard. To give one passage from his theological writings, a paragraph from his treatise on the agreement of grace and free will, showing the relation between reason and revelation:

"As, in the beginning, God made the fruits and the various trees without seed, so, without the medium of human instructions, did he, through his wonderful operations, fertilize, with heavenly seed, the hearts of his apostles, prophets, and preachers. Hence, we receive whatever we sow with benediction in the field of God for the nourishment of souls; as we resow the first seeds of the earth for the nourishment of the body. For we can

Digitized by Google

preach nothing, with profit, to the salvation of souls which the Holy Scriptures have not fertilized, produced, or contained within themselves. For when we say anything through reasoning, which we cannot manifestly prove by the Holy Scriptures, by the following means we may tell whether it is to be received or cast away. When reason is manifestly speaking, and the Scriptures are by no means opposed, the voice of reason is supported by the authority of the Scriptures, which, as they are opposed to no truth, so do they not countenance any error. Thus every truth of reason is supported by the Scriptures, when they either directly favour or do not disapprove. But when they decidedly contradict our views, we should be persuaded that these views are not founded on truth, however incontrovertible they may appear."

To have given a dull catalogue of the titles of St. Anselm's works would have been useless; to have entered into the various subjects of his writings would have filled an entire Remembrancer. With a general reference to Möhler's chapter on the scholastic life of St. Anselm, we here conclude our remarks on his works, having pointed out where more knowledge is to be easily obtained, and endeavoured to set out a few of the precautions necessary to be observed by those who would rightly understand the works of St. Anselm and his brother theologians.

---

1. *The Life of Isaac Milner, D.D., F. R. S., Dean of Carlisle, President of Queen's College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge, &c. By his niece,* MARY MLNER, *Author of "The Christian Mother."* London: J. W. Parker, 1842. 8vo. Pp. xx. 722.
2. *The Church of England Examined by Scripture and Tradition, in an answer to Lectures by the Rev. John Venn, of Hereford, on the Christian Ministry. By* R. MACKENZIE BEVERLEY. London: Groombridge. 1843. 8vo. Pp. viii. 84.

PROBABLY we shall lay ourselves open to some, and it may be even serious, misconception, when we say that there must be different theological schools in the Church. On the one hand we are not prepared to advance with Dr. J. B. Sumner, that "it is too much to expect that there should be no schisms or divisions among Christians, and that the Church of Christ should ever be a seamless coat;" nor again can we follow the late Mr. Alexander Knox, who considered a spiritual revival, such as that of the Methodism of his own days, as a divinely providential result; nay, that in some sense even Puritanism and Methodism were *intended* to keep up true personal piety, which would be sure to languish in "the Establishment;" or that Methodism was necessary as "a nucleus for plebeian piety;" or that there was a divine appointment in the differing, and almost antagonist,

Digitized by Google

religious systems, the one being intended to make "foundation Christians," and the other "superstructure Christians."

And yet let us calmly look things in the face; for there is nothing so hurtful to the religious temper as to be afraid of facts; and, just now, there are those among us who are so alarmed at the present spiritual *phenomena*, that they have not the courage fairly to review our position, which indeed is startling enough, and whose external appearance may be something like this. We are not now stating, of course, the general feeling, for it requires some gentle violence even to analyze our own minds, and there are too many, and those not the least noisy, on either side, who never think at all; but it may be that this may be our real position as a branch of Christ's Church; and, intentionally, we will not overstate it on the favourable side. There is at work, not around us but in us and of us, the most frightful spirit of religious dissension and disunion; everywhere the lines are strongly and decidedly marked; men seem to know full well that life or death depends upon a struggle, and that they are in the struggle; there are comparatively few who are not called, and who do not obey the call, to choose a side; some, of course, do this in the spirit of mere party, and for the sake of ranking themselves under this or that banner, and of achieving distinction and name for themselves or their associates, irrespective, for the most part, of the *causa belli:* there are plenty of Swiss on either side. But in most instances a deeper and truer feeling lies at the heart of the many who are mixed up with the present strife: they know and feel that the seed of centuries is bearing its harvest; they proclaim openly that it is not for "non-essentials" that the war is waging; principles have come into collision—*we must as a Church either become more Catholic in practice, or, ceasing to be a Church, less Catholic in theory,* than the Reformation has left us; and this both sides confess; and the strife which shall decide this question must be internecient. We have not much objection to the statement of one, a dissenter, whose respectability is more questionable than his talent, and whose name we have prefixed to these remarks.

"There is no reconciliation possible of the two schools; the dominion of the traditional school is probable, and the sect of the Evangelical clergy must, ere long, entirely give way. The 'Record' newspaper, the organ of that miscellaneous party called, by courtesy, 'Evangelical,' openly denounces the school of the Tractators as 'hateful and antichristian." Hence we see things coming to a crisis; and now, after three centuries of an unquiet life, the Church of England is in this extraordinary position, *that its own clergy are disagreed about fundamentals,* and though, ostensibly, one regiment in the uniform of the surplice, are, in fact, two armies drawn out in battle array to fight the *quarrels of first principles.* The question is now put so intelligibly, that it is no longer possible for clergymen to retain that ambiguous position in which many have hitherto been pleased to act as simple Evangelists, preaching justification by faith, and conversion to a baptized and regenerate congregation, and disregarding the manifest doctrines

Digitized by Google

of the Prayer Book. The Bishop of London in his late Charge, speaking as one that believes the Prayer Book, asserts its doctrines plainly; the 'Record' newspaper, commenting on the prelate's charge, declares that its statements are 'most unscriptural;" but then they are most in accordance with the Prayer Book: and thus we see that *the two parties are fundamentally opposed, and in a way never to be reconciled.* The Evangelical clergymen forget their solemn engagements, to which on entering into their ministerial functions they pledged themselves." *Church of England Examined, &c.* Preface, Pp. v, vi.

We have no fault to find with this view of things; for it is worse than folly to affect, for the sake of a hollow and treacherous external uniformity, to conceal irreconcileable divisions; we cannot patch up a peace; now that the battle has begun, it must be fought, and *fought out;* and we could not have selected a more fitting field than that which either side unites in choosing, the doctrine of the new birth in baptism. It is significant enough, that the only point upon which any unanimity is felt is the selection of the lists for the conflict; both sides feel that the collision must come here, and that a better hour, and a fairer field, could not have been chosen: it is the Pharsalia of mutual choice:—

> " ——— Quem flagitat, inquit,
> Vestra diem virtus, finis civilibus armis,
> Quem quæsistis adest; totas effundite vires:
> Extremum ferri superest opus, unaque gentes
> Hora trahit: medio posuit Deus omnia campo."

Indeed, it must be so: cut down the list of fundamentals to the scantiest formula, still the "one baptism for the remission of sins" remains a chief article of the Christian faith; evaporate our Saviour's doctrine down to its first essence, and regeneration will be the residuum. Is St. Paul enumerating the "first principles of the oracles of God?" the "doctrine of baptisms" is one in a catalogue which contains but six articles as of prime and most vital influence. If there be one truth more than another which meets every test of universal consent and Catholic interpretation, which stands at the door of every church, in every age and in every country, it is the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. We wonder not, therefore, that, in attempting to cut off the support of life from the leaguered Church, her enemies went at once to the "fountain opened" in holy baptism.

Or, again, choose, if we can, *the* truth which shall pervade and colour, and, like the blood of life, circulate throughout every portion of Christian teaching; which shall give wings to every prayer, animate every confession, check every boasting, revive despair, correct forward irreverence, modify and assimilate the most different services, link, as it were, in one blessed band, all ages of life, and all states of grace, and this shall be the doctrine of baptism. Facts prove this: if we read a single sermon of any divine, however temperate and moderate, and on

Digitized by Google

any subject apparently the most remote from that of the laver of regeneration, should he not hold the teaching of the Church on this head, the defect is sure to come out; some phrase is sure to be incomplete and partial; some expression betrays the one thing needful; or we *feel*, if we cannot point out, that which lacketh of the all-pervading truth — the very soul and spirit of the Christian Creed.

And if, on this vital and most fundamental doctrine, variance, as at present, the most complete, exists in the Church—and we are far from seeking to deny the fact—it may be felt, as it is in some quarters, that our Lord's presence must be already withdrawn from a body which is so torn and distracted. This would certainly be an obvious conclusion, but we are not prepared to draw it; we are rather confirmed in a contrary inference. The very fact of the struggle is a sign and proof of life; a dead tree throws out no vigorous offshoots to repel and replace the assaults of moss, and canker, and blight. To know, and to feel, and to acknowledge the presence of a disease, is, as it would seem, an effort of nature to throw it off. We own that corruption, and the forerunners of death itself, are at wild work in the system; but mortification itself may be arrested; the dead flesh is even now sloughing off, and a healthy granulation is already appearing: it is not yet needful to cut off a limb to save the whole body.

We readily admit, therefore, that we are not so much distressed at the present state of the Church as many around us. God forbid, indeed, that we should make it other than a matter of tears and prayers; but, to use a familiar and proverbial phrase, we have long needed a storm to clear the air. So much evil has been growing up within, and under the name of the Church, that we should be glad of any trial—so confident are we of His strength to support the Church—which will prove to men, and angels, and devils, that we are yet in His hand, though a chastening one; we are tempted to welcome the furnace, which, though it be of affliction, is refining. We shall never be in a sound condition till the close alliance between the Church and the world, disguised as is this latter under the specious names of the State, Expediency, Wealth, Popularity, Patronage, Respectability, and the Applause of all men, is thoroughly broken up. We shall not stand fair in our Master's sight, till we have knelt a little at His cross; till our arms are somewhat more blunted, and our priestly robes a little more soiled, with the sore conflict with the evil one; we know not yet the full blessedness of being evil spoken of by all men for His name's sake; we have not yet unlearned the soothing Egyptian tale of the duty of compromise; we are yet hankering after the smooth lawn and the sparkling conservatory, the drawing rooms and nurseries of a beautiful English rectory; we

Digitized by Google

have had too much of the world, and of its ways; and anything which shall force us to clasp the sharp cross to our hearts is to be welcomed, albeit we cannot but fear for ourselves in this the day of our visitation. Quis poterit cogitare diem adventûs Ejus, et quis stabit ad videndum Eum? And whatever the results in a worldly sense may be, even though they amount to the loss of one half of those who have been content to share our smiles, and to name themselves after our name, we feel not the slightest doubt or despondency about the issue, as in God's sight; and, if we pray for His more abiding presence in our churches, we must be content to see them emptied of all those who loll luxuriously in cushioned pews. Any contest, therefore, which thins our ranks, so it be only of the *impedimenta militiæ*, the half-hearted, the worldly, the indulgent, is to be hastened, rather than sighed over. And cost what it will of personal suffering, of the estrangement of friends, of the loss of peace and even of charity, of the fearful shock to society, of danger and doubt and difficulty, the sun will rise brightly and cheerily after the storm; and we shall at least have won this, that the notes of the Church, the keys and the spiritual sword, the cross and the pastoral staff, shall be truths somewhat more real, and somewhat more influential over sin and sorrow, the world and Satan, than are their painted mockeries on the panels of a bishop's carriage, which is all that we see of them at present.

We have been led into this estimate of our actual condition by a train of thought resulting from the observation with which we commenced; viz., that there must be different theological schools. We own that the holding or the denial of baptismal regeneration is not within the prescribed orbit, draw it as widely as we dare, by which the Church's walk in heaven is confined; to deny an article of the creed is heresy, of course, neither more nor less. Neither do we say that heresy, as such, is capable of degrees; it is in itself complete and final. But there is such a thing as holding the truth, even in spite of a formal negation of it; we may cling to the substance, though in terms we have rejected it: on this we shall have to speak more at large presently.

Even to the most casual student of Holy Scripture, there is on the surface a clear indication of two different tones; to adopt an expression which may come nearer the truth than were we to speak of different lines of doctrine. St. James and St. Paul are very familiar instances which occur at once; far are we, of course, from saying that God the Holy Ghost would dictate inconsistent, still less opposite, views of the gospel of salvation; it were blasphemy to think so: but the fact of such a difference, which did it exist in secular literature, would amount to a formal opposition, is very abundantly plain; and when we see this, and doubtless for a purpose of wisdom, we may conclude that it was *intended* that there should be, of course

Digitized by Google

within their limits, the same different lines of thought, expressed or understood, faintly or decidedly marked, and this pervading the history of the Christian Church. Such lines are not so much separate, or even what Aristotle would call antistrophic, truths, as the same principle viewed from different points of aspect,—or the same principle, like the shield of the legend, displaying to two intellects two different phases; and the records of the mind are constantly reproducing this difference, which is not opposition, still less contradiction; say rather, this essential identity which developes itself under formal distinctions. Thus Faith and Works,—the saying that men are born Aristotelians or Platonists—nominalists and realists—the high intellectual and the selfish systems—idealism and materialism; each of these is the representation of a truth which, though commonly ranked as an absolute opponent to another, is rather its correlative and supplement; they are sets of correspondents rather than antagonists; neither could have existed unless it embodied some great and essential verity. It is true, as facts have very abundantly proved, that to restrict our views of Christian doctrine to one class in this dualism is the sure way to become a heretic; it is only by adjustment and compensation that one doctrine counterbalances and regulates another; we must not take the one motive without examining its counterpoise; still, with all these allowances and abatements, it cannot but be that every individual mind is more powerfully swayed by the one line of thought, or set of truths, than by its counteracting line in the *συστοιχία*, if we may so say. To say which is much the same as to say that every theological school has a decided tendency to some heresy; and this the more systematically and steadily it pursues its particular bias to the neglect of the rest of the catholic creed.

Ecclesiastical history is full of instances of this tendency; thus, according to the grounds which opponents were respectively taking, it were easy to show that the ante-Nicene fathers developed a tendency towards Sabellianism on the one hand, or Arianism on the other, just as in different cases they were respectively upholding the Catholic doctrine from that argument whose vicious extreme might and did result in these heresies. So also it were easy, in disputation and controversy, not only for mutual recriminations to arise, as between Nestorians and Eutychians, but yet more, that either sect should accuse the catholics of holding either its own tenets or those of its opponents, just as the faith was defended against one party or the other respectively.

Without applying this—which were obvious—to the controversy of our own days, it is apparent, then, that there must still be, because there have always been, opposite schools in the Church; and as schools, they are always just on the point of becoming heretics; schools are only not sects: we are daily all

Digitized by Google

but overstepping the line. Hence we see that it is to be expected that there should be inconsistency, so to say, and vagueness; a lack of precision; a drawing back from carrying out conclusions; a reserve in adopting consequences; an affirmation of isolated premises, in the teaching of the Church, which charge, as in the case of the Athanasian Creed, for example, we are not only to bear with, but to boast of as our characteristic. We must not be too scholastic; too formal; too precise; too careful after mood and figure; too impatient of the charge of dogmatism, and irrational assumption, and begging the question.

And that there have been from the first such schools and teachers which only just escaped heresy, who shall deny, when he remembers St. Augustine or St. Jerome? or that there have been schools which objectively seemed to hold different doctrines, can we doubt, when we contrast the general character of the Eastern Church to the Western, St. Chrysostom with St. Augustine, St. Cyprian with St. Clement of Alexandria, the Franciscans with the Dominicans, the Jesuits with the Jansenists, (though in this parallel neither party can, it is to be feared, escape the charge of heresy), Luther with Melancthon, the school of Hooker with the school of Bull, the school of Laud and the school of Waterland? Are not the Prayer-Book and the Articles adequate exponents of the two lines of teaching?*

---

* "I prize some single collects above all the theological articles. I much prefer the Liturgy to the Articles: the latter being, in my mind, very much human; the former, little short of divine. The one, I conceive, partakes much of that "knowledge which shall vanish away;" the other, of that "love that never faileth." I need not observe, that when I deprecate doctrines I mean not any Catholic verity; such as the Universal Church holds in common. I only mean what some consider as the grand distinguishing marks of Protestantism as well as the chief ornaments of our Church; but which I am obliged to deem quite unessential to the former; and as tolerable rather than laudable in the latter; tolerable, because, by the limited language which has been used, the passages in question admit of a more latitudinous meaning than some are willing to allow of; and, by that latitude, a consistency is preserved with the Liturgy, and a freedom of conscience secured for those to whom St. Austin's and Luther's divinity has appeared questionable.

"Their notion of the regenerate state is brought down to the level of the character described in Rom. vii.; and in this they think themselves countenanced by the language of the Articles. Now, I am persuaded, (however their views might be indulged,) they were not adopted by the Reformers; and I conceive the Prayer-Book gives quite other views; I mean higher and more moral views. I therefore acknowledge I much more relish the spirit, temper, and devotional sentiment of the Church than anything that can be thus called its doctrines. I love what identifies it with the Church Universal, rather than what distinguishes it as a particular establishment."—*Knox's Remains*, vol. iv. pp. 301—304.

The whole letter deserves an attentive perusal: and elsewhere (vol. iv. pp, 157, 158,) this remarkable author draws the same sort of distinction:

"Religion contains two sets of truths, which I may venture to denominate ultimate and mediatory; the former refer to God as our original and end; the latter to the Word made flesh, the suffering, dying, rising, ruling Saviour;—the way, the truth, the life. Our prevalent reading has placed us a point or two on the different sides; you leaning more to the mediatory truths than I have yet been brought to. Some writers seem rather too much to lose sight of the mediatory truths, though they were excellent men and bright luminaries. But does not St. James do so, compared with St. Paul and St. Peter?"

Digitized by Google

These reflections may perhaps be useful when we set about estimating at his right value such a man as Dean Milner, whose life has lately appeared; and we have entered somewhat diffusely into illustrations of our position, because it is past a doubt that this celebrated man—and what applies to him is true, for the most part, of the Evangelical (so called) school to which he was attached—held heretical doctrine, and yet was not a heretic. For all that we have said has this practical bearing, viz. to account for the fact, that, while we admit the existence of an immense mass of all but developed false doctrine and heresy in the Church, yet we desire that these variations in teaching shall not be deemed to null our Catholic character and to have banished our Lord from this His heritage. What we say, then, is this—that divines may be constantly on a precipice and yet they shall be mercifully drawn back from the fatal plunge; by a blessed inconsistency, blessed, that is, for themselves, they shall still be permitted to maintain and hold fast some great and consoling truth which utterly neutralizes their otherwise fatal error; and, yet more, they shall leave the deadly heritage of heresy for others to reap, they being themselves mercifully withdrawn, for some hidden excellence of their own, from the consequences of their own teaching. Thus, to take an illustration already made use of, who shall say that Augustine was not a most blessed saint? and yet who is prepared to deny the mass of theological errors to which his speculations have given rise? There is a difference between potential and actual heresy: corruption neither developes itself at once, nor infects its victims equally: other gifts may overrule its virus, almost destroy it. It takes more than a generation to bring out all its powers: the Noels and Closes, the Holloways and Molyneuxes, of our days, though in the direct line of succession, must be measured by other standards than the Milners and Cecils, the Farishes and Venns, or even the Newtons, among our fathers.

We are not desirous, in the present observations, to adopt a controversial or disputatious tone: our opinions of the general religious character of the school to which Isaac Milner belonged, we have no call in this place to repeat; they must be sufficiently familiar for our readers to anticipate them; we would rather, according to our imperfect means, bring out another view, viz. that, making all allowances for the radical unsoundness of all this great man's views of Christian doctrine, with which we should be quite ready to charge them in the proper place, yet still, his unfeigned piety and overflowing charity saved him from those excesses—even to actual heresy—with which his followers are infected. We cannot go through the records of a good man's life, abounding, as this Biography does, with innumerable records of the true spirit of the gospel's love; of faith and good works; of an ardent zeal for God's glory and the salvation of

Digitized by Google

sinners; and of simple, striving, personal submission to God's will, displayed under the most trying circumstances; without blessing God that the grace inherent in His Church and ministry, to which Dean Milner belonged, overruled to great, though perhaps not to enduring, good, a character of doctrinal sentiments, which, without such checks—however unknown to, and unacknowledged by, him who was their object—would certainly have degenerated into wild and melancholy excesses. Of course we shall ask no pardon for declaring our earnest conviction that, had Dean Milner's thoughts been turned to a richer and truer estimate of *the Church*, as the place of God's sole indwelling Presence; had he not been led to study the early history of the Church with that unhappy bias of his excellent brother, which made him begin at the wrong end, and compelled him to turn over the records of seventeen centuries, only to hunt out sectarian views in little miserable bodies, detached from the catholic communion too often, instead of identifying the teaching of the Spirit with the one unvarying voice of the Church; had he been led, by a more favourable state of learning and feeling, even in his own university, to form a larger and more spiritual view of the office and gifts of the Church, as the depository of the secrets and powers of the dispensation of the kingdom of heaven, there would have been few names which would have shed a brighter, or exercised a more lasting, influence on the Church of England than that of Isaac Milner. Firm, manly, independent, clear, and vigorous in mind, with gifts personal and intellectual but seldom surpassed, with powers of illustration and explanation rarely equalled, with perseverance indefatigable, and placed in a position of commanding importance, few had such opportunities, and few exerted them more boldly and conscientiously upon the many classes of society in which he mixed.

Emphatically Milner's was an independent character: to be the *faber suæ fortunæ* may possibly have a tendency to produce an authoritative, or even a rugged, turn of character, traces of which disposition, amounting almost to impetuousness, or even haughtiness, we have almost imagined that we have detected in the pages before us; but, on the other hand, admitting this serious drawback, to be sprung from lowly parents, and to be taken from the loom, "where Mr. Atkinson found him with *Tacitus* and some Greek author lying by his side" (p. 5), to preside over an eminent college in stormy times, shows at least that he who could thus rise, by the sole force of talent, was no ordinary person; and innate power such as this must command respect. Perhaps this self-dependence, most natural in such an origin, may have had its share in giving Milner's mind a bias against authority; be this as it may, we may trace some of his inconsistencies to a very singular, and in some way unintelligible, state of physical disease, which, more or less, hung about him throughout life,

Digitized by Google

although it did not prevent his attaining the age of man. His mind seems to have been acutely, even morbidly, susceptible of affection; the death of his brother, to whom—and he had good reason for it*—he was fervently attached, was a blow from which he never recovered: in the case of any other person we might almost have said that he failed to exhibit the grace of christian resignation on this event, were we not aware from other details that there was much of constitutional infirmity, which must be taken into account, if we are disposed to discover defects of temper in his character.

The following letters are almost mysterious:—

"Dr. Fothergill, who was a member of the Society of Friends, thus writes:—

"'Respected Friend,—I have perused and considered thy case with much attention. It is the description of a most unhappy being, and the wretchedness is increased by reflecting on the miseries of the past, and the hopeless prospects of the future—a situation of mind which is perpetually increasing the disorder and rendering it more difficult to cure; yet how to prevent it is as difficult to conceive. * * * * It will be worth while, not only to think like a philosopher, but to act like one,—I mean that thou shouldest look as little as possible upon the past disappointments in respect of health, and cherish hope of better days.'

"'Dear Sir,' writes John Hunter, a few months later, 'I received the favour of your letter on the 17th of last month, and, at first, was almost frightened to read it, and laid it down to be taken up again when I could give time to read and consider the contents. The case is a singular one, and is such as (I think) no man can say at once, what should be done.'"—Pp. 50, 51.

"A sense of suffocation, which is truly most alarming, is, in my case, readily brought on by any violent affection of the spirits." (P. 149.) Elsewhere (p. 219) he uses the sad phrase, "*mentem meam exulceratam*;" and there is a reference (p. 268) to "plausible charges put into industrious circulation," which allude to infirmities of temper which were merely the result of constitutional irritability; indeed, his use of opium, (p. 148,) though only as a medicine, must have acted as a constant, and perhaps dangerous, stimulant to a temperament naturally of the warmest.

These things must be borne in mind in estimating Milner's character; and they were not without their influence, prejudicial or otherwise, on his religious sentiments. If the circumstances of his birth prejudiced him against the temptation of "calling any man master," his nervous organization was of that kind upon which a set of religious opinions, addressing itself for the

* "Under providence," says Isaac of himself, in his beautiful life of Joseph Milner, prefixed to his sermons, "he owes his present honourable and elevated situations as Dean of Carlisle, Master of Queen's College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge—indeed, he owes all he has to the kindness of this same brother, and he here WILLINGLY acknowledges the obligation with tears of gratitude and affection. 'He made' ISAAC 'glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever.'" *Life of Joseph Milner*, p. xv.

Digitized by Google

most part to the feelings, and producing a disinclination to the severer character of the Catholic system, must have had a strong and not unnatural hold. Happily, in his own case, this tendency produced a spirit of love in Milner; though, at the same time, it is to be believed that a healthier state of the frame would have been accompanied by a more vigorous view of religion.

Yet Milner's was naturally, and in spite of disease displayed itself as, a very masculine mind; though perhaps visited by those rises and falls to which nervousness and hypochondria so often conduce, and which are mistaken by strangers for "habits of self-indulgence and indolence." (P. 265.) We will produce evidence of this manliness, for it is a point in which the old "evangelical" school stands at a very favourable contrast with its present upholders. Isaac Milner, indeed, was far beyond even his contemporaries—we might say all the disciples of this body, except perhaps Cecil—in this respect. Speaking of self-examination, as to growth in grace, he says:—

"If we cannot give satisfactory answers, let us dedicate ourselves to God afresh, and take confusion of face—never attempt to *bolster up* the past."—Pp. 57, 58.

which is a true view of the need of continual repentance.

He exhibited an honest feeling of reserve on the higher mysteries of faith; and the following shows that he thought obedience was the sole road to high spiritual attainments:—

"To disputation on religious subjects, he was indeed usually less inclined; yet he was ever ready to admit that 'in his heart he loved a good argument;' and few persons, perhaps, were better qualified to discuss a difficult question in theology. Still, however, unless under peculiar circumstances, he was little disposed to enter, in conversation, upon abstruse reasonings and disquisitions. 'What is that to thee? Follow thou me,' was a quotation often addressed by him, by way of caution, to persons, especially young persons, who endeavoured to engage him in the discussion of personal election, free-will, and other such topics, which he was well known to have deeply studied."—Pp. 173, 174.

"As humility is the life and soul of the religion of Christ, there is perhaps hardly anything which ought more carefully to be avoided, in the intercourse between friends, than the saying or doing of anything which has a tendency to puff up; we are all of us sufficiently disposed to this evil of ourselves."—P. 238.

Of the same kind is a remarkable passage:—

"A gentleman, formerly a member of Queen's College, thus writes:—'Being without piety myself during the first two years of my undergraduateship, I was nevertheless surprised that Dr. Milner, who was reputedly pious, made so few allusions to religion, and took, apparently, so little pains to imbue the minds of the students with holy thoughts. At last I was convinced that he acted upon this principle, that as young men are fantastically jealous of their freedom, so, to offer himself as a guide where there was no predisposition to be led, was doing more harm than good. Accordingly, he was not slow to observe a gradual religious change in my temperament, and he sent for me, ostensibly on another ground; and as a sort of postscript to our conversation, asked me if I had any reason for not appearing at the Lord's Supper. He then very affectionately sought to

Digitized by Google

win my confidence, and entered into a long conference with me. Such a conversation took place twice. I afterwards found, from young men of a religious disposition, that he had frequently had earnest conversations with them, which was a great surprise upon me.' "—P. 675.

So also of the danger of being satisfied with so-called faith :—

"Still more, if we are of a purer portion of the Church: then we are apt to be satisfied with our faith, and to substitute f. for practice."—P. 299.

"Symptoms of the former, that is of f. for practice;—when we are very contracted in our acquaintances, and think quite well of them if they think as we do of doctrines."—P. 300.

And his submissive estimate of Christian suffering :—

"I have long seen that mild methods will not do for me. Nothing but the rod answers at all; and may God grant that I may kiss the rod cordially, and remember that He afflicteth not willingly."—P. 249.

The tone of habitual feeling displayed in this excellent passage of a private letter rises far above the usual conventionalism of modern religion :—

"I consider myself as being in a very, very doubtful state, to say the least. Prepare, Prepare, ought to be my motto, no doubt, in great letters. What the Divine mercy has yet in store for me, it is not easy to predict. My hope is, that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."—P. 628.

as does also his appreciation of the daily service :—

"Though prevented by ill-health, it is exceedingly desirable that as master of Queen's College, I should be able, along with the college, to be present at daily prayers in our chapel. I always *used to be a regular attendant.* It is equally desirable that I should attend the cathedral service at Carlisle."—P. 79.

and he indignantly repudiates (p. 82) the misconstruction of his motives, to which his absence from daily prayers, unavoidable in his miserable health, gave occasion.

The practice indicated in the following seems judicious: and it is one of which many of the present followers of Milner are singularly, and it may be fatally, neglectful :—

"It was not Dean Milner's habit to preach against particular practices, even though he thought them evil practices. To do so, he used to say, was 'to act as injudiciously as a physician would do, who should attack the symptom instead of the disease.' 'Let but the heart,' he would say, 'be right with God, and no difficulty will be felt about a vast number of questions, concerning which much discussion is sometimes raised.'"—P. 361.

Nor was his reading quite so one-sided as that of some whom we could specify; for we hear of his recommending "Beveridge's Private Thoughts," (p. 449,) "Quesnel," (p. 462,) "Butler's Character of Balaam," (p.500,) "Pascal," (p. 628, and elsewhere.)

Though his low estimate of Baptism is familiar, yet even his tone was pitched higher than is now the fashion :—

"'In few words,' he writes, 'I conceive, that in adults the substance of regeneration has actually taken place before baptism; but as the new birth is said to require both water and the Spirit, it may be too much to say that the new birth may be *complete* without water; that is, without baptism; and this would be true, even though the baptism were a mere outward

Digitized by Google

form, and to be observed merely because it is an ordinance of Christ. But there is reason to believe, that the Holy Spirit blesses the due performance of the ordinance.' "—P. 650.

And in a letter "to my godson, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, a little before his confirmation," amid much that is distressing, this passage seems noticeable:—

"The 'renewing of the Holy Ghost,' must be a daily, practical thing. The confirmation of a person baptized in infancy, and now arrived at years of discretion, may be looked on as a good beginning; but the Christian life requires continued watchfulness, and repeated renewings. The Holy Ghost is a tender spirit—soon grieved, soon quenched; and His blessed presence in the heart is only to be recovered by humble and incessant prayers. We may rest satisfied, that if we do not advance in the practice of every Christian virtue, we are not standing still. No Christian stands still long. If he do not improve, he infallibly goes backward: and notwithstanding his having gone through the outward forms of baptism and confirmation, he may still so decline, as at last to become a 'cast-away.' "—P. 666.

Nor does it seem that he was always satisfied even with his own scanty views of religious truth. We might assign an adequate reason; but, without going into this, the confession is striking:—

"I cannot but think there is something sadly wrong about my views, or my way of going on, in some respect or other, or I should not be so very much in this great darkness and dismay. I assure you I sometimes think my mind will lose all its tone. I aim as much as possible at two things:—1st, to keep up a steady, praying, waiting spirit, for light; and, 2d, to surrender my own will to His will entirely, and therefore to allow no known sin. This must surely be right; but I suppose I do not do what I say. There is something wrong, I am satisfied, or I should not be so miserable, and have so little confidence towards God, at the time when I most want it. There is nothing that I see clearer, than that my continued afflictions are useful and even necessary to me. In intervals of health, I can pray very sincerely for the return of illness, if expedient. I really tremble when I grow better, so disposed am I to wander into the old way of worldly-mindedness, and of pleasing self; but when the fits of illness come, I do not, I believe, properly kiss the rod. Yet I really cannot charge myself with much murmuring; I thank God, I have got over that a good deal; but a sort of melancholy sulkiness comes on, and a want of cheerful submission. No earthly being can tell what I suffer in mind and body. I should be very grateful to you to write again to me at your leisure."—Pp. 208, 209.

"There are certain things that I must do, or else I must give up all. I endeavour to go on as well as I can, and to live, as it were, from day to day; my motto is, 'Sufficient for the day,' &c. &c."—P. 209.

And though painful in the extreme, who could refuse sympathy to the simple heart which could produce these sad words?

"Though I have endeavoured to discharge my duty here as well as ever I could, and though I have been enabled, through a gracious providence, to get through four preachings, yet sadness and melancholy of heart stick close by me, and increase upon me. Who would believe this? I tell nobody, but I am very much sunk indeed; and I wish I could have the relief of weeping, as I often used to have."—P. 174.

The sagacity of the following advice we recommend to those whom it most nearly concerns:—

Digitized by Google

"The meeting of the Board of Longitude, calling Dean Milner to London in the first week of December, he, for the first time, took up his abode at Kensington Gore, where Mr. Wilberforce had just established his family; and, ever disposed to view the ordinary occurrences of life on the sunny side, he suggested to his friend, who regretted his departure from his late residence, an incidental advantage arising from this removal. With honest and judicious friendship, he pointed out to him 'a danger in living altogether at Clapham,—danger of conceit and spiritual pride, and a cold, critical spirit.' He considered his friend to be better guarded against these evils, than many other persons might be; but still he thought the 'danger great.'"—Pp. 365, 366.

That the general cast of his theology was meagre and unsatisfactory, almost in the extreme, we have proofs which we are careful neither to parade nor conceal: indeed, to understand Milner's character we are bound to produce some. The tendency of such axioms as these is sufficiently plain:—

"The meaning of the Church better ascertained by the Articles than by the Liturgy."—P. 275.

"It is not so much in the light of a commentator or an interpreter of the Bible that I view the Liturgy, as of a protector of the poor and unlettered from the seductions of false teachers."—P. 552.

as though the one use excluded the other. So in another place, from a paper against Kipling's useful pamphlet on the Articles:—

"The grand principle upon which they would proceed would, I think, be this: Whenever a doctrine was perfectly clear and explicit, whether that doctrine were found among the Articles, or the Homilies, or in the Liturgy, they would rest satisfied with it, and would apply it to the explanation, or clearing up, of any doubtful passages, whether such doubtful passages were found in the Articles, the Homilies, or the Liturgy. And as it is undoubtedly in the Articles that we have reason to expect doctrinal precision, they would chiefly look there for accurate statements of controverted points. In the Homilies they would expect to find more diffuse explanations and illustrations of what was expressed concisely and abstractedly in the Articles; because, in fact, the Articles themselves do make that use of the Homilies by reference; but least of all would they look for nice distinctions and definitions of doctrinal matters in the Liturgy, the use of which belongs, in a great measure, to the affections of the heart, rather than to the speculations of the head; and the language of which is wisely made popular, and adapted to the understandings of persons of the lowest attainments."—Pp. 280, 281.

His gloss on the Confession,* (p. 710,) is very objectionable, and the laxity of his conduct, though less blameable perhaps in Milner's days than in our own, in another particular, is quite of the Exeter Hall calibre:—

"There could scarcely be a greater mistake than to imagine that Dr. Milner disapproved of all Missionary Societies except those which are

* We remember, though we cannot extract, some excellent observations of Alexander Knox on the General Confession. The clause "there is no health in us" is usually quoted as a testimony to the utter depravity of all baptized christians; Knox remarks that it should be read "there is no health *in us*;" health being used in the sense of "God is our health," i. e. our salvation; all our grace is from Him —His gift, and not of man.

Digitized by Google

in connexion with the Church of England. In order to confirm this assertion it is only necessary to state, that he subscribed liberally not only to the Moravian Missionary Establishments, but also to certain Missionary Associations conducted by the body of Wesleyan Methodists. With St. Paul, he rejoiced, if, under any circumstances, "Christ" were "preached."—Pp. 609, 610.

And to sum up this, the most painful portion of our labours, his published works on the great baptismal controversy, in which he appeared as the antagonist of Ludlam, Marsh, Laurence, and Mant, as detailed at pp. 374, and 368, *et passim;* and in the prosecution of which he took the same ground with which everybody is now *ad nauseam* familiar; his establishment of Bible societies, both at Cambridge and Carlisle, (pp. 462—504, 518—539, 575, 586—603;) his objections to the tracts of the Christian Knowledge Society, (pp. 486, 530, 640;) his active connexion with the Church (so called) Missionary Society, (pp. 608, &c., 673,) are well known. We make no apology for only alluding to these things; for to extract the passages which we had marked would only weary our readers with that, the *crambe recocta* of which abounds in the present day; indeed, this is the most tedious portion of the book; for now there is neither novelty nor interest in such subjects.

Some sophistical objections—we are bound to say it—which Dean Milner urged against a well-known rule of the National Society, demand however more than a passing reference. On the establishment of a national school at Carlisle, a difference of opinion occurred between the dean and the bishop, which we shall gladly allow them to recount in their own words, were it but for the opportunity of recording the bishop's admirable letter. The dean writes—

"When I conversed with your Lordship, I had not seen the printed paper signed 'T. Walmsley:' the last clause in which paper, viz., 'unless such reason be given for their non-attendance,* &c.,' is certainly not without some ambiguity. It can scarcely be supposed to relate solely to cases of ill-health and necessary confinement.

"To me it seems to hold out an opening to the children of dissenters, whose parents or guardians may have no objection to their learning the Catechism, Liturgy, &c., but who are still desirous that they themselves should have the superintendence of their children at their own respective places of worship.

"*Plan* 1. I now find, that both our Archbishops so interpret the clause, that they shall consider it a sufficient reason for non-attendance if the parents, guardians, &c., shall engage, that the children under their protection shall attend divine service, according to the practice of their own denomination.

"I myself saw his Grace of Canterbury.

"*Plan* 2. The other plan would be to say, fairly and openly, that the school is intended for those poor children, and those only, whose parents or guardians will declare that they wish their children to be brought up, *bonâ fide*, members of the Established Church.

* Viz. for the non-attendance at Church of the scholars in National Schools.

Digitized by Google

"Sincerity obliges me to own, that I see most good in the former plan; it is my firm belief, that the former plan would produce most Churchmen. It is even possible, that the two schools at Carlisle might be consolidated.

"The second plan, if proposed so as to be perfectly free from ambiguity, would, I think, among other evils, narrow the subscriptions exceedingly.

"If the second plan is to be adopted, it would be my most earnest desire, that not a particle of ambiguity should be left. The system of asking no questions appears to me very objectionable. If a dissenter really wishes his child to be brought up a Churchman, let the thing be done openly and explicitly. For if it be done, as it were, by connivance and *sub silentio*, I foresee nothing but irregularity, and hypocrisy, and snares—children separated from their parents, and under no order on Sundays."

"By return of post the Bishop thus replied:—

"To the very Reverend the Dean of Carlisle.

"*March* 10, 1812.

"My dear Dean,—"Dr. Law was very correct in giving you a sketch of my opinion, meaning, and intention.

"I must beg leave to repeat it, that I have no idea of refusing any child the benefit of education upon account of his or her parent's religious principles. Any child will be allowed to enter, provided he will conform to the rules of the school. The principal of those rules will be, that they learn the Catechism of the Church of England, be instructed in our Liturgy, and give their regular attendance on the Sundays at our church. These are indispensable conditions, if I have anything to do with the conduct of this school. I educate professedly for the Church, not for the conventicle.

"The 'indispensable conditions' above-mentioned will be palmed upon no one by artifice, or by any obscure hint, disguised meaning, or delusive contrivance. The intent of the plan will be detailed by public advertisement; and the rules and orders of the school will be printed, circulated, and hung up publicly in the school, and read to every parent who brings his child for education.

"I really am at a loss to reconcile what you say of our two Archbishops, with the original plan which was held out to the public, and with the rules and orders, (a copy of which I here enclose,) which were drawn up, and are now adopted in the new school in Gray's Inn Lane, with the consent of the Archbishops, and the General Committee.

"If a school upon Dr. Bell's plan be wanted anywhere, it is at Carlisle, where Dissenters and Methodists do so abound, as I am informed, and where the force of education has been almost entirely exercised in favour of those who vary or dissent from the Establishment. It is high time that something should be done for the church; and I do not see upon what grounds any one can object to such a purpose. There are many dissenters who are so, from not having had opportunities of being taught better; and such would be glad to have their children properly educated. There is education enough to be had in Carlisle for those who dislike our Church. They have never been disturbed in going to those places of education. I claim the same freedom; let no one disturb us.

"The idea of consolidating the two schools is absolutely inadmissible. Educating merely for the world has been tried; and the present confused notions of true religion, and the perfect indifference to all religion, I do, in my conscience, believe to be the result of it. Let us see what educating for God will do.

"Whatever I do in this business shall be open and clear, as the sun at noon-day. There shall be no snares, no hypocrisy, no setting of children at variance with fathers and mothers, no deception of any kind. The plan of education will be fixed, publicly set forth, publicly exhibited, and, in consequence, publicly known. If dissenters or others do not like it, they

Digitized by Google

will go elsewhere; if they do like it, they will observe its rules—they will conform to the plan. It will be impossible to vary the plan according to the judgment or caprice of every dissenter.

"I am, dear Dean, yours very faithfully,

"SAML. CARLISLE."

After another confused letter from Milner, the bishop replies with a note, "the openness and plain dealing of which," even Mrs. Milner, the editor, admits "must command respect:"—

"To the very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle.

"*March* 17, 1812.

"MY DEAR DEAN,—I have again and again considered your last letter, and I am quite clear that I have as good a right to understand words in their plain sense and meaning as you, or the Archbishop of York; and my conscience cannot be bound by yours or his.

"The National Society has nothing hostile in it to persons of any persuasion; nor does it hold out prohibitions which can be tortured to mean intolerance. It simply lays down a plan, (as I have done, in conformity to it,) and says, that all who come must conform to it.

"As you seemed to have particular objections to the words, 'children of all religious denominations,' I have desired Dr. Law to omit them, and to say, 'All children admitted into this school must strictly conform to all the rules of it. The principal and fundamental rules of the school will be, that all children received into it will be instructed in the Liturgy and Catechism of the Church of England, will attend the prayers used in the school, and go with their Master to church regularly every Sunday,' &c. This is plain, beyond all doubting, and covers all the fears and apprehensions of persons not knowing what will be required of the children. A printed paper, also, somewhat similar to that of the Baldwin's Gardens' School, will be circulated, and given to every child's parent or guardian; so that it will be impossible for any to be deceived, or to think himself entrapped or ensnared.

"I hope to hear that you are satisfied upon this head.

"I write to Dr. Law, (who has just sent me a copy of the proposed advertisement, as he says he has to you,) by this post, to propose this alteration, and to beg him to expedite some subordinate matters, that we may begin our work.

"I would once for all declare to you most solemnly, that I have not one grain of bigotry or intolerance in me. I know and like and esteem many Dissenters as much as Churchmen. I love Mr. Howard, although a Roman Catholic, as much as I do my Protestant neighbours. But in establishing a school professedly for the education of the poor in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, it is first my duty to contrive a plan for doing it, and then to see the plan faithfully and strictly executed. No one has a right to find fault with me for acting in this manner, and nothing shall beat me from it.

"I find fault with no Dissenter or Roman Catholic for educating his paupers as he thinks proper.

"*Veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.* I look forward to immense advantages occurring from the establishment of this school, in letting the community know what our Church Establishment and its doctrines are. At present they have but little chance of knowing their beauty, excellence and propriety.

"I am, my dear Dean, yours very faithfully,

"SAML. CARLISLE."

But we gladly pass to the pleasanter features of Isaac Milner's character. Of his share in Wilberforce's reformation our readers are familiar, both in Scott's account, and in his sons' biography;

Digitized by Google

to the well-known details of that famous continental tour, and of the blessed results of Milner's observation, that "one of their acquaintance did not carry things a bit too far," the present publication adds no new information as it can confer no higher interest, though in the copious extracts of his correspondence with Wilberforce it is very rich; but we are furnished with very pleasing details of the dean's enduring affection for his celebrated brother, for Stillingfleet, Dr. Jowett, who spent two evenings a-week with him for forty years, Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Bell, and an old and sincere friend, Mr. Tillotson, a descendant, we believe of the archbishop, who in early life had done him and his brother some pecuniary favours in the days of their poverty. Mr. Tillotson lived at Queen's-lodge, and we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of making this touching extract:—

"Few men probably ever spent a happier old age, or lived and died more respected than this good old man. By the judicious kindness of Dr. Milner, he was enabled to enjoy precisely the life which suited him, and for which he was fitted. His early habits were respected and provided for. He had a room to himself, was permitted *to smoke*, saw no company except such as he chose for himself (one or two of the older Fellows of Queen's College), strolled about the gardens, &c., at his pleasure, dined in the College hall, as a piece of extraordinary gaiety, on gala days, and was regularly furnished with a Hull newspaper, and such other reading as suited his taste." —P. 515.

And what a beautiful picture of true christian charity is the following delightful anecdote!

"A young man, whose connexions were known to Dr. Milner, attempted suicide; in fact, cut his throat so effectually that his life was in the most imminent danger. This occurred during the night; no medical advice was immediately to be procured, and before daybreak the disconsolate family sent to request the attendance of Dean Milner, rather as a medical than as a spiritual adviser. The Dean of course obeyed the call; and during that visit and some subsequent ones, attended only to the physical condition of the sufferer. Afterwards, when the danger of death was past, he assumed his clerical character. Of the precise nature, or the ultimate consequences, of his addresses to the unhappy man, I cannot speak. The immediate effect was notorious: the poor youth became so grateful, and so much attached to his spiritual instructor, that he would suffer no one else to minister even to his bodily wants; and it is a fact, that for a considerable time, his medicines were administered, and even the dressings upon his throat arranged, by Dr. Milner's own hand."—P. 332, 333.

To our apprehension, there is another view of Isaac Milner's personal character which is not a little valuable. He was a very real person; he was not ashamed, to use a phrase which occurs in the answer to one of the Marprelate libels, to "call a dog a dog;" he always spoke out honestly and candidly what he meant; nor was he alarmed at being thought a fool by men infinitely his inferiors; true wisdom, he knew, consisted in "not being afraid of bugbears." Some very amusing, and, we will add, instructive instances of this, occur in his life: "He *never* laid much stress upon merely external matters. Cant, and affec-

Digitized by Google

tation of every kind, he abhorred; and, to say the truth, he was rather partial to what are called *tricks* with cards," (p. 54;) he was fond of "instructing young people to play at draughts," (p. 327;) he was "constitutionally gay; in fact, so blithe and frolicsome were his spirits during the intervals in which he enjoyed a moderate share of health, and so entirely free was he, at all times, from the slightest shade of affected gravity, that by persons of a more severe turn of mind, or of less natural cheerfulness, he was sometimes thought to be in danger of overstepping the line which separates innocent gaiety from culpable levity." (P. 329.) He "avowedly took interest in private exhibitions of personal strength or activity, such as horsemanship, &c.; or manual dexterity, such as sleight of hand:" on one occasion he "had a juggler in the dining-room at Queen's-lodge;" and on another, "he joined a private morning performance of a professor in the equestrian art—bugbears he despised."—P. 363.

But perhaps the oddest instance in which the good dean "saw good in everthing," and disdained not to acquire information from every master of his particular craft, is the following racy anecdote: for we pass over his instructions to a carpenter, a razor-grinder, and a farrier, as minor matters:

"Occasionally Dr. Milner carried the practice intimated in the above anecdotes, to what some of his friends might, perhaps, consider an extravagant length; and it sometimes gave rise to amusing incidents. For instance, he was once crossing over from Hull to Barton, in the passage-boat which at that time sailed, and, probably, still sails, at a certain hour each day, according to the state of the tide. It so chanced that Mendoza, the boxer, had been giving lessons at Hull, and was crossing over at the same time. The Dean was observed to make his way towards Mendoza, and to enter, with him, into a conversation which lasted during a great part of the passage. There were persons present who saw the circumstance, and who hinted to the Dean afterwards, that they felt rather surprised at what he had done; to their observations Dr. Milner replied, 'Oh,—Mendoza,—I thought he was at the top of his profession, and I wanted to get something out of him.'"—P. 166.

Nor does it seem that good Isaac Milner confined his researches into the "noble art of self-defence" to mere theoretical inquiries, as a certain nobleman found to his cost:

"Being in company at Lowther with a nobleman who professed great skill as a boxer, he contrived to turn the conversation upon the art, or science, of self-defence. Lord A—— H—— strenuously maintained that a scientific pugilist could not, by any possibility, be struck by an uninstructed antagonist; that his skill would enable him to ward off any blow not dealt to him by a brother of the craft. The Dean disputed this position; the company became interested and the discussion animated; experiment only could decide the point. In order, therefore, to bring the matter to the test, Dr. Milner arose from his seat, and, walking into the middle of the apartment, coolly said, 'Now, my Lord, if you will only promise not to strike me, I think, that in spite of any guard you can keep, I can strike you.' 'Impossible,' &c. &c. exclaimed Lord A—— H——. They stood up accordingly, and, 'within less than thirty seconds,' said Dean Milner, with great triumph, when he afterwards related the circumstance, 'I gave him, with my open hand, such a slap on the face as rang again through the large room.' The company, of course, laughed heartily, and Lord A——

Digitized by Google

H—— said no more on the subject of boxing; but so irresistible was the influence of the Dean's good humour, that it was impossible even for a man in his Lordship's circumstances to be angry with him."—P. 329.

A hundred per cent., in our estimation, does the Dean rise from these two excellent stories, which we earnestly commit to the estimate of certain critics of our own pages who are quite scandalized at our intimacy with the Pickwick Papers; and though we have seen also many criticisms on this "Life of Dean Milner," we have not seen these incidents the objects of vituperation from any straight-laced periodicals, hebdomadal or bi-hebdomadal, monthly or quarterly. To be sure it is a matter of taste, upon which we may even differ from the President of Queen's and Dean of Carlisle, whether a blackguard Jew boxer should be one's chosen companion, even on the hail-fellow well-met deck of a steamer. The standard which regulates such proprieties varies considerably; although this is a question, after all, rather of degree than of principle. But we must just ask, though seeking pardon for associating such excellent divines with our ludicrous ideas, "What Mrs. Grundy would say" if Dr. Pusey were to hold a colloquy with the Game Chicken on the mysteries of the Fancy; or if Mr. Newman were to become a correspondent of the *Sporting Magazine;* or the authors of the *Tracts for the Times* were to get up a "private" party to Astley's or Van Amburgh's; or if Madame Saqui or Ramoo Samee were to give a snug "morning performance" at Littlemore; or even were ourselves to turn out with the Quorn hounds,—albeit though we, one and all, were prepared with the irrefragable argument that "it was our settled habit to endeavour to glean from every person who fell in our way some portion of the particular knowledge, whatever it might be, which that person was supposed to possess," as excellent Mrs. Milner somewhat cumbrously and distrustingly (p. 329) expresses it? Would not the *Record* rave, and would not the *Christian Observer* draw down the corners of its mouth? However, we commit the Dean's *principle* to the notice "of the dancing clergy" who are so often posted in the columns of that meek journal. Who knows but that in the mazes of a quadrille they are solving some deep problem in statics, investigating the laws which regulate the connexion between the ear and the foot; or in the waltz developing some unknown theory of attraction and cohesion?

But sincerely we think this a much more important matter than to be dismissed by a jest: Isaac Milner's honest and manly scorn of hypocritical pretence and affected ignorance on subjects, with which all the world is acquainted, is very praiseworthy; and we are much obliged to his niece for having the christian courage to relate these anecdotes. True honesty and real sincerity sees neither danger nor sin where pretenders to spirituality toss up their heads, or cover their faces with their hands—the fingers being open!

Digitized by Google

Other instances of the same open genial temper, of "the charity that thinketh no evil," occur in this volume. "He enjoyed," we are told, "the wit and humour of Swift and the keener sarcasm of Butler." "Cervantes and Le Sage, Molière, Fielding, and Richardson" (p. 719) were among his especial favourites; and of his own humorous and "pungent" tone a specimen occurs:—

"A young gentleman of his own college, who had obtained certainly not a very high place among the Wranglers, came to him, after the Senate-House examination, overflowing with satisfaction and delight, to communicate what he considered his great success, and to be congratulated upon it. The youth was a person for whom, as for his father and his whole family, the Dean entertained the highest regard; but he would seldom repress a jest which rose to his lips, and thinking, I suppose, that the joy expressed was rather greater than the circumstances warranted, looked very good-humouredly in his visitor's face, shook him heartily by the hand, and said, 'Very well, very well; it's capital! *we'll count from the other end of the list.*'" —P. 409.

Nor is this a bad story, though it reveals the existence, or at least the probability, of a *hunting* prelate:—

"This *peruquier* was, or conceived himself to be, at the very head of his profession; and, on Dr. Milner's, one day, entering his establishment for the purpose of ordering a wig, had received him with the utmost politeness, but with the inquiry, 'Pray, my Lord,' (for he took him for a bishop,) 'Pray, my Lord, does your Lordship want a wig to go to Court, or to go a hunting in?' 'What!' exclaimed the Dean, bluntly, 'is there no medium between going to Court, and going a hunting? I want neither one nor the other. What I want, is a good, decent wig, to wear on ordinary occasions."—Pp. 509, 510.

His conversational powers, too, were unbounded, and Mr. Gunning the esquire-bedell, "no bad judge," as Mrs. Milner tells us, "of vice-chancellors' dinners," says that "the conviviality of the president and his hearty laugh were quite delightful."—P. 419.

Marks of the same fearless and unsuspicious character are his discovery of the secret of the exhibition "of the Invisible Girl,' (p. 260,) and of the "Automaton Chess-player," (of which we have lost the reference;) his open devotion to chemical and mechanical pursuits; and his starting a workshop, and designing a sugar-castor, (p. 458;) his invention of a capital reading-lamp, (p. 364,) and of a clepsydra, (p. 416;) and his wasting his time in the study of, what some foolish people would stigmatize as "unspiritual and vain," the "noble science of blazonry of coat armour."

Colonel Perronet Thompson, the radical ex-member for Hull, whose father was a "tried Methodist," was recommended by Isaac Milner as a "useful person to favour the religious attempts to convert the Africans," and under this character, not exactly that under which we expected to recognise the Anti-Corn lecturer, he is introduced, upon his appointment to the governorship of Sierra Leone, (from which he, strange to say, returned,)

Digitized by Google

to Mr. Latrobe, the Moravian. (P. 356.) The colonel has his recollection of the president of his own college, which college, by the way, he honoured by very high scientific attainments: it is rather characteristic:—

"I remember, as if it were yesterday," writes this gentleman, "being once engaged with your uncle in some mathematical process—the summation of a series, or possibly something connected with the Binomial Theorem—at any rate something which he was going to show me, and which ought to have come out neat. I was put on it first, and failed, through some mistake in a sign, or similar slight cause. He took it in hand next, and failed also. I recollect his sharp, 'Ha!' two or three times, as he turned the thing impatiently over; and when at last he got to the right result he exclaimed, 'There, you dog!' giving me, at the same time, a wipe with the pen across the face, in the way of triumph at the conclusion—an action which I have often recollected as explanatory of a similar one said to have been performed by Cromwell at the moment when he signed the death-warrant of Charles Stuart.

"I recollect another circumstance with which this story of 'the Cromwellian wipe' would fit very well. Your uncle wanted the proportion of the diameter of a circle to the circumference, or at least one of the practical approximations to it, and I saw him writing figures and drawing a perpendicular line through them, with an appearance of impatience at the thing not answering at once; and at last he burst out, 'There it is; one, one, two, two, three, three, and cut them in half, 112 | 233; there's a bit of artificial memory for you, sir.' You may depend upon it I never forgot the proportion of the diameter to the circumference from that day to this."—Pp. 330, 331.

We find also some very interesting details of the Dean's domestic life from the personal testimony of celebrated Cambridge men, such as Baron Alderson, (pp. 369, 571;) Sir J. Herschel and Dean Peacock, (pp. 524, 525;) Thomas Babington Macaulay, (pp. 560, 595, 707;) and Mr. Temple Chevallier, (p. 656;) all of which only increase our love and respect for Isaac Milner.

His diligence in raising the character of his college, though not unalloyed by the introduction of sectarian and party spirit in religion, for which it is remarkable at the present day, was exemplary; and in the discharge of the duties of Vice-Chancellor, to which he was twice elected, he was more than ordinarily active. His office was, on each occasion, marked by stirring events; the expulsion of Frend, the Socinian Fellow of Jesus, "of the consequences of which Pitt was never aware, though it ruined the Jacobins in the University," (p. 162,) was carried through very spiritedly by the President of Queen's. When he held office in 1809 he had to hold the court, and vindicate the university privileges in the cognizance of causes between its own members, in the case of a turbulent Dr. Brown; and also to uphold discipline among the younger members by a public and very affecting rebuke, for which we wish that we had space, (pp. 395, 402,) and for which he received the thanks of the authorities

Digitized by Google

of the different colleges. Indeed, as moderator and examiner for the Smith's prizes, as Lucasian professor, and as an ardent friend of the University, especially in assisting the scheme for endowing the Bell scholarships, he deserves well of Cambridge. He was often consulted on the appointment to vacant Headships and Professorships; and his opinions were always honest: though we could well have spared, for obvious reasons, a private and confidential communication on the appointment of a late Head of Trinity.—P. 163.

Nor was he less diligent as Dean of Carlisle, which dignity he received through the (in his case) strange interest of Bishop Tomline, where, in spite of theological differences, he gained and kept many friends. Of the effects of his preaching, as is frequently the case, we hear more than we should have been disposed to anticipate from his published sermons, which, in style and matter—we say nothing of doctrine—never struck us as remarkable. We presume that his manner was, what he admired in Rowland Hill, (p. 254,) "the *slap-dash* style;" and, perhaps, we should have sympathized with the Bishop of Oxford who heard him at Whitehall, and who, as Milner conjectures, "must have thought it *queer work*." (P. 253.) Paley, however, no mean authority,—

"'told the Bishop of Carlisle, that about the evangelical doctrines themselves I must leave him to judge, but that if he chose to hear them urged with great ability, and placed in the most striking point of view, he must go and hear our dean.'"

"In perfect agreement with the conversation here recorded, Dr. Paley, about this time, thus wrote to a friend: 'When the Dean of Carlisle preaches you may walk upon the heads of the people. All the meetings attend to hear him. He is indeed a powerful preacher.'

"The testimony of Dr. Paley, concerning the crowds who attended at the Cathedral whenever the Dean preached, might be confirmed by many living witnesses. Indeed, the very words, or nearly so, employed by Dr. Paley, occur in a letter lately addressed to myself by a professional gentleman, still resident at Carlisle. 'When it was known,' says he, 'that the Dean was to preach in the Cathedral, I have seen the aisles and every part of it so thronged, that a person might have walked upon the heads of the crowd. It was pleasing to see how religious persons of different denominations flocked around the pulpit,"—P. 116;

which latter testimony to his doctrine is, to us, very questionable. On this point, we are content to admit with Mrs. Milner—

"The effect, indeed, of his public speaking was so much enhanced by his sonorous, yet melodious voice, by his distinct enunciation, and even by his commanding person and manner, that perhaps no one who has not heard Dr. Milner address an audience, can, however justly he may estimate the intrinsic merit of his speeches, fully conceive the impression which those speeches produced."—P. 99.

We have, however, one serious drawback to make to his conduct at Carlisle; we allude to his permitting or rather encouraging

Digitized by Google

the desecration of the cathedral by commencing the ungodly practice of letting it out for oratorios.—P. 351.

Milner's politics were of the old "Church and King" class: he strenuously opposed what was called "Catholic Emancipation," and he supported Lord Palmerston, then a tory, *calidus juventâ, consule Planco,* against the present Lord Lansdowne, upon which occasion he differed, and very properly, from Wilberforce, whose eyes the declaration of Lord Lansdowne, then Lord Henry Petty, against the slave trade, blinded to any other disqualification; but the Dean was not at all a party man, and he speaks with sufficient horror of a rumour—

"that Pitt and the Bishop of Lincoln [in 1843 we have but to substitute Peel, another churchman (?) of the same wretched class] had a *bill ready, if not printed, to take away all from the clergy, and to make them pensioners at the Treasury.*"—P. 243.

Deus avortat omen! but the very same report, and strange to say, implicating the prelate of the very same see, is rife at the present moment.

But with all Milner's devotion to the Pitt ministry, we doubt whether he would have done as his friend Miles Atkinson did—recommend his flock from the pulpit to read the Anti-Jacobin! though he was simple yet honest enough to write at the terrible era of 1797 to Wilberforce, suggesting a polling of the people on the question of Universal Suffrage. (Pp. 126, 127.)

Our review of Isaac Milner's character,—unconscionably long as it is—would not be complete without adverting to that idiosyncrasy, we had almost called it, were it not common to nearly all his school, which developed itself in an entire absence of the poetical character, and lack of ear for musical sounds; for though he pursued the scientific part of music, and gave concerts at Queen's, yet his organ for admitting the concord of sweet sounds was entirely obliterated. The following seems almost incredible:

"In this respect, he resembled his brother Joseph, in whom, indeed, the same deficiency seems to have been even more absolute. I have heard the Dean relate, with much glee, that his brother and himself, being well aware that a defect of musical ear was imputed to them, and being at the same time very sensible that they certainly never had received any such pleasure from listening to melody or harmony as many of their acquaintance professed to experience, nevertheless flattered themselves, that the peculiarity might be explained by the fact, that they really had never heard any truly good music. While in this mood of mind, chance threw into their way an advertisement setting forth, that *The Messiah,* the greatest work of the immortal Handel, &c., &c., was about to be performed, in an unusually efficient manner, at Beverley, a town about nine miles from Hull. To Beverley, therefore, they resolved to repair, determined to put the matter to the test.

"They arrived, and took their seats in the Minster; the confused clangour of tuning was hushed, the conductor, an important-looking person, with a large roll of paper in his hand, gave the authoritative signal,

Digitized by Google

and the overture to the Messiah commenced. 'It was no place,' continued Dr. Milner, 'for talking, but we turned round and looked at one another and shook our heads; we were satisfied. This, as we were given to understand, was first-rate music; alas! alas! to us, it was all alike. We staid but a little while.'"—P. 321.

He even went so far as seriously to doubt whether "any singer could be capable of repeating the same melody twice."—*Ibid.*

And of his literary performances there is no occasion to speak, since his continuation of his brother's "History of the Church"—to give it a title to which it has little claim—his sermons and controversial and scientific publications, have been long before the world, and have already taken that place which it is neither our province nor our wish to interfere with. In a word, Isaac Milner was a very remarkable, very active, and very excellent man, though deficient in the severer graces of the gospel; and with all our most serious differences, we can yet cordially say, *Sit anima nostra cum illo!*

This review of the details, however complex and apparently inconsistent, of Dean Milner's character, assists us, we think, in maintaining the position for which we argued in the outset of this paper; that, admitting, as we must do, the fact of the existence of serious discrepancies in the positive teaching of the present church, we are not *therefore* forced to abandon our claim to the fulfilment of our Lord's promise in our own Communion, "Lo, I am with you, &c.;" with this sole condition and limitation that such differences do not result in formal schism. Of course it would be easy to retaliate the charge of the actual existence of variations equally perplexing and startling in other communions which are *supposed* to have preserved the essential gift of doctrinal unity more rigidly than ourselves: but we are content to waive this, and to meet the difficulty, such as it is, by setting the question on its widest issue.

We cannot part from our readers without inflicting or surprising them with two or three anecdotes selected at random.

1. Of Watson, Bishop of Llandaff.

"In the beginning of the year 1787, Mr. Milner, as Jacksonian Professor, was anxious, in consideration of 'the very considerable onus imposed by the founder, and the expensive nature of the lecture,' to obtain from the Crown an annual stipend, in addition to that already enjoyed under Dr. Jackson's will, in support of the science of Chymistry. Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, and Mr. Milner's own chymical tutor, appeared a likely person to further his views; and, in company with Mr. Wilberforce, he waited upon the bishop, by appointment, at his house in London, to discuss the subject. This visit was paid at about ten o'clock in the evening; and, on their way, the friends had jestingly speculated upon the probable nature of the occupation in which they might find his Lordship engaged. They were admitted, and found the prelate reading St. Augustine. Those who believe that Bishop Watson was a *thorough actor*, will, perhaps, suspect that the ponderous folio was a part of the preparation made for the expected

Digitized by Google

visitors: and his Lordship's remark at their entrance, "There are not many of the Bench whom you would find thus engaged at this hour of the night," might seem to favour such a suspicion. Be this as it may, the bishop appeared friendly to the plan submitted to his consideration, and Mr. Milner, subsequently, made his application to the King."—P. 33.

"Other characteristic anecdotes connected with the Dean's visits at Lowther Castle might be related. For instance, he once met there the late Bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Watson, who, in his capacity of Professor of Divinity, had, many years before, presided in the Schools when Dr. Milner and Dr. Coulthurst kept the Act which the Bishop had distinguished by his signal approbation, pronouncing the disputants to be 'Arcades ambo.' It so chanced, that one day after dinner, at Lord Lonsdale's table, Dr. Southey and other persons of note being present, this Act became the subject of conversation, and a discussion arose between the Bishop and the Dean, on some point connected with it. Dr. Milner, quite at his ease, and in perfect good humour, had the best of the argument; or, at least, carried the company along with him. Dr. Watson, on the other hand, who was in the habit of talking for effect, and who treated the matter with the utmost gravity, became annoyed at his own failure, and at length showed symptoms of being on the very point of losing his temper. At this juncture, the Dean, who had a strong sense of the ludicrous, and very little compassion for vexations occasioned by want of temper, whoever might be the sufferer, completed the discomfiture of his solemn antagonist, by exclaiming jocosely, in his usual sonorous tones, 'Now, Bishop, will you take the other side, and we'll argue it over again?' The whole scene was felt by all who witnessed it, and who understood and perceived the imposing character and manners of the stately Bishop of Llandaff, to be exquisitely comic; but like most other instances of real humour, it depended so much upon 'time, place, and circumstance,' that it is scarcely possible to convey, by description, an adequate idea of it."—Pp. 328, 329.

2. Of Simeon, who writes thus:—

"My dear Sir,—On paper the word *I* looks hateful, and I could have softened it in conversation. But I obey your commands in few words, because my time will not admit of many words.

"Cheltenham, where there are ten thousand souls, besides ten thousand visitors, or nearly so, is mine. It was to be sold for three thousand pounds, and I instantly secured it: and the Lord has raised up friends to concur with me; so that the burthen is light.

"Marylebone, where there are one hundred thousand souls, is also to be sold. The price named is forty thousand pounds. I hope to get it much under—and, if it be sold so low as twenty-five thousand, it is mine and at this moment. * * *

"I have great plans in view, and God is so prospering me in them, that I am full of joy and gratitude.

"I am, my dear Sir, most affectionately yours,

"C. Simeon."

"To the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle."—P. 635, 636.

The fate of Cheltenham and Bath makes the escape of Marylebone a matter of earnest congratulation. By the way, a correspondent of the *Times* thinks that he has discovered that all the presentations of these Simeon Trustees are *legally invalid.*

We have said nothing of Mrs. Milner's success as editor; indeed, we think the book to be heavy and tedious, and not very successful

Digitized by Google

as a literary performance: style it does not pretend to; and it would be much more readable were it compressed* and better arranged, and had it, that saving merit in a reviewer's eyes, a well-classified index. It has, however, merits of a different and higher range; and we accept it as a grateful and appropriate tribute to the memory of one who tended Mrs. Milner's own unprotected infancy, and who well merited, what he has received, this affectionate and pleasing mark of his niece's love.

Outline of the Laws of Thought. London: W. Pickering. Oxford: W. Graham, 1842.

It was a grave charge advanced against the theorists of a former age, in their speculations upon physical science, that, furnished as they were with a sure test of the self-consistence or absurdity of a scheme, they chose also to apply it as the instrument of discovery, and the criterion of external truth. Such a misapplication ended, as it could not but end, in the erection of innumerable and conflicting systematized vanities, each demanding unlimited acquiescence in its conclusions, all appealing to the same presumed standard of reality, and all alike waiting the rise of a system, grounded not upon hypotheses, but facts, which should for ever remove them into their proper region of fancy. This their destiny was consummated by the "Novum Organon."

Lord Bacon, however, in the enunciation of a system of efficient logic, did but build up on its true basis the frame-work of a science distinct from that *critic* of the experimental sciences in general, which before his time had been so obtruded beyond its just limits as to be made their substitute. And though there be many that affirm his condemnation of the whole ancient logic, yet practically men declare this was not so; for there is an indistinct but very general notion among those who never dream of controverting the British Plato, that Logic is something not identical with pure Physics, but, as one may say, wholly distinct from it. This is more or less obvious from one's own experience of men who care to think of such matters; but especially from this, that those works among us which are most esteemed as giving a clearer conception of the province of logic, do upon the whole profess to discard, as foreign to the science they treat of, all considerations of objective reality. Still, it must be admitted, that there is a prevailing obscurity as to the sphere of logic: it is easy to say that it is "ars disserendi," "ars ratiocinandi;" or not the

---

* Above all, we would gladly see the omission of two anonymous letters, (pp. 599, 624,) which are simply fanatical, and, what their author anticipates, "disgusting."

Digitized by Google

"art" but the "science," or "both the art and the science," of reason, or of reasoning, or fifty other things as much to the purpose. But all this were as well unsaid for any knowledge it conveys, even any conviction that they who say so know what they say. Yet, considering the great importance, in teaching any science not a science of experience, (which, indeed, cannot properly be said to be *teachable*, for then it would be what we call dogmatism,) of first giving an accurate conception of what we are going to teach, it is extraordinary that none of our writers have seriously set themselves the task of giving us something really intelligible as the boundary line of logic. Now, this does not require that they should all agree in their conceptions of the province of the science; but it does require that they should not lay down as definitions of it that which may mean almost anything (or perhaps nothing.) He who would construct a pure science* is only so far restricted in his choice of the boundaries he may affix to it, as that he shall touch no subject which is not fully comprehended within those precincts, or which, being external to them, is not collateral to and definitive of them. When he enunciates his doctrine, custom will further require that he do not offend it by affixing a name to the system which men cannot recognise as harmonizing with it, and that he trench not on the provinces of other sciences, whose limits have been recognised as just. Now, we confess, we know not any purely logical work, that has been long before the public of this country, which does not stumble at one or more of these points; and we propose, with regard to the work at the head of this article, first to inquire whether it supplies the desideratum alluded to, and then, perhaps, to proceed to a further consideration of it.

And first, as to the province of logic, we will allow our author to speak for himself:—

"We define logic to be *a*† science of the necessary laws of thinking, or in more obscure phrase, *a*† science of the *form* of thought. * * *

And now, what is the 'form of thought?' * * *

"Let us first endeavour to frame a consistent explanation of the word *form*, and then to show on what foundation, amidst a chaos of materials stored up in the writings of philosophers and those who ape them, the explanation rests. The word is used in three distinct but cognate senses: it is, 1. a law or an idea; the latter being the former transferred to a thinking subject, for 'that which contemplated *objectively* (that is, as existing *externally* to the mind) we call a law, the same contemplated *subjectively* (that is, as existing in a subject or mind) is an idea. Hence, Plato often names ideas, laws; and Lord Bacon, the British Plato, describes the laws of the material universe as ideas in nature. *Quod in naturâ naturata Lex, in naturâ naturante Idea dicitur.*'‡ Flame, heated metal, boiling water, the rays of the sun, all rank under one common form (that is, law,) of *heat* namely; by which is meant that they, all and each, contain whatever is *essential* to heat. Lead, gold, vermilion, stones, and (in a greater or less degree) all sensible substances whatever, possess gravitation;

* Such construction *implies* coherence of parts, or system: a mere *aggregate*, therefore, does not observe the condition here laid down.

† Query, *the*?

‡ S. T. Coleridge.

Digitized by Google

gravitation then is their form—the law under which they all come, the condition with which they all comply. By virtue of this form they are, not bodies indeed, but *gravitating-bodies:* in other words, if that form or law were removed, their existence as to that nature or property would terminate. Now, how does every one of the given instances come under the forms, heat and gravitation? By something contained within itself,—by its embodying the law or definition: that which comes under the form of *weight*, must possess *weight*, must have within it all that the definition of weight demands. And hence we may trace the *second* meaning of the word form; it is *that part of any object through which it ranks under a given law.* Every fresh representation (for we are considering the question with reference to the thinking subject) to which the mind is directed, is referred to different laws, called forms, by virtue of various qualities within itself, each of which is termed metonymically, and with respect to the law under which it is the means of ranking the representation, its form. For example, let a man examine a stone, and the intellect will forthwith, and with the greatest rapidity, proceed to class the representation of that stone afforded by the senses, under the various forms of *colour*, *figure*, *size*, *weight*, *temperature*, &c.; and with reference to the form, say, of weight, the weight of the object would be its form (sensu secundo)—with reference to the form (sensu primo) of colour, the colour of the object would be its form. So that that which in the object when viewed with relation to one law or form, is its form (sensu secundo), is not its form when the object is viewed in relation to another. Now the *matter* of any representation is that part of it which with reference to any given law, is non-formal. Thus in our stone, the weight, size, temperature are part of the matter, as far as the law of colour is concerned, for they are all non-formal, and the colour of the stone alone is formal. The matter is that which when added to the form (sensu secundo) gives it extraneity—*outness*—and makes it exist as a fact; for without somewhat more than the mere form, there can be no *instance* of a law, an instance being the presence of the law in an object capable of containing it, and thus presupposing two things, the law and the capable object, whereof we term one the form (sensu secundo), and the other the matter. For example, *triangle* may be conceived by means of its own *form* or definition alone, but it must have a material part, it must become *a* triangle of lines, or stone, or wood, as the sole condition of its external existence. Where no separation, according to some law or other, of a representation into its formal and material parts takes place, there must be total ignorance of the object represented: the representation must remain obscure, in which case it can never amount to a cognition. The absolutely material part of a cognition will be that which remains unknown after it has been brought under as many forms as the operating intellect can reduce it to; that which is non-formal throughout, and never becomes the condition of the cognition's ranking under a law. Forms have a triple mode of existence: they exist in the Divine Mind as ideas, and are the archetypes of creation: they exist as embodied in instances, in which mode they are laws; they exist, lastly, in the human mind, as ideas: thus they precede creation, they are in it, they succeed it.

There is yet a third sense of the word *form*; as it denotes the law, so by an easy transition it denotes the genus or class of instances, brought together and cemented by the law. Thus to speak of the *form* of "*animal*," may mean first the law or definition of animal in general, independent of all application to instances; second, the part of any given animal by which it comes under the law, and is what it is; third and last, the class of animals in general, formed by the law."—Pp. 7, 9, 11—16.

This is very good. Again, hear him on that *crux* of undergraduates, "second intention:"*—

* It has puzzled more generations than the present: "But now here wyll bee objected that I fayne such a church, as our logicians doe, *intentionem secundum*, that is *a thyng yt is no where*."—*Barnes. Workes*, p. 245.

Digitized by Google

"By some logicians, *second Intentions* are said to be the subject-matter of logic. The second intention of any representation is the mode in which it is regarded by logic; and as we have shown that logic only regards its formal part, *second intention* is but another way of expressing *formal part*. The first intention is the representation as it naturally occurs to the mind, prior to any attempt to refer it to the form of thought. Thus, 'the straight lines A and B are equal,' 'Cæsar was ambitious,' 'Man is born to sorrow,' as to their first intention, contemplated in the concrete and without separation of parts or classification, are cognitions that differ widely from each other; as to their second intention, or mode in which the intellect knows them to be thoughts, they are all one, they are all *judgments*, because in them all, two representations are conjoined in one consciousness. Second intentions are nothing else than cognitions viewed as to the form of thought, and divested of their matter. As the acts of the mind in thinking are three, so are the classes of second intentions: the first consists of Conceptions, with their various divisions and determinations of Genus, Species, Predicable, &c.; the second of Judgments, divided into affirmative and negative, universal and particular, substitutive and attributive; and the third, of Syllogisms, divided into mediate and immediate."—Pp. 23, 24.

We think the subjects of the above passages are handled in a very masterly way; but, as we shall attempt to show, they do not preclude the possibility of objection. For, according to this view, the forms of thought, or the subjective conceptions of external law, and the very validity of the syllogism itself, are, to some extent at least, *à posteriori*. Now, if the "cogency and accuracy of a deduction" flow from and depend on "prior experience," (p. 31,) we confess we cannot see how the very system of experience itself, induction, can be exhibited as a kind of deduction or syllogism, (p. 126.) But, further, the induction upon which we are said to build our conviction of the validity of syllogistic inference, is of the incomplete kind, (p. 127); for experience cannot be exhausted, and knows no limits: and as it can only construct what is but *probability* at best, (in every degree, we admit,) the validity of syllogism can rise no higher than that. This seems inadmissible. We have, then, a problem in psychology: it is a question of fact, and (premising that, as syllogistic inference knows not *degrees*, it would seem heterogeneous to conclusions of experience) we will consider it by the way of example:—Take one of the firmest convictions of experience, that all bodies conveying to us the sensation of external pressure, tend to the earth: suppose one such body to be placed on the extended palm. We conclude, that if the hand be removed the body will fall. Withdraw the hand, and suppose the body to remain suspended in air. Shall we hereupon presume a fault in the syllogistic process, or even *doubt* whether the flaw be in the deduction or the premises?

We ought here to bear in mind, that experience is a representative of not merely one conception:—it is applied (and this is the general application of the word†) to *plurality of instances combined in a merely admitted rule*; but it is also applicable to such solitary

* "For the *many* recollections are *by virtue of their number* one experience."—*Arist. Analyt. Post.* ii. 19, 4.

Digitized by Google

facts (if such there be) as impel to an inference held *purely necessary*, and which our very nature forbids us to degrade to the condition of a mere probability. And thus Kant:—

"That all our cognition *begins with* experience, there is not any doubt; for how otherwise should the faculty of cognition be awakened into exercise?

But although all our cognition begins with experience, still, on that account, all does not precisely *spring up out of* experience.

If a judgment is thought in strict universality, that is, so that not any exception is allowed as *possible*, this is not derivable from experience, but is absolutely valid *à priori*."—Critic of Pure Reason.

We conclude, therefore, that, given the form and matter of the premises of a syllogism, we thereupon hold the necessity of the conclusion, and wait not (even for the first time) its development in fact.

With regard to the partial introduction of subjects not naturally included within the boundaries which the author has prescribed for himself, we think we may entirely acquit him of it; and this, as "logics" run now-a-days, is no small commendation in itself. There is a spirit of philosophic independence in affirming the *logician* to be absolutely unwarranted—

"In presenting the student with a list of words commonly used ambiguously, taken from the whole encyclopædia of sciences, as part of a logical system; such a course" [proceeds the writer] "smacks of the plan of the sophists of Greece—that of furnishing certain clever common-places or topics, excerptions from all sorts of disciplines, with a view to the equipment of a knowing disputant. To teach the Eristic, or disputatory art, is another matter than to lay down the rules of logic."—P. 36.

We have hitherto confined ourselves to the more popular part of the work, the Introduction; and we think we cannot better close this portion of the article, than by quoting the following lines on the nature and functions of logic:—

"'Common logic,' says Carlyle, from Novalis, 'is the grammar of the higher speech, that is, of thought. . . . . Logic occupies itself with the mere dead body of the science of thinking.' I may add—Logic displays the skeleton of thought, which does not acquire individuality until clothed with the muscles, and scarfed with the skin of sciences less dry. It is the painter's lay-figure, which is now robed for a Brutus, now for a Bacchanal, yet is at bottom the same figure still. It is the bare trunk and branches of thinking, on which other sciences are as the fruit and leaves; furnishing the means of distinguishing tree from tree. *It is the rhythm of the tune;* the mould of the potter, on which a thousand vases are moulded, yet itself is none. As other sciences take simple facts and classify them, and enunciate the rules whereby they are governed, so logic classifies these very rules, abstracting from all sciences and laying down the laws that regulate them, the givers of laws: wherefore logic is the most abstract of all the sciences."—Pp. 37, 38.

In approaching the more strictly scientific portion of the work before us, and as a test of the propriety of the author's calling it an "Essay on Logic," (Preface, p. v.) and considering it throughout as a treatise on that science, we shall endeavour to give a brief but clear sketch of what we have a right to expect in such a treatise; this, in discharge of the second duty we imposed on ourselves.

Digitized by Google

Now, what is the meaning of the *word* logic?

A rush to Aristotle is anticipated; but, except as a voluminous Greek writer, in whose works the various meanings of λόγος, and its derivatives, may be ferretted out, he affords no answer to the question: he has no treatise under this title; and that collection of tracts, popularly named his "Logic," is mixed up with much that has long been appropriated to Grammar, Rhetoric, Physics, Metaphysics, and even Morals; so as that coherence of the parts is only possible on the supposition that the whole work is a step towards a complete theory of knowledge, both speculative and practical.* The word λογικὸς is very rarely used by him at all; and we are inclined to think that in the "Organon" it is employed in no other sense than "wordy."†

Besides the three following senses of λόγος, the rest are offshoots of the one or others:—

1. The symbol of an entity observed in plurality of objects:—the representative of *νόημα*, the product of *νοῦς σημαντικός*.
2. A sentence or judgment:‡—as *πρότασις*, the result of *νοῦς κριτικός*.
3. The deducing, and the *faculty* of deducing, from one or more given judgments, still another: λόγος as *ἀντιστροφὴ*, and *συλλογισμός*.

Λογικὴ, then, is the science which treats of λόγος under these phases; and we at once see the propriety of considering the science completed when these branches of it are perfectly treated of. Let us, however, proceed a little further, and endeavour to mark the principal details of each of these portions of the science according to our conceptions of them.

And a question may be anticipated at the outset: Do not *individual* objects come under the term λόγος? With regard to a very large number of individuals, those that have each their *proper* name, (besides a generic one,) it is decisive of the question to say that to them, *as such*, the word λόγος is inapplicable: that, as a matter of fact, the *Greeks* did not so apply it.§ Such objects, *as represented by such their peculiar signs*, come under the cognizance of the sensitive faculty alone, and belong to æsthetic. As regards the rest, (such, namely, as are spoken of under their generic name, with a *determining* particle affixed,) it is at once obvious that their very designation presupposes that common mark of various objects, of which we have supposed λόγος, in the first place, to be the represen-

* Vid. B. St. Hilaire (Prize Essay, on Aristotle's Logic, of the Academy of Sciences,) sect. ii. c. xiii.

† As in Top. v. 1. 8.

‡ With regard to ejaculations, they express a wish, dread, &c.; at any rate a judgment, or else nothing.

§ The merely establishing a sign, by which one individual thing may be distinguished from another, would not, by *us* either, be considered an exercise of the logical faculty: ex. gr. calling a certain island "Prince Edward's Island."

Digitized by Google

tative. Logic then commences where the understanding (νοῦς, νόησις) seizes upon an unity existent in those diverse representations of the external which the senses present it with; and this unity is *in us* a νόημα, objectively νοητόν τι: its representative in language a λόγος, (to which ὄνομα is applicable, though not synonymous,) or *common* name.

The activity of the understanding, however, ceases not here: having, by the instrumentality of sensation, taken her stand above the world of sense, she then descends from her high position with a view towards a still loftier flight. She passes under review those very objects from which her first acquisitions were made; inquires whether they do not present some other common contribution, and, lastly, whether what she gains from them is not to be obtained from other and independent sources also. And so she proceeds, placing new stamps on her former possessions, and extending her domain to the utmost limits of the external.*

Now, with this preconception, so far as it goes, the first part of the "Outline" quite accords; and, of course, we think none the less highly of it on this account. But this is faint praise: its terminology is accurate; it is lucid without being encumbered by a single "popular" illustration; it is deep; it is consistent. We should be doing an injustice to the author, did we not give one or two extracts; not, indeed, as the most meritorious portions of the work, (for these are of a nature scarcely adapted for transference into our pages,) but which may serve to give some idea of his perspicuous style and his solidity of thought.

"§ 1.—Cognitions.—Cognitions, or conscious representations, are divided logically into Intuitions and Conceptions. Cognitions in general have sometimes been termed Notions and Ideas.

"§ 2.—Intuitions.—Intuitions are singular cognitions; that is, they represent single objects, or individuals. This last word is of logical origin, and is applied to singular representations, because, unlike Conceptions, they cannot be divided without ceasing to be what they are—*cum dividuntur, pereunt.* This will be better understood when logical division has been explained. Intuitions are derived to us from the senses directly; or else indirectly by the aid of memory, which, from its faculty of reproducing sensuous images, has been styled a sixth sense.

"§ 3.—Conceptions.—A conception is defined to be a single cognition of the common marks of many objects. It is formed by Abstraction, or the process by which, when contemplating a plurality of objects, we neglect their points of difference and observe only the notes they have in common; from which we form a new representation.

"Scholion. The term Abstraction has been variously explained, because different authors have assigned it to different parts of one and the same process. With Kant the final act of the process, commonly named Generalization, usurps the name here given to the whole: whilst with others Abstraction becomes

* The following passages of Aristotle may be advantageously compared on this part of the subject:—De Anima, iii. 8. 1.; ii. 12. 1.; ii. 5. 10.—De Interpr. 7. 1.—Post. Anal. i. 31. 1.—Metaph. v. 4. 3., with which especially compare De Anima, iii. 4. 5., where νοῦς is said to be the faculty of under-standing, (for *stand* has here the old active signification of *placing*,) ὑπολαμβάνειν.—"Huic generi Hermagoras partes quatuor *supposuit.*" Cic. de Invent. 1. 12.—De Anima, iii. 6. 2.; iii. 4. 6.; iii. 8. 2.

Digitized by Google

almost the same as the Reflection of Kant. But the difference is fortunately a verbal one, for what the process is, all are agreed, though they enumerate its acts differently. In the present essay, Abstraction applies to the whole process, from first to last, of forming conceptions, and includes the various acts, of Comparison, which views various representations together; of Reflection, which seeks marks whereby these representations may be combined in a single new one; and of Generalization, which finally forms this new inclusive representation."—Pp. 41, 42.

A difficulty, suggested by the foregoing division, is:—

"Can there be abstraction without generalization, as Whately maintains? 'Suppose we are speaking of the present king of France,' says he; 'he must actually be either at Paris or elsewhere; sitting, standing, or in some other posture; and in such and such a dress, &c. Yet many of these circumstances (which are *separable* accidents, and consequently) which are regarded as *non-essential to the individual*, are quite disregarded by us; and we abstract from them what we consider as essential; thus forming an *abstract* notion of the individual. Yet there is here no generalization.' To which it may be answered, first, that, strictly speaking, *no* determination of time, place, or the like, but *is* essential to the notion of the individual at any given period, however non-essential to the individual looked at as part of a conception: and next, that the very power to distinguish what is essential from what is not, proceeds from a prior act of generalization, by which we get (in the given instance) the conception *king*, with all that is essential thereto; and that our notion of the individual is gained by adding to the conception such marks, of time, place, &c. as suffice to determine it. There can be no abstraction without generalization somewhere; in fact, though we in name distinguish abstraction from generalization, they are but parts of the same act."—Pp. 44, 45.

"§ 6.—Extension and Intension of Conceptions.

"The higher our conception is, the more objects it contains under it, as *Animal* is a higher conception than *Mammalia*, and contains more objects. This capacity of a conception is called its *extension*. But in proportion as this extension increases, the number of marks decreases, and consequently the distinctness of the representation to the mind; which distinctness is termed the *intension*. So the intension decreases as the extension increases, and *vice versâ*. Some call the intension, what the conception contains *in it*, i. e. its marks; and the extension, what it contains *under it*, i. e. the objects from which it was generated."—P. 46.

In one instance, however, we think we find room for objection: it is where the author speaks of "privative conceptions," or such common notions as are formed by the aid of *marks*, indeed, yet not such marks as are *constituent* of the individuals, or classes, comprehended under the common notions, but of such as distinguish these from others not subjected to the common sign. Now, it is clear, that even considering the functions of the understanding to be strictly constructive, they do, by their very perfection of classifying, virtually exclude such objects as possess not the marks they desiderate. But we suspect, that the *quasi* construction of a conception from the mere *absence* of a mark (which absence itself can only be suggested by considerations *ab extra*) is a process distinct in kind from the positive functions of the understanding, and ought, at least, so to be noted; and this for another reason, that, whereas those conceptions which the author calls "positive" exist in every grade of genus and species, the "negative conceptions" are never more than one degree

Digitized by Google

above the individuals denoted by them. And again: because "privative conceptions" (for instance, *un-taught, un-fledged, in-discreet*, &c.) cannot be subjected to a higher genus, (even supposed non-entity will not obviate the difficulty,) they are at once installed in the position of summa gen*era*,* which amounts to an absurdity. We doubt not the writer has been seduced into this error by the very obvious utility of this supposed class of conceptions in clearing up and simplifying the doctrine of judgments. And he has made very good use of his hypothesis; which, as we have already expressed our opinion of its unsoundness, we shall not further press when we come to consider (as we now proceed to do) the second part of our subject, and his "Outline."

Λόγος, in the second sense, (which it will have been observed we identify with the λόγος ἀποφαντικὸς of Aristotle,) cannot be the simply *holding* plurality in unity; for this is nothing more nor less than the first act of the understanding itself,—the law of the intellect in the individual. And had this individual been wholly isolated, and cut off from all beings endowed with the same faculty, mere construction of conceptions would have been the sum of logic. As a fact, he is not so isolated; and the very circumstances of his position require a further exercise of the intellect than the unitive,—the enunciatory, namely. Hitherto the objects of the sensitive faculty had been mentally dealt with, not as each an object, but each as containing some feature or quality discerned in others also;† *discursiveness* was all in all. One step further, and not only is each object partially represented, but each *in its totality* (τόδε τι) is contemplated as detectable through a mark. A connexion is established between the partial and the whole representation: there is σύνθεσις νοημάτων. But this synthesis is possible in many ways. For, since each act of the understanding is but the selection of one feature in a plurality of objects, there will still remain much opportunity for the further exercise of the same faculty in fixing upon other features hitherto unnoted; and these subsequently noted portions may be conceived as more or less prevalent than the former ones, or as co-extensive with them; and the *judgment* is the medium through which the distinction is to be enunciated. And if this be the office of the judgment, then especially of that part of it by virtue of which it *is* a judgment; and this characterising part is the mark of the synthesis,—the copula. (Prior logicians have adopted no means whereby to signify these distinct offices of the nexus, but have left it as they received it at the hands of the grammarian. The author of the work under review has taken one step in this direction, by adopt-

* Λέγομεν δὴ ἕν τι γένος τῶν ὄντων, τὴν οὐσίαν.—*Arist. de Animâ*, lib. ii. c. 1.

† Hence νοῦς is often called διά-νοια, and ᾧ διανοεῖται ἡ ψυχή.—*De Animâ*, iii. 4. 5. The *faculty* of judging is, indeed, none other than the understanding: it has made a great advance towards a judgment, by merely discovering one feature in diversity of objects which may serve as a bond of union between them; and to do this is said to be the object of the understanding (in a restricted sense): but Aristotle otherwise speaks of it as δύναμις κριτική.

Digitized by Google

ing the sign = as a mark that the terms of the proposition are co-extensive; we only regret that he has not adopted some means of distinguishing the conception with the greater sphere from that of the less; for mere position must ever fail of this.) Again, as the understanding, by the strictness of its limitations, virtually exercises a power of exclusion, the synthesis of notions may be harmonious or discordant; and these characteristics, too, are to be conveyed by the formal part of the *judgment.* Thus the copula (and thereby the judgment) will be affirmative or negative. The first division of judgments, as above, will be found to comprise both of the author's divisions, according to quantity and relation. Modality of judgments he has, with great considerateness we think, omitted,—doubtful as he seems, whether it be not admissible within the precincts of logic. According to our conception of the science, however, it has no portion therein. For let it be granted, that we cannot say whether judgments, according to the mere form, must be held as necessary, assertive, or problematic, we maintain that they certainly cannot be held *formally* as both one and another of these.

A very important feature of this part of the "Outline," is, that it draws attention to, and well propounds, the doctrine of substitutive judgments. The whole of the second division is treated with originality and power; particularly the chapters on the Predicables, Definition, and the Forms of Judgments.

We have extended this article considerably beyond the limits we had prescribed to ourselves, and must conclude without taking into consideration the third and crowning part of the work, which is most scientifically treated. We will only mention that it appropriates to itself a subject generally found in the second part of logical treatises—we mean the conversion of propositions, which is handled in a more satisfactory manner, under the head of "Immediate Consequence," than we remember to have met with before. Under the subject of Mediate Consequence, or Syllogism, a principal feature is the removal of the necessity of reduction, and a revision and rearrangement of the general rules of Syllogism.

It only remains for us to say, that we know not any English logical work, of whatever bulk or authority, which we could put on a level with this little volume. However we differ in some points from the author of it, we cannot but be conscious that we have a powerful intellect to deal with; and that in the book he has presented us with, there is overwhelming evidence of equal sobriety of thought and extent of learned research. An attentive study of it cannot fail of being a most beneficial exercise to the intellectual powers; and, as a higher end than this, we gladly join in the author's aspiration where he apostrophises the *libellus:*—

"Wheresoever thou shalt carry aid to a thinking man, may it tend to the advancement of the glory of God, and the furtherance of the cause of His Church; that so the smallness of thy fruit may be far outweighed by the greatness of its value."—Pref. xv.

Digitized by Google

Lectures on Natural Philosophy. By JAMES WILLIAM M'GAULEY, *Professor of Natural Philosophy to the National Board of Education, &c.* Dublin: W. Curry, Jun. and Co. 8vo. Pp. 400.

THE professed object of these lectures is to give, not merely a few isolated facts and principles, but a connected view of the laws which form each science belonging to natural philosophy, and also of their intimate dependence upon each other. Such an object is an important one, requiring for its attainment mental powers,—clearness of vision, unity of thought,—which do not appear to have fallen to the lot of Mr. M'Gauley. Those who wish to see this subject properly treated, will do well to consult Mrs. Somerville's treatise on the "Connexion of the Physical Sciences," or Sir John Herschell's "Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy," (a work which we greatly desire to see brought down to the present time, for nothing is more progressive than natural science) or Professor Whewell's unrivalled work on the "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences."

The lecturer rightly commences with a brief exhibition of the leading principles of the elementary branches of pure mathematics,—arithmetic, algebra, and geometry; but he has been more careful to exhibit, under a concise form, the practical details of these subjects, which can be advantageously studied only in treatises expressly devoted to them, than to show their bearing upon the sciences of which he subsequently treats. No one can study natural philosophy with any satisfaction or profit, who cannot study it mathematically; and for this purpose he must bring to the study a much larger amount of mathematical knowledge than Mr. M'Gauley professes, or, indeed, could reasonably be expected to give. But it seldom happens that those who are conversant with mathematics as a pure and independent science, are sufficiently acquainted with the bearings of their favourite pursuit upon physical science, or are sufficiently able to discern the physical truths which are contained in the symbolical language of analysis. Any assistance, therefore, which could be afforded them in this respect would be very valuable, as well as peculiarly appropriate in such a work as that under review. We have not, however, much hope of obtaining such assistance from a writer who can say of algebra, that it is "nothing more than *arithmetic generalized;* the various operations, such as addition, &c., being expressed by *signs.*" On the contrary, there is nothing more interesting or instructive to the young mathematical student than to observe how algebra—which undoubtedly is, in its very earliest stages, "nothing more than arithmetic generalized"—refuses to be confined within these narrow limits; how it asserts its independence of the feebler Science of Number; how it rests upon principles and compasses ends of which arithmetic knows nothing.* These are subjects, however, too exten-

* The employment of algebraical symbols has been one of the main instruments to which the successes of modern mathematics are owing. The processes by which we

Digitized by Google

sive to be considered here; nor are they, perhaps, of such a nature as to be interesting to the general reader.

Having treated, in the manner we have mentioned, of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry, in the first five chapters of the first part, concluding with a very brief notice of a few of the principal theorems in conic sections, the lecturer proceeds to lay down his plan for treating his more express subject.

"Having disposed of those algebraical and geometrical principles, without which we could not properly examine and understand the laws of nature which we are now to discuss, we proceed to the subjects which claim, from their importance, a large portion of our attention. The sciences which collectively constitute what is called Natural Philosophy, are most intimately connected, and indeed, not unfrequently, the laws of one are, to a certain extent, identical with those of another.

"Matter, of which, and of whose laws and modifications, we are now to speak, is either solid, fluid, or, we may add, perhaps, ætherial. The laws which govern solid matter, constitute *mechanics*. If the matter in question be at rest, it is that portion of the science called *statics*,—if in motion, *dynamics*; because matter can produce effect only when in motion.

"The laws which govern matter in a fluid state are comprehended in hydrostatics, hydrodynamics, and pneumatics—in what may be termed an ætherial state, if any such exist, in optics, electricity, &c."—P. 89.

Each physical science rests upon one or more fundamental ideas. Taking these as our guide, we are able to construct a methodical scheme of the sciences. Those which first present themselves are the ideas of Space, Time, and Number;—the foundations of geometry and arithmetic. Then come the ideas of Force and Matter, which, combined with the foregoing, give rise to mechanics, hydrostatics,

---

obtain our results depend for their evidence upon a fundamental conception—the conception of *arbitrary symbols as the signs of quantity and its relations*; and upon a corresponding axiom, that *the interpretation of such symbols must be perfectly general*. But it was only by degrees that mathematicians were led to a just apprehension of the grounds of their reasoning. For symbols were at first used only to represent numbers considered with regard to their numerical properties; and thus the science of algebra was formed. But it was found, even in cases belonging to common algebra, that the symbols often admitted of an interpretation which went beyond the limits of the problem, and which yet was not unmeaning, since it pointed out a question closely analogous to the question proposed. This was the case, for example, when the answer was a *negative quantity*; for when Descartes had introduced the mode of representing curves by means of algebraical relations among the symbols of the co-ordinates, it was found that negative quantities must be dealt with as not less truly significative than positive ones. And as the researches of mathematicians proceeded, other cases also were found, in which the symbols, although destitute of meaning, according to the original conventions of their institution, still pointed out truths which could be verified in other ways; as in the cases in which what are called *impossible quantities* occur. Such processes may usually be confirmed upon other principles, and the truth in question may be established by means of a demonstration in which no such seeming fallacies defeat the reasoning. But it has also been shown, in many such cases, that the process in which some of the steps appear to be without real meaning, does in fact involve a valid proof of the proposition. And what we have here to remark is, that this is not true accidentally or partially only, but that the results of systematic symbolical reasoning must always express general truths, by their very nature, and do not, for their justification, require each of the steps of the process to represent some definite operation upon quantity. The *absolute universality of the interpretation of symbols* is the fundamental principle of their use."—*Whewell's Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. i. pp. 142, 143.

Digitized by Google

physical astronomy, and the other mechanical sciences strictly so called. As we advance, we find that we are led to regard material objects as *external* to ourselves, and as perceptible through the agency of intervening *media:* and thus we obtain the secondary mechanical sciences; as acoustics, optics, and thermotics. The ideas of Substance, Affinity, and Polarity produce the mechanico-chemical and chemical sciences. And thus we pass successively through the sciences of mineralogy, botany, and zoology, under the guidance of the ideas of Symmetry, Resemblance, and Natural Affinity, until we enter the mysterious house of life, and strive to apprehend the difficult ideas which physiology presents. Lastly, we approach the sciences which travel back into the Past; earnestly desiring to decipher, by the means of the dim and intermittent light cast by the idea of Historical Causation, the obscure inscriptions on the time-worn medals of creation which enrich and adorn the cabinet of the geologist. Thus classifying the sciences,—not by the faculties of the mind exercised in their discovery and extension, not by the objects which each science contemplates,—but by the *ideas* which they severally involve, we are led to such an arrangement as the following: 1. Pure mathematical sciences; 2. Pure motional sciences; 3. Mechanical sciences; 4. Secondary mechanical sciences; 5. Analytico-mechanical sciences; 6. Analytical science (chemistry); 7. Analytico-classificatory; 8. Classificatory; 9. Organical; 10. Palætiological. We must not follow this part of the subject further; but we have said enough to expose the slovenliness of Mr. M'Gauley's arrangement, as stated by him in the above paragraph; and to indicate one that is better calculated to exhibit the unity, progression, and ultimate scope of those sciences which pay tribute to that first article of the Christian man's belief—"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth."

Mr. M'Gauley is more successful in working out the details of his subject than in laying down his general plan. The following is a favourable example of his method of bringing a somewhat difficult subject within the range of popular comprehension. He is unfolding some of the first principles of the science of musical sounds.

"The difference between ordinary and musical sound consists in the greater rapidity of vibration of the latter. The more rapid the vibration, the higher the musical tone. This is exemplified by causing a metallic toothed wheel, about a foot in diameter, to revolve. If the edges of the teeth, during a revolution, are made to strike against a card, when the velocity reaches a certain point, we shall hear a low humming noise; and as we increase the velocity, the sound produced will ascend through the scale. It is probable that the ancients used the expressions 'high' and 'low' tone, in a sense different from ours.

"When a musical note is sounded, it is accompanied by others, which are called its 'acute harmonics.' If the note be sufficiently deep, these will not be too high to be appreciated by the ear. The range of hearing generally, though not always, includes nine octaves; but, as Dr. Wollaston remarks, the hearing of some animals may commence where ours terminates. The acute harmonies which accompany the fundamental note are its 12th and 17th major, or the octave fifth and double octave third above. Bernoulli believed, and

Digitized by Google

it has since been established by experiment, that the harmonics arise from subordinate vibrations of the parts of the strings, &c. We find, from this property of musical sounds, that the notes which constitute the gamut have not been selected by chance, nor by the caprice of taste, but have been marked out by nature herself; and that in each key there must be neither more nor less than a certain number of flats, sharps, or naturals. Let us examine the key of C, for example, and we shall perceive that all its notes are harmonics of some one or more of the rest; and the entire scale will be formed from F, C, and G, three successive fifths, which may be arranged C, F, G; because, as far as harmony is concerned, a note and its octave may be considered as the same; these three notes shall form what are called the key note, the sub-dominant and the dominant, and their harmonics will give us all the notes in the key of C, substituting, as we may, for the reason just given, the fifth, &c. for the octave fifth, &c.

C	gives as harmonics,	E	and	G
F	.....	A	...	C
G	.....	B	...	D.

These, placed in order, are C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C.

"Let us take the key of G as another example, and we shall learn the manner in which sharps are obtained. Three fifths in succession, will be C, G, D, or G, C, D, and the harmonics of these will be as follows:—

G	gives	B	and	D
C	...	E	...	G
D	...	F	...	A;

or, taken in succession, G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G. But in this key the F is not the same as in that of C; in the former case it was F natural, in the present it is F sharp. The reason will be obvious, if we recollect that the harmonics are a third and fifth 'major.' The major third is the fourth semitone, and the perfect fifth the seventh semitone from the principal, or fundamental note.

"The major third of D must be at the distance of two full tones, but there are only one and a half between D and F natural; F natural will therefore be the minor third of D; for, between D and E there is a whole tone, but between E and F only half a tone. The major third of D will consequently be half a tone higher than F natural, and become F sharp.

"It is easy to understand why we cannot pass from one key to another without modulating, as it is called, or making the proper preparation; for the ear must not abruptly pass from sound to sound, but the succeeding sound, to give us pleasure, must be heard as an harmonic of the preceding. Hence, except we pass from major to minor, or *vice versâ*, which we may do, because in this case the necessary preparation is made, we cannot, strictly speaking, increase or diminish the number of our flats and sharps by more than one at a time. We may, however, increase or diminish them by one. For, let us take the key of C as an example; its principal notes are F, C, G, but the part of the scale of C between C and G, belongs also to the key of G, whose principal notes are C, G, and D; while we are between C and G, we may, without offending the ear, choose between either key, or pass from one to the other. If we choose the key of C, the F must be natural, if of G, it must be sharp. The other methods of modulation depend on similar principles.

"The preparation of the ear for succeeding notes, is the great secret of melody. The ear can appreciate sounds which we are not able to describe; for sensation does not cease with the cause which produced it. Thus, if a stick, lighted at one extremity, be whirled round rapidly, we shall see a ring of fire —not because the fire is found at different parts of the circle at once, but because the sensations from the different parts are co-existent, though their causes are successive. In the same way the string, or the pipe, may have ceased to produce the sound, although the note and its harmonics have not

Digitized by Google

ceased in the mind. Two rapidly succeeding notes may therefore be co-existent in the ear, and cannot be pleasing, unless they, to a greater or less extent, harmonize. Hence, though melody is a 'succession,' and harmony a 'union,' of sweet sounds, it is certain that both derive the sources of pleasure which they impart from very similar causes. Those nations which, like the Irish, used stringed instruments, whose construction and material rendered it likely that, even in melody, one note should not entirely cease until another had commenced, will be found, in their sweetest airs, to have made their successive emphatic notes near harmonics of the preceding—very frequently thirds, fifths, or octaves, thus uniting at the same time the pleasures both of harmony and melody.

"If two notes—each making an integral number of vibrations while a third makes but one—are sounded, under favourable circumstances, we shall hear also that third note which is called a 'grave harmonic.' The reason is easily understood; a strengthened vibration occurs, when the vibrations of the two notes coincide; this being of course, more effective than the rest, gives the sensation of a separate vibration, at intervals corresponding to the vibrations of the third note.

"If two instruments are tuned in unison, and placed near each other, we cannot sound one, without producing the corresponding note of the other; this will be very evident, if the latter is a stringed instrument—a piano-forte, for instance. Such an effect may be called sympathy, and can be easily exemplified, if we tune a violin and piano-forte in unison; when we sound any note of the former, and suddenly cause it to cease, we shall find, if the damper has been previously raised, that the corresponding note of the latter will also be heard. This principle may be still further developed, if, by means of the pedal, we raise all the dampers of the piano, and place pieces of paper across the third, fifth, and octave, of a given note; on sounding the latter, the third, fifth, and octave, will also sound by sympathy, so as to throw off the pieces of paper which have been laid across them.

"If we place pieces of paper on the centres of the two halves, and on the middle of a string, which is the octave below a given note, and sound the latter, the paper on the centre of the string shall exhibit a node, and will not be disturbed, but the pieces on the centres of the two halves of the same string will be thrown off. This shows that the string has divided itself into two halves, and that each of these has sounded in unison to the note which was struck.

"If we had taken the octave fifth below in place of the octave, we should find, in a similar way, that the string had divided itself into three equal parts, each of which would sound in unison with the note struck. These experiments may be varied, but we can easily anticipate the results.

"The nature of sympathy enables us to conceive why an instrument, well-tuned, independently of its accuracy, has a finer tone, because the various notes being more nearly harmonics, strengthen the effect of each other.

"Sympathy is not confined to musical instruments; it seems, to a greater or less extent, to affect every substance in nature—that is, every substance has a peculiar rate of vibration proper to itself, and is easily set in motion, provided any thing vibrating at its own rate is sufficiently near. Wine glasses, and even mirrors, have been, from this cause, sometimes broken by singers; and we shall, as has been remarked by Boyle, frequently perceive a book, a seat, &c., to vibrate at certain notes. The vibration is communicated by the air, and gradually increases in strength; and the effect is not due to the loudness of the note, but to its coincidence with the rate at which the body naturally vibrates.

"If we wet the edge of a drinking-glass, and run the finger round it, the vibration may increase to such an extent, as that the glass will be broken. We must attribute the breaking down of a suspension-bridge at Manchester, a few years ago, to sympathy, and gradual increase in the force of consequent vibration. Soldiers were passing over it—at first, in disorder, but without any injurious effect; the band, however, beginning to play, they commenced a regular

Digitized by Google

march, the time of which, unfortunately, corresponded with the rate of vibration of the bridge, which gave way, and the soldiers were precipitated into the river. Thus it is perfectly possible that a storm, by no means violent, or even the continued effort of a single individual, under certain circumstances, might destroy such a bridge.

"We avail ourselves of this property of bodies, to cause the very large pipes of organs to speak rapidly. As the columns of air within them are large, time is required to set them in motion; but this is greatly abbreviated, if we sound, at the same instant, a small pipe, some octave above the great one.

"Ellicot remarked, that two clocks, fastened to the same board, or standing on the same pavement, will beat together, though separately their rates may be different. This is due to the same cause.

"We cannot alter the rate of vibration which is proper to a given body. If one end of a string be attached to a wall, &c., and the other be held in the hand, whatever force we use, we cannot make it vibrate with greater than a certain rapidity, which depends on its length and thickness. If we attempt to increase this rate, the string will break itself up into parts, which will vibrate separately; and the greater the force we use, the smaller those parts will be. From this cause an Eolian harp is capable of giving a variety of tones from the one string, according to the strength of the wind. If we blow gently into a pipe, we obtain its fundamental note; if we gradually increase the force with which we blow, after some time, the octave will suddenly appear, then the 12th, the 15th, or double octave, the 17th, the 19th, &c.

"The time of vibration of a given body depends on its nature; we shall consider only strings and pipes—the same laws, however, govern the other sources of musical sound. The time of vibration of a string depends on its length, thickness, and tension conjointly; if the tension and thickness be constant, it depends on its length. Half the length will give a double rapidity of vibration; double the length, half the rapidity of vibration, and so on. Hence the octave above a given note will be half, the fifth above, two-thirds of its length. We can arrive, by calculation, at the eighth octave above, either by fifths, or by octaves, but the values obtained for the same note will be different; thus—

1	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{8}{27}$	$\frac{16}{81}$	$\frac{32}{243}$	$\frac{64}{729}$	$\frac{128}{2187}$	$\frac{256}{6561}$	$\frac{512}{19683}$	$\frac{1024}{59049}$	$\frac{2048}{177147}$	$\frac{4096}{531441}$
C	G	D	A	E	B	F sharp.	C sharp.	G sharp.	D sharp.	A sharp.	E sharp.	B sharp, or C natl.

"The string, or pipe, which gives each note, will be, in length, two thirds of that which gives the preceding.

BY OCTAVES.

1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{16}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{64}$	$\frac{1}{128}$
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

"The string, or pipe, in this case corresponding to each note, will be one-half the length of that which corresponds to the preceding note.

"The two values of B sharp and C natural—the same note in most instruments—will be as $\frac{4096}{531441} : \frac{1}{128}$; that is, as 524288 : 531441.

"This difference of value for the same note, according as we calculate, or according as we tune by fifths or octaves, accounts for the variation of effect, if we tune an organ, piano, &c., by fifths, in one case, and by octaves in another. For if it be in tune by fifths, it will be out of tune by octaves, and *vice versâ*. This inconvenience, however, is lessened, and even rendered inappreciable, by a very simple means. To understand this, we must remember, that the more perfect a chord is in its own nature, the more intolerable it becomes when

Digitized by Google

inaccurate. But octaves are more perfect than fifths, because they give a more frequent correspondence of vibration; hence, if either fifths or octaves must be out of tune in a given instrument, we prefer leaving the former inaccurate, but divide this inaccuracy, (which is technically called 'the wolf,') among all the fifths, and thus render it insensible: this is called temperament. In such a case, undoubtedly, we consider notes as the same—A sharp and B natural, &c. —which are really different. To correct this, instruments are constructed, in which these, and notes similarly circumstanced, are made in reality different. Such are the organ in the Temple Church, London, the double action pedal harp, &c."—Pp. 178—183.

There are, probably, few of our town readers who have not visited those scientific toy-shops, the Adelaide Gallery, in the Lowther Arcade, and the Polytechnic Institution, in Regent Street. Here Science relaxes its stern brow, and remits its severer toils, puts on its holiday attire, and mingles with the pleasure-seeking crowd, gambols with the most playful, and laughs with the merriest. We will not say that we absolutely object to this; although we cannot but recollect that, in less enlightened days, it was Folly, and not Wisdom, that wore the cap and bells. To blend amusement with instruction, is almost invariably to sacrifice instruction to amusement. In the exhibitions referred to, we see Philosophy, like Katerfelto, wandering for its bread; and not unfrequently, admitting strange associates in its evening revels. One of the latest wonders exhibited in these *new* "curiosity-shops," is the photographic or photogenic method of taking likenesses. The likenesses thus obtained are undoubtedly faithful enough; and they are as undoubtedly only too ghastly. Should we ever love "not wisely, but too well," we ask for none more potent means of disenchantment, than a photographic miniature of our mistress. But inanimate objects are represented with surprising accuracy; and nothing can exceed the delicacy of the execution. Colour alone is wanting to render these light-painted landscapes perfect. In Daguerre's process, the objects are lighted, as in nature, with all the effects of the sun's bright beams; the intensity of tone in the foregrounds, is relieved by the aërial effects in the distances; and although, as we have said, the crowning charm of colour is wanting, there is a peculiar softness which never adorns the natural landscape, when seen beneath the glare of open and obtrusive day.

"The blackening of some of the salts of silver, on being exposed to light, has given rise to a new species of drawing, called Photogenic—or, from Daguerre, who brought it to perfection—the Daguerrotype. Daguerre, and Niepce, the partner of his experiments, receive from the French government an annual pension—the former of six, and the latter of four thousand francs. The great object of the series of experiments, which ended in this invention, was the *fixation* of the picture obtained in the camera obscura.

"That a substance washed with the solution of a salt of silver, and then with a solution of common salt, would become black, was known to the ancient alchemists; and if a paper, wetted with a solution of common salt, and then with the solution of almost any of the salts of silver, be held opposite to the lens of a camera obscura, or behind an engraving on paper, for a sufficient time, the lights will cause a proportionate darkness in the chloride of silver which has been formed on the paper; but the shadows, on the contrary, will

Digitized by Google

be expressed by lights. Several persons endeavoured to render these effects permanent—among others, Wedgewood, and Sir Humphrey Davy—but without success, until Niepce made his experiments, and Daguerre perfected the process.

"The following is the method of Daguerre:—A thin piece of copper is plated with silver, and, when cleaned, is exposed in a box to the vapour of iodine, until it assumes a yellowish colour; it is then fixed in the camera obscura, to receive the landscape, &c.; after a few moments, it is taken out of the camera obscura, but no change appears on its surface; the picture, however, is developed, on exposing it in another box to the vapour of mercury, heated by a lamp; the mercury adheres to those parts which have been acted upon by the light. The plate is then washed with a warm solution of hyposulphite of soda, or of common salt, and afterwards with warm distilled water. The lights and shadows are by this process depicted on the plate in their natural order.

"Arago believes that the result is due to electricity, since it is more perfect when plated copper, than when solid silver is used.

"It is curious, that the angle at which the plate is presented to the current of the vapour of mercury, bears an important relation to the amount of the effect produced.

"Arago thinks the following a probable, though not a sufficient, explanation. The light causes the evaporation of the iodine, and the mercury forms, in the places which are denuded, an amalgam whose white spherules decrease as the shadows increase. The hyposulphite removes the iodine, and appears to take away also some of the silver. The clearer the day, the more rapid the result, which never requires that the plate should be in the camera obscura longer than ten or twelve minutes. The rays of the moon produce an effect by this process."—Pp. 209, 210.

The above process of Daguerre must not be confounded with another which has been chiefly employed by Mr. Fox Talbot, and to which the names of "photogenic," "photographic," and "calotype" drawing, have been more strictly applied. If a piece of paper be dipped into a weak solution of nitrate of silver,* and then, after having been carefully dried, be kept free from the access of light, it will remain uncoloured; but, if exposed to light, it gradually acquires a brownish or grey tint, and at last becomes black; the depth of colour being determined by the intensity of the light, and the length of time during which the prepared paper is thus exposed. If, then, a portrait painted in transparent colours upon a plate of glass, be laid upon a piece of prepared paper, and exposed to the action of the sun's rays, a copy is obtained, in which the lights of the original are shades, and the shades lights, according to their intensity. If this copy be taken on very thin paper, it may itself be copied by repeating the above process, and thus a correct representation of the original will be obtained. In order to fix the picture thus obtained, the paper is washed in a solution of hyposulphite of lime, or of soda, which removes all the remaining unaltered nitrate, or chloride of silver, so that no further discoloration and blackening can take place, leaving the image untouched and permanent.

But these discoveries, recent and surprising as they are, almost

* After the paper has been impregnated with nitrate of silver, it is generally immersed in a solution of common salt; by this means, chloride of silver is obtained, which is more susceptible than the nitrate of the influence of light.

Digitized by Google

lose their interest when compared with the yet unpublished discoveries made by Dr. Möser, of Königsberg, which have been confirmed and extended by Sir John Herschell. In that adventurous book, the Ninth Bridgewater Treatise, Mr. Babbage suggests, that sounds once uttered never absolutely die away, but continue to stir the slumbering pulses of the air, and that they may hereafter be concentrated, and reverberate upon the ear of the utterer; so that a portion of the punishment of evil speakers may consist in the literal return to them of their own forgotten words. But what shall we say of a discovery which seems to warrant the conjecture that every action, every gesture, every look, imprints its own indelible image upon surrounding objects; so that it may hereafter start out from the ever-present tablets of nature, the recording witnesses of every deed of darkness; the accuser and the accused alike "speechless!"—the sins themselves coming forward to testify by their simple presence against the self-condemned! But let us return to the physical facts. We take our short account of them from a periodical work, which gives the substance of an unpublished letter from Dr. Möser to Sir David Brewster. Dr. Möser observes, that if a flat seal, having figures engraved upon it, be placed below a smooth and polished silver plate, and allowed to remain there for ten minutes, the silver will have received a faint picture of the figures, which will be rendered visible by exposure to the vapour of water, or even by being breathed upon; and will become permanent if the vapour of mercury is used. Here the effect is produced *in the dark*. The experiment has been made in a dark room at midnight with perfect success. Nor is a silver plate the only surface that will receive the impression: any polished surface—glass, the smooth cover of a bound book,—will do as well. In the above case, when other vapours than that of mercury are used, the image vanishes; but it can be re-produced by submitting the plate to the action of vapour a second time; and this may be repeated over and over again. It is impossible to foresee the issue of these extraordinary discoveries. A conjecture has been thrown out by Sir John Herschell that is curious and promising:—"May not the images of external objects upon the retina be produced in a similar manner?"

The consideration of these photographic processes and these subtle actions of light, belongs as much to chemistry as to optics, to which Mr. M'Gauley has referred them. The next physical phenomena we shall notice strictly belong to this latter science, and indeed to one of its most interesting departments. The first is the curious fact of double refraction; the second is the yet more remarkable one of the polarization of light.

The term "polarization" is an unfortunate one; suggesting to the mind of the unscientific reader ideas in no respect analogous to those which are appropriate to the facts. The peculiar idea of Polarity is so abstract and technical, that it is exceedingly difficult to

Digitized by Google

divest it of all irrelevant hypothesis, and to apprehend it in all its purity and generality. The name and the notion of *poles* were first suggested by the phenomena of the magnet, and were afterwards extended to electrical phenomena, when the analogies between magnetism and electricity began to disclose themselves. The next great example was that before us. A ray of light may be so modified as to have different properties according to its different *sides*. If, for instance, a ray thus modified, pass perpendicularly through a circular glass, and fall upon the eye, we may turn the glass round and round in its frame, and we shall make no difference in the brightness of the spot we see. But if, instead of a glass, we look through a longitudinal slice of tourmaline, the spot is alternately dark and bright, as we turn the crystal through successive quadrants. Here we have a contrast of properties corresponding to a contrast of positions; and it was with a view of expressing this character that the term "polarization" was introduced by Malus, in 1811. "The variety of forms," says Malus, "in which this new phenomenon appears, and the difficulty of describing them, compel me to admit this new expression, which signifies simply the modification which light has undergone in acquiring new properties which are not relative to the direction of the ray, but only to its sides considered at right angles to each other, and in a plane perpendicular to its direction." The hypothesis of material particles possessing *poles* is a rude and arbitrary assumption; and the student must make use of it only as a temporary assistance in his endeavours to realize the general notion of polarity, which is that of opposite properties in opposite directions.

Mr. M'Gauley has endeavoured to popularise this abstract and difficult subject.

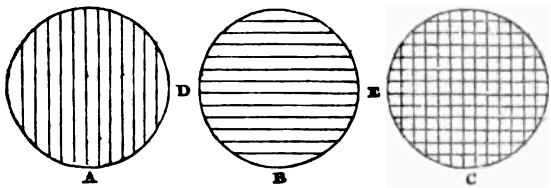
"Transparent bodies transmit but one image of a given object; this, however, is not a universal law, for some substances, such as Iceland spar, transmit two; the white ray being decomposed, not into different coloured rays, but into white rays, having different properties. This is called *double refraction*. The double image of a single object was first observed by Erasmus Bartholinus, in 1669. When the ray is incident perpendicularly there is no double refraction. A plane passing through the two rays, formed by the doubly refracting substance, is called the principal section of the crystal. The one or more lines or planes in a doubly refracting crystal, along which there is no double refraction, are said to be axes or planes of double refraction; the axis is real when it actually exists; it is a resultant axis when it arises from opposite refractions. If the extraordinary ray, or that which is entirely out of the plane of incidence, is refracted towards the axis or plane of axes, it is called a positive, otherwise a negative axis. Generally speaking, both rays are turned not only out of the same line, but out of the same plane also.

"If two crystals are so arranged that their principal sections are parallel, the ordinary ray will not be subdivided in passing through the second crystal. If they are perpendicular, the ordinary ray will suffer extraordinary, and the extraordinary ray ordinary refraction. In intermediate positions, except they make an angle of 45°, the ordinary and extraordinary rays will be subdivided into rays of unequal intensity. In experimenting with the second crystal, we find that the two rays of the first have the same properties, but at different sides. We can test light, which we suspect to possess the properties

Digitized by Google

of either of the rays which arise from double refraction, by the application of the second crystal.

Under ordinary circumstances, refracted or reflected light retains its properties, but this is not always the case. Polarization of light was discovered by Malus in 1808, who found that light reflected from the windows of the Luxembourg, unlike ordinary light, gave with a rhomboid of Iceland spar, rays of very different intensity. Light so changed is said to be *polarized*, from its being supposed that it has different properties according to the "side" of the ray which is under consideration. We may, perhaps, form some conception of the nature of polarization, if we suppose C to represent unpolarized light, A and B its two elements. The side D, and that which is



opposite to D, correspond in properties with the side B, and that which is opposite to it. Let the first element be incapable of reflection at a certain angle—the angle of polarization, which is different with different reflecting substances—when its side, D, is presented to the reflecting body; the side opposite to D will exhibit the same incapability of reflection; also B, a side in the second element, and the side of the second element opposite to B. The side of one element incapable of reflection is 90° from the side of the other, which is also incapable of reflection; or, in other words, their planes of polarization are at right angles. At intermediate positions of either ray—thus, a part between A and D, or between E and B—there will be partial transmission and partial reflection.

"Let us now suppose that the undecomposed light, C, is thrown against a reflecting surface at its polarizing angle, a portion capable and a portion incapable of reflection are presented to the surface, and the consequence will be, that some will be reflected and some will be transmitted; the light will thus be decomposed, and its elements will be said to be polarized, because those which have always had different properties at their different sides will be separated.

"We are enabled to obtain the elements of white light, whether these elements differ in colour or in polarity, by very analogous means. The different refrangibility of the coloured rays enables us to separate them with the prism; the different refrangibility of the polarised rays enables us to separate them with the doubly refracting crystal. We can separate the coloured elements by absorbing one or more of them. Thus red glass absorbs the green portion of white light. We shall find that we can also decompose light into its polarized elements by absorption; and that polarization will enable us to separate the coloured elements, by altering the azimuth at which the different coloured portions of white light refuse to be reflected. Thus, let the polarized light refuse to be reflected when the side, A, is presented to the reflecting substance; if we can turn one or more of its coloured elements, so that their sides which refuse reflection shall have gone round as far as D, the polarized ray, when its side A is presented to the reflector, will no longer, as before, refuse reflection, nor will it be entirely reflected; but the coloured ray, which has not turned round on its axis, will continue to refuse, and those which have turned round will not refuse reflection, until the mirror—its inclination to the axis of the ray being preserved—be presented to D, or to whatever part the side of the disturbed rays which was at A shall have turned.

Digitized by Google

"If a ray of light be reflected at the angle of polarization, it cannot be reflected from another surface at the same angle, when the planes of reflection are at right angles to each other, because the part which has been reflected is exactly that portion of the ray which, at the distance of 90°, would present sides incapable of reflection. The angle of polarization is found by experiment.

"The non-reflection of light gives us a test of its polarization; and shows also, that different sides of the same ray have different properties. If on testing light none is reflected, we conclude that it is all polarized.

"If we cause a ray to be incident on glass, &c. at its angle of polarization, we shall find the reflected ray to agree in properties with the ordinary ray of the doubly refracting crystal, whose principal section corresponds with the plane of reflection.

"The plane of reflection of the mirrors and principal section of the crystals have therefore an analogous effect, dependent on the side of the ray. Partially polarized light affords two images with doubly refracting crystals, but, unlike ordinary light, they are not of equal intensity. Metals and some transparent substances never polarize light fully.

"The second surface of a transparent substance has also the property of polarizing, and it happens that the transmitted ray so falls on the second and parallel surface, that if the angle it made with the first was that of polarization, the angle it makes with the second is also the angle of polarization corresponding to the second surface. Hence, polarization at the second surface adds to the brightness of the polarized light obtained, and it will be enough to intercept rays from the objects beyond, without blackening the second surface.

"The transmitted ray always has a polarization equal and opposite to that of the reflected ray, that is, if only one-fourth of the entire ray is reflected, and polarized by reflection, half the light of the same character has been transmitted along with half the whole ray which is of an opposite character. If the reflected and transmitted rays were equal, both would be entirely polarized.

"However numerous the parallel surfaces we use at once, the entire transmitted ray will not be polarized, since each surface polarizes only a part of that which is transmitted by the preceding—but there is a difference of opinion on this point.

"A sufficient number of surfaces, at whatever angle the ray is incident, will polarize light, but the nearer the incidence of the ray to a perpendicular to the surfaces, the greater the number of surfaces required. If a pile of plates of glass be inclined to a ray of polarized light about 35°, on turning it round it will, according to its position, be either transparent or opaque, or something between both. We shall find that the tourmaline has the same effect.

"It is found that 'the index of refraction is tangent to the angle of polarization.' But when light is reflected at a second surface, 'the index of refraction is co-tangent to the angle of polarization.'

"Rays produced by double refraction are polarized, but if they are united by another rhomboid of Iceland spar, they will form the ordinary white light, which, therefore, is composed of both species of polarized light.

"Light may be polarized by absorption as well as by reflection or refraction; some natural bodies, as the agate and tourmaline, have the property, like a number of surfaces placed together, of polarizing light at any angle, but which part of the ray shall be absorbed, and which reflected, depends on the way we turn the tourmaline round. We may illustrate this, by covering all the sides of a piece of Iceland spar but one with tinfoil, and making a small aperture in the tinfoil opposite the uncovered side; if we look through the spar, we shall see a double image of the aperture, but if we place a plate of tourmaline between the eye and the spar, on turning the tourmaline round, we shall find that sometimes one and sometimes the other image will disappear, and sometimes both partially.

"If we transmit polarized light in a particular way, through bodies that possess the power of double refraction, the most brilliant and beautiful colours are produced. If we cover one of the images of the aperture in the tinfoil used in

Digitized by Google

the last experiment, and treat it as ordinary white light by another rhomb of Iceland spar, on turning the latter round in the same plane there are two positions 180° distant, at which there will be a single image, 90° and 270°, from the first position there will be two images; but at all positions between these four, there will be two images of equal or unequal brightness, according as they are exactly between two of the four positions or not; and if we examine the two images we shall find that they are polarized at right angles, that is, the beam which forms one of them has been turned round 90° on its axis, and its side which refuses reflection is 90° distant from its first position.

"If we transmit a poralized ray perpendicularly, through sulphate of lime, or mica, the two images will be coloured, and their colours will vary according to the thickness of the plate, but they will always be complementary. There are two methods of obtaining these images separately; for, the plate being very thin, they are superimposed, and form white light. One is by reflection at the angle of polarization; one complementary colour will refuse to be reflected, and therefore, being transmitted, will be separated from the other. We may separate these coloured images by Iceland spar, and if the Iceland spar be of a thickness not quite sufficient to separate them altogether, the part where they coincide will be perfectly white. We may separate the coloured beams, also, by causing agate, &c. to absorb one of them. If we employ a coloured beam, which of course wants some of those tints, whose union constitutes white light, the effect will be modified in a manner easy to be anticipated.

"If we transmit polarized light along the axis or axes of doubly-refracting crystals, and analyze the emergent beam by any of the methods already given—reflection,—refraction, or absorption—beautiful coloured rings will be produced, which will be nearly double if there be two axes. If we superimpose the rings formed by a positive on those found by a negative crystal, though they are equal and seem to be alike, they will never destroy each other.

"The coloured rings produced by transmitting polarized light along the axis of doubly refracting crystals are intersected by a black cross; but if quartz be used, the cross will disappear, and its place will be supplied by a circle, of a colour which depends on the thickness of the quartz, and which encroaches on the rings. This effect, called circular polarization, is supposed to arise from the revolution of the planes of polarization of the coloured rays around the axis, in the direction of spirals, which are in some cases right, and in others left-handed. Turning the quartz round does not alter the colour; but turning round the analyzing plate, rhomboid, &c. used to separate the colours, gives different tints in succession.

"Substances may be made to doubly refract and polarize, although naturally they do not possess these properties. Thus, glass, while being heated or cooled unequally. Or this property may be given to glass permanently, if we leave it unannealed, or imperfectly annealed, by cooling its external surface rapidly. The colours exhibited by transmitting polarized light through unannealed glass, and then analyzing it by a rhomboid, &c. may be used to discover whether glass is properly annealed or not. It is immaterial as to the arrangement of the colours in quartz, &c. whether the piece we use be larger or smaller, of one shape or another; it is quite the contrary with unequally heated or unannealed glass."—Pp. 215—220.

With this long extract we quit the subject of optics. The next science which presents any points of general interest in Mr. M'Gauley's pages is that of electro-magnetism. We have already observed, that both electricity and magnetism were regarded, in an early stage of their respective unconnected histories, as polar sciences. The magnet has its north and south poles; there are two kinds of electricity, positive and negative. The north pole of one magnet attracts the south pole of another, and the south the north; positively and nega-

Digitized by Google

tively electrized bodies attract each other. The north poles of two magnets are mutually repulsive, so are their south poles; two bodies electrized positively, or two electrized negatively, repel each other. But although these electrical phenomena present the general character of polarity, they cannot be referred to poles in the same way as the corresponding magnetic phenomena are. There is no peculiar point in an electrized conductor which can permanently be considered as the pole. Some other mode of representing electrical forces must be adopted than that resorted to for representing magnetic forces; and hence arose the hypothesis of *two fluids*, a positive and a negative, or a vitreous and a resinous; an hypothesis which we have sufficiently described in a former volume. But since in both these cases in which the phenomena suggest the idea of polarity, we are led to assume some material machinery as the mode in which the polar forces are exerted;—and to these we might have added the phenomena of crystallization and chemical affinity as well as those, already considered, of polarized light:—since we know nothing more of this machinery than that it possesses a polar character, it follows that different polarities, as, for instance, the electrical and the magnetic, *may* result from the same cause exerting its polar virtue under different aspects.

It is during these obscure periods in physical discovery, that ingenious men of fanciful minds indulge in speculations, which, it is very possible, patient investigations and accurate experiments may hereafter verify. Yet are those speculations intrinsically as worthless after as they were before this accidental coincidence. They are the bats of philosophy; "they ever fly by twilight." Now for a specimen. Schelling, in his *Ideas towards a Philosophy of Nature*, published in 1803, says (as quoted by Mr. Whewell, *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, vol. i. p. 357), "Magnetism is the universal act of investing multiplicity with unity; but the universal form of the reduction of multiplicity to unity is the line, pure longitudinal extension: hence magnetism is determination of pure longitudinal extension; and as this manifests itself by absolute cohesion, magnetism is the determination of absolute cohesion." And again: "The threefold character of the universal, the particular, and the indifference of the two,—as expressed in their *identity*, is magnetism; as expressed in their *difference* is electricity; and as expressed in their *totality*, is chemical process. Thus these forms are only one form; and the chemical process is a mere transfer of the three points of magnetism into the triangle of chemistry."

"Your true no-meaning puzzles more than wit."

While dreaming anti-experimentalists were thus enveloping themselves and their subject in idle word-dust, practical philosophers were diligently endeavouring to establish definite relations between electrical and magnetic forces, believing that there must be some bond of connexion between the two agencies. At length, in 1820,

Digitized by Google

Professor Œrsted, of Copenhagen, discovered that a galvanic current, passing at right angles near to a magnetic needle, powerfully deflected it from its original position. The connexion between magnetism and galvanism having been once detected, was soon proved to be constant and universal. The relation of the electric and magnetic polarities was found to be, that they were *transverse* to each other. This relation exhibited itself under a curious and perplexing variety of forms; so that Œrsted, Wollaston, Faraday and others, were led to contrive various constructions and to suggest diversified modes of conception, for the purpose of framing a *memoria technica* of the results. But at last, Ampère, by framing his hypotheses of the action of voltaic currents and the constitution of magnets, deduced all these technical rules from one general principle; reduced all the complex relations of polarities to one single polarity, that of the electro-dynamic current; and proved that the electromotive and magnetic actions are only two different manifestations of the same force.

We now turn to Mr. M'Gauley's pages for a popular notice of some of the phenomena of electro-magnetism. Of these there is none more striking than the extraordinary development of mechanical force which results from certain comparatively simple arrangements; naturally suggesting the possibility of applying the power thus obtained to the purposes of locomotion.

"The great force exerted by electro-magnets, very soon suggested the idea of adopting electro-magnetism as a moving power. For this purpose systems of enormous magnets have been constructed, and appropriate apparatus has been applied to destroy or reverse the polarity of all magnets at once, or of portions of them in succession, so that bars of soft iron should be alternately attracted, or repelled by all of them, or attracted by one portion and repelled by another. But the difficulties which have hitherto prevented success are, that electro-magnets greatly disturb the action of others which are near them—that the repulsion of the electro-magnet consequent on the sudden reversion of its poles, does not always throw off the bar which it had attracted—and lastly, that the action of electro-magnets, however powerful, is exerted within extremely short distances. It is not unlikely that all, or most of these difficulties will be ultimately overcome; for extensive experiments on the subject lead us to believe that, although very great, they are not insuperable."—P. 266.

From this extract we pass to the last we propose to make; and which relates to the subject just touched upon, namely, methods of locomotion.

About the middle of the 17th century, the transport of coals in the coal districts of Northumberland and Durham was effected by laying down, between the pits and the harbour, parallel tracks of timber with a horse path between them; the wheels being confined upon these timber rails by flanges which projected from the inside of the tire of the wheels. In America, where timber is abundant and cheap, whilst the expense of iron is comparatively high, these wooden railways are still in very general use. We need not enumerate their obvious defects, nor the improvements which were slowly introduced, further than to observe, that about 1770, *tramways* of cast iron came

Digitized by Google

into use in the north-county collieries, and were followed by that form of rail which is sufficiently described by its name—the *edge* rail. The first great attempt to apply railroads to other purposes than that of conveying merchandise, was the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester line in the year 1830. Since that time, what developments of steam power have taken place! How great the changes in men's notions as to rates of travelling! This morning only, one of our fellow-passengers on one of the great lines complained, because the engines that brought us down took forty minutes, instead of the stipulated thirty-eight, to convey a very long and heavy train for a distance of twenty miles.

The whole subject of roads and railroads is so curious that we hope to enter into it on some future occasion. For the present, let us hear what Mr. M'Gauley has to say upon it:—

"Locomotive engines, or those intended to propel carriages on railways or ordinary roads, must, of necessity, be extremely light—this increases their expense. Their boilers, that heating surface may be secured, contain a number of tubes, &c., which pass through the water, and form a communication between the furnace and the flue; these, on account of unequal expansion from heat, are with great difficulty kept water-tight at their extremities; they are also soon worn out by the draft of heated air, which carries cinders and ashes along with it. However, they greatly diminish the danger of the boiler being burst, since the wear and tear is confined almost entirely to them; and when one of them gives way, the only inconvenience experienced is the leakage of water in the furnace.

"A fly-wheel cannot be applied to a locomotive engine; it is therefore necessary, as in marine engines, to use two cylinders. The piston-rods are connected, respectively, by a pin attached to the spoke of a wheel at each side, and thus a species of crank is obtained, or cranks themselves are used.

"The inconvenience of smoke would be so great, that coke is burned in the furnace. The steam which passes from the cylinders is turned into the chimney, and generates an enormous draft, by its rapid ascent; fortunately, this draft is greatest where it is most wanted; that is, when the engine is going most rapidly. The heat of the furnace is so intense, that the iron bars have been sometimes melted.

"The maximum speed of an engine on a railway depends, of course, on the number of strokes made in a given time; these require a certain rapidity in the production of steam. To obtain the speed of an engine, multiply the number of strokes of one piston by the perimeter of the driving-wheel, and divide the product by the number of feet in a mile, the result will be, the required velocity. A species of chime is made by the escape of the steam, which, by its constant repetition, will enable us, however rapidly the engine works, generally to count the strokes, even at a distance.

"If the railway is perfectly horizontal, 9 lbs., or less, will draw a ton. An ascent, or gradient, of 1 in 300, or 17½ in a mile, will require an additional 9 lbs. per ton; every 7 feet, per mile, of ascent, will add more than 3 lbs. to the force of traction.

"A rise, by no means very great, would be impracticable to a locomotive engine, as the wheels would revolve without communicating motion, which is often the case, even on the level, when the rails are very wet or very dry.

"The steam-engine cannot, like an animal, economise power, expending much when wanted, and little but when little is required; what the engine can do at one moment it can, within narrow limits, perform continually. Contrivances, however, are now sometimes applied to engines intended for ordinary roads, which, by throwing wheels of greater or smaller radius into geer, render

Digitized by Google

the power more or less effective, but with, of course, a corresponding loss of velocity.

"The many difficulties which attend the application of steam to ordinary roads, have hitherto prevented its general adoption. The force of traction is vastly increased by the absence of rails, by the ruts, and stones, which are perpetually to be encountered, and which render such complication and delicacy of machinery necessary, that it does not appear certain it can ever be economically used for this purpose.

"It is highly injurious to a heavy engine to fall, even though the small distance which is unavoidable at the joints of the railway, in passing from one length of rail to another; but the fall from the top of an ordinary stone, on a common road, must be most inconvenient in its consequences.

"The curves on a railway are a source of wear, and sometimes of danger; they cause the flanges of the wheel to rub with great violence against the rail; besides the tangential force of an engine going rapidly along a curve must tend to overturn, or throw it off the rail; even half a mile radius is by no means quite safe, particularly at the bottom of a gradient, &c., where the velocity is likely to be great. The danger is diminished by raising the outer rail; this throws the engine and carriages inwards, and secures safety on the same principle which leads horses, when they gallop rapidly round a circle, to lean towards its centre; the tangential force is expended in tending to raise the centre of gravity to its proper position."—Pp. 298—300.

We hasten to conclude. Utility and progress, it has been said, are the characteristics of that experimental philosophy which owns Lord Bacon as its father. And this is, in a measure, true. "The greatest error of all is the mistaking or misplacing of the last or furthest end of knowledge; for men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction; and sometimes for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men: as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a tarrasse for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state, for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort, or commanding ground, for strife and contention; or a shop, for profit and sale: and not a rich storehouse, for the glory of the Creator, *and the relief of man's estate.*" So in the 103d axiom, in the first book of the *Novum Organon*—"Ascendendo ad axiomata, *descendendo ad opera.*" In like manner, the *progress* of the natural sciences is without a parallel. And yet that is but a poor, earth-bound, stagnant, abortive mind, which can discern nothing beyond material utility and a time-measured progression in the productiveness and growth of those sciences which are conversant, primarily, with material things. The man who applauds, and the man who despises physical science, because it is busied among the visible and tangible portion of the works of the great Creator, are equally men of a Sadducean cast of mind. Physical science, rightly understood, rightly used, ministers not less to "the glory of the Creator," than to "the relief of man's estate;" and he is the truest philosopher, who can most sincerely join with the devout

Digitized by Google

author of the *Instauratio Magna*, in the "Writer's Prayer," which is inserted at the end of that great "birth of time."

"Thou, O Father, who gavest the visible light as the first-born of Thy creatures, and didst pour into man the intellectual light as the top and consummation of Thy workmanship, be pleased to protect and govern this work, which, coming from thy goodness, returneth to Thy glory. Thou, after Thou hadst reviewed the works which Thy hands had made, beheldest that every thing was very good, and Thou didst rest with complacency in them. But man, reflecting on the works which he had made, saw that all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and could by no means acquiesce in them. Wherefore, if we labour in Thy works with the sweat of our brows, Thou wilt make us partakers of Thy vision and Thy sabbath. We humbly beg that this mind may be steadfastly in us; and that Thou, by our hands, and also by the hands of others, on whom Thou shalt bestow the same spirit, wilt please to convey a largess of new alms to Thy family of mankind. These things we commend to Thy everlasting love, by our Jesus, Thy Christ, God with us. Amen."

ANTHONY-A-WOOD, AND OXFORD.

Considering the sort of age which our fathers' was, and ours is—that steam has made people move faster than they can think—that railways annihilate time and space for other purposes as well as making lovers happy—that the trip to America is little more than a summer pleasuring used to be,—and that we now realise our ancestors' fears and proverb, and walk *under* the Thames, which they thought much of walking *over*;—considering all these circumstances, we have some reason, if for wonder, certainly for congratulation, that *all* is not steam, smoke, and mechanism; and that Watt and Sir Walter Scott were not more distant from each other; and that Roxburghe, Maitland, and antiquarian societies have flourished in the midst of an atmosphere apparently so uncongenial.

And fully believing that there was never a period in our history when "venerable eld" was more in the way to be appreciated, we are going to give our readers a sample of the genuine antiquary, the prototype of Oldbuck, Sir Arthur Wardour—as far as the knight deserved the name,—and their painter himself, in sundry reminiscences of his life as told by himself in his diary, with some aids from our own local knowledge, and our own recollections of places and things, in our visiting which we have, at humble distance, shared the pursuits and delight of the great Anthony-a-Wood himself.

Anthony-a-Wood—A. W. as he delights to write himself—was born "in an antient stone house, opposite to the fore-front of Merton

Digitized by Google

Coll., in the collegiate parish of St. John Bapt. de Merton, situat and being within the universitie of Oxford, on Munday the seventeenth day of December (S. Lazarus day), at about 4 of the clock in the morning," 1632: an eventful time for any man, doubly so for a man who lived and died, like A. W., a loyal antiquary, and a devout, catholic-minded Churchman.

We must not stop long at his childhood, for he says but little of it; but among the little he tells us, is this, that he "was altogether nursed by his mother: . . . . for as she nursed his 3 elder brothers, so she nursed him (whom she found very quiet)." But very early indeed he received his first impressions towards the royal side; and those who know the strength of first impressions will not doubt what he says of them. In 1636, August 29th, "The King, Queen, Prince Rupert, many of the nobility, and others, came from Woodstock"—which in those days was still a royal residence—"into Oxon., a little before which time he was conveyed in a servant's armes, with his father and mother, to the lodgings of Dr. Tho. Iles, canon of Christ Church; whence being conveyed to the mount in his garden, looking into Fish-st."—now known as St. Aldate's—"he saw the K. Qu. and the rest riding down the said street into Christ Church great quadrangle. This was the first time that he ever saw such a glorious traine as that was, which he would often talk of when he was a man." Yes, doubtless; as future antiquaries will talk of the "glorious traine," which has lately for "the first time" been seen by them in the royal metropolis of Scotland. And perhaps some future antiquary may hereafter say, as A. W. says, "They departed. See the whole story of this entertainment in Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. i. sub anno 1636; which Hist. was written by Mr. A. Wood." Perhaps before going any further, it may be well to mention that A. W. usually, but not always, writes his life in the third person.

People have always been disposed to connect a studious and thoughtful habit of mind with a tinge of melancholy. And in matters of fact, the universal opinion is not often wrong. Every body remembers the exquisite touches of this sort in Oldbuck's character, and the still broader painting of the melancholy tint in Mr. Cargill, in "St. Ronan's Well." Mr. Lockhart's life of the great painter himself shows, we think, that he painted these traits, like so many others, from within. And here we have A. W. giving us a very plain confession of his own dispositions, at twelve years old. He had been sent to the endowed school of Thame of Oxfordshire, the school noted for being the place where Hampden and Ingoldsby were bred, and lived with the Vicar of Thame, Mr. Henant. And, says he,—

"It was observed by the Vicar, Mr. Henant, while A. Wood sojourned in his house, that the said A. Wood was very sedulous, was alwaies up and readie the first in the house, and alwaies ambitious of being first in the school in the morning; and if any way hindered, he would be apt to cry and make a noise, to the disturbance of the family, as Mr. Henant hath several times told him,

Digitized by Google

when he was Mr. of Arts. A. Wood did partly remember that he was much retired, walked mostly alone, was given much to thinking and melancholy; which sometimes made his night's rest so disturbed that he would walk in his sleep (only with his shirt on) and disturb and fright people of the house, when they were going to their respective beds, two or three houres after he had taken up his rest."

It would carry us too far to pursue this subject, interesting as it is. Our business at present is with A. W.; and our readers will see reason to observe that this temper remained with him through life, although he lived on the whole happily, and died in a green old age. Under the year 1645, in which he was a schoolboy at Thame, he gives a good deal of detail of the skirmishes in that town and neighbourhood. The Vicar, and his schoolmaster, were of different ways of thinking.

"That which A. W. observed was, that the Vicar and his wife were alwaies more kind to the Parl. Soldiers or Rebells, than to the cavaliers, as his Master W. Burt and his wife were, having been alwaies acquainted with and obliged to the families of the Ingoldesbies and Hamdens in Buckinghamshire, and other Puritanical and factious families in the said countie; who, while yong, had been mostly bred in the said school of Thame, and had sojourned either with the Vicar or Master. But as for the Usher, Dav. Thomas, a proper stout Welshman, A. W. alwaies took him to be a good Loyallist, as indeed he was."

Next year, 1646, A. W. went to Oxford, and was, by his mother, put under the care of his brother "Edward, of Trinity College, to whom he went once or twice in a day, to receive instruction, and alwaies spent every afternoon in his chamber, which was a cockleloft over the common gate of that college." But he did not escape the danger—if we may now so call it, with all the noble fruits of his labour in our hands—of the solicitations of an anxious and widowed mother. For "while he continued in this condition, his mother would be alwaies soliciting him to be an Apprentice, which he never could endure to hear of. And sometimes she would tell him that she would set him out to be an Attorney or Sollicitor . . . . but still he drew back and turned his eare." What follows we set down, entreating our confirmed brother antiquaries' forbearance, and bidding all budding antiquaries take courage. "Nay, she was so silly, that she would several times, forsooth, propose to me *the trade of a Tinner or Tin-man, or a man that makes kitchen-wares, lanthorns, and such like trivial things*, because she found me to have a mechanical head, and alwaies at leisure times active in framing little baubles." The author of the Athenæ Oxoniensis, a "Tinner or Tin-man, or a man that makes kitchen-wares, lanthorns, and such like trivial things!" No antiquary, of any age, can read this passage without a shudder.

In May 1647, he "was matriculated as a member of the university, and a gentleman's son:" and in October following, on St. Luke's day, he was "entered into the Butler's book of Merton college." And he gives so exquisite an account of the manner in which the senior undergraduates of those days initiated with their drolleries a freshman among them, that we are tempted to give it entire:—

Digitized by Google

"A little after five of the o'clock, the Senior Undergraduates would bring down into the hall the Juniors or Freshmen between that time and six of the clock, and there make them sit downe on a forme in the middle of the Hall, joyning to the Declaiming desk: which done every one in order was to speake some pretty apopthegme, or make a jest or bull, or speake some eloquent nonsense, to make the company laugh. But if any of the Freshmen came off dull, or not cleverly, some of the forward or pragmaticall Seniors would *tuck* them, that is, set the nail of their thumb to their chin, just under the lower lip, and by half of their other fingers under the chin, they would give him a mark, which sometimes would produce blood. On Candlemas Day, or before, (according as Shrove-tide fell out,) every Freshman had warning given him to provide his Speech, to be spoken in the publick Hall before the Undergraduates and Servants on Shrove-Tuesday night that followed, being alwaies the time for the observance of that ceremony. According to the said summons, A. Wood, provided a speech as the other Freshmen did. Shrove-Tuesday, Feb. 15, the Fire being made in the Common Hall, before 5 of the clock at night, the Fellowes would *go to supper before six*, and making an end sooner than at other times, they left the Hall to the Libertie of the Undergraduates, but with an Admonition from one of the Fellowes (who was the Principal of the Undergraduates and Postmasters) that all things should be carried in good order. While they were at supper in the Hall, the Cook (Will Noble) was making the lesser of the brass-pots,"—[we delight in this thorough-going particularity, even at the expense of the discovery, that Merton college in those days allowed her cook *only two* brass pots]—"full of cawdel at the Freshmen's charge; which, after the Hall was free from the Fellows, was brought up and set before the fire in the said Hall. Afterwards, every Freshman, according to seniority, was to pluck off his Gowne and Band, and if possible, to make himself look like a Scoundrell"—[an attempt which, considering the times, we may cheerfully believe not to have been uniformly unsuccessful.] "This done, they were conducted each after the other to the high table, and there made to stand on a forme placed thereon; from whence they were to speak the speech with an audible voice to the company: which if well done, the person that spoke it was to have a cup of cawdle and no salted drinke: if indifferently, some cawdle and some salted drinke; but if dull, nothing was given to him but salt drink, or salt put in College beere, with *tucks* to boot. Afterwards when they were to be admitted into the Fraternity, the Senior cook was to administer to them an oath over an old shoe, part of which runs thus: *Item tu jurabis, quod* **Penniless Bench** *non frequentabis*, &c. the rest is forgotten, and none there are that now remember it. After which, spoken with gravity, the Freshman kist the Shoe, put on his Gowne and Band, and took his place among the Seniors." "**Penniless Bench** [he adds in the margin] is a seat joyning to St. Martin's Church *apud Quadrivium*, where Butter women & hucksters use to sit." [And **Penniless Bench** is now so railed in that no Freshman can get there if he would. A. W. passed his trial well. He goes on.] "Now for a diversion, and to make you laugh at the Folly and Simplicity of those times, I shall entertaine you with part of a speech, which A. Wood spoke, while he stood on the Forme, placed on the Table, with his gowne and band off, and uncovered.

"'Most Reverend Seniors,

"'May it please your Gravities to admit into your presence a kitten of the Muses, and a meer Frog of Helicon, to croak the cataracts of his plumbeous cerebrosity before your sagacious injenuities. Perhaps you may expect that I should thunder out Demicannon words and level my Sulphurious Throat against my Fellows of the Tyronical Crew; but this being the universal judgement of wee freshwater Academicians, behold, as so many Stygian Furies, or Ghosts risen out of their winding sheets, we present ourselves before your Tribunal, and therefore I will not sublimate nor tonitruate words, nor swell into Gigantick strains: such towring ebullitions do not exuberate in my Aganippe, being at the lowest ebb. I have been no chairman in the Committee of Apollo's creatures, neither was I ever admitted into the Cabinet Councils of the Pyerian

Digitized by Google

Dames, that my Braines should evaporate into high Hyperboles, or that I should bastinado the Times with a tart Satyr of a Magic pen. Indeed I am but a fresh water Soldier under the banners of Phœbus, and therefore cannot as yet set Quart-pots or double Juggs in Battalia, or make a good Shot in Sack and Claret, or give fire to the Pistoletto Tobacco Pipe, charged with it's Indian Powder; and therefore having but poor skill in such service, I were about to turn Heliconian Dragooner; but as I were mounting my dapper Nagg Pegasus, behold Shrove-Tuesday night arusted me, greeting me in the name of this honourable convocation, to appear before their Tribunal and make answer for myself, which, most wise Seniors, shall be in this wise.

"'I am none of those May-Pole Freshmen that are tall cedars before they come to be planted in the Academian Garden, who feed with the pap of Aristotle at twenty or thirtie yeares of age, and suck at the Duggs of their Mother the University, tho' they be high Colossus's and Youths rampant.

"'These are they who come newly from a Bagg-pudding and a good brown Loaf to deal with a Penny Commons, as an Elephant with a poor Fly, tumbles and tosses it, and at last gives him a chop. These are the Mertonian Counter-scufflers, that tug as hard for a Postmaster's grace, as a Dog at Mutton,' &c.

"Thus he went forward with smart reflections on the rest of the Freshmen and some of the servants, which might have been here set downe, had not the speech been borrowed of him by several of the Seniors, who imbezal'd it. After he had concluded his speech, he was taken downe by Edm. Dickenson, one of the Bachelour-Commoners of the House, who with other Bachelours and the Senior Under-Graduates made him a good Dish of Cawdle, put on his Gowne and Band, placed him among the Seniors, and give him Sack.

"This was the way and custome that had been used in the College, time out of mind, to initiate the Freshmen; but betweene that time and the restoration of K. Ch. 2 it was disused, and now such a thing is absolutely forgotten."

We hope this long and curious extract will not have seemed to any of our readers too long. It gives us a picture, a merry one, of Anthony-a-Wood at fifteen, and the rough cheerfulness of that day. And what was that day? All this was positively going on, on February 15, 1647-8, at the very time when the fiercest, and most ruinous civil war that had ever been waged in England, was come to a close, by the dominance of the party who were hostile to all "Mertonian" and such like institutions, in all respects but enjoying their revenues —within less than a year of the murder of the king—and within a little more than a year of the ejectment of sundry of the members of the college by the pretended Independent "Visitors." Nevertheless things still went on—

——"All went merry as a marriage-bell;
But, hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell."

They heard it not: men are ever prone to hope, and, in the teeth of danger, to believe in the permanence of things; and there is no time, if they think otherwise, to act on their convictions, in most cases. And this is doubly true of men who lead the collegiate life; whose theoretical knowledge of the mutability of things is so happily contradicted (ever may it be contradicted!) by the delightful spectacle of the comparative stability of those for which they are concerned. And so the fellows of Merton, in 1647, gave the hall to the juniors; and the seniors of the undergraduates could make their future chronicler and devoted friend one of them, with all the pleasant-

Digitized by Google

ries of caudle and oration, and undisturbed, in the brightness and freshness of their youthful spirits, by the scanty shadow of the cloud which was so soon and so heavily to burst upon them.

The Editors of A. W.'s life (we are all along quoting from the Clarendon Press edition of 1772) give a note to say that in other colleges the Freshman's customs as given by A. W. were not extinct so early. "Perhaps," they say, "it [the custom] was once a general, as striking traces of it may be found in many societies in this place, and in some a very near resemblance of it has been kept up till within these few years." It was gone then, a little before 1772. In our day—seventy years later—we hear of no such "traces," nor did we when we were ourselves "undergraduates."

Precisely the next entry in A. W.'s diary is that the "Visitors" began their fatal "visitation." In this, at sixteen years of age, he figured with distinction for prudence and manliness. Being asked whether he would "submit to the authority of Parliament in this visitation," "he gave this answer, and wrot it downe on a paper lying on the table as he was directed; 'I do not understand the business, and therefore I am not able to give a direct answer.'" However it needed interest to save him, and so he was connived at and kept his place, "otherwise," as he pleasantly, and at that time no doubt euphoniously added, "he had infallibly gone to the pot." And "to pot" he saw many go, as he has elsewhere fully recorded. Henceforth, A. W. starts as a man and Antiquary. However, as both men and Antiquaries will occasionally be boys,—and we can assure our friends that a little boyish relaxation comes in very well, after a hard tussle with a pedigree of ten succeeding, and well-nigh undistinguishable, Thomases or Henrys, and such-like labours.—A. W. must needs go in August or September, he would not be sure which, 1652, "to angle with Will Staine of Mert. Coll. to Wheatley Bridge, *and nutted in Shotover by the way.* The day was hot, and A. W. sitting and standing some hours in fishing, he got an Ague." And no wonder. We need not *μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσι.* Of this he found much difficulty in ridding himself; and in order to "follow the plough and use what exercise he could there to shake the ague off," he went to that pretty village, well known to all riding Oxonians and most walkers, Cassington, situated no great way from the then Royal Park of Woodstock, since illustrious as Blenheim. Here "he had a very fair chamber," "and a place to lay his books in." But within a few days "had a very sad dreame in his sleep. He was in a melancholy place, had no companion, &c." and such dreams "would make him melancholy on the dayes following." In the end he got rid of his ague, and "after he had spent the summer at Cassington in a lonish and retired condition, he returned to Oxon." But while in this village, (which no admirer of A. W. will, we hope, fail to visit,) "he there learnt to ring on the six bells, then newly put up: and having had from his most tender years an extraordinary ravishing delight in musick, he practised privately there, without the help of an instructor,

Digitized by Google

to play on the violin. It was then that he sat and tuned its strings *in Fourths and not in Fifths according to the manner.*" On his return to Oxford, he learned better, and tuned his violin by fifths like other people "according to the manner."

It is very interesting, in tracing the lives and motives of great men, to see what were the apparently small things, which, in the course of divine providence, disposed them and led them onward to the pursuits and principles which coloured their after-life, and made them what we have found them. Even in ourselves it is a great pleasure to look back on the circumstances under which we have done what little we may see in our own past lives not to disapprove. A bright day, an unexpected walk, may have brought out the poetry within us; or we may have been lured to antiquities by the first perusal of such a book as this of A. W. All this he felt; and here, see how he paints it.

"The last yeare [1652] after he was entred into the public Library (*which he took to be the happiness of his life, and into which he never entered without great veneration*), he could do but little in it, because he was entred but a little while before his Ague took him. But this yeare [1653] being a constant student therein, he becomes acquainted with the places in the Arts Library (for no further could Bachelours of Arts go) where the Books of English Historie and Antiquities stand. He lighted upon *The Description of Leycestershire*, written by Will. Burton: and being exceedingly delighted with the performance, he did this or in the yeare following, take notes thence and make collections from it, which he had lying by him in his last dayes."

Which is Mr. Burton's greatest service to literature—writing his own admirable book, or directing A. W.'s "genie?" But also A. W. "took great delight in reading"—who that ever read did not take great delight in reading—

"*The Display of Heraldry*, written by John Gwillim, and in other books of that faculty, written by Joh. Borsewell, John Feran, &c., and endeavoured to draw out and trick Armes with his pen. And afterwards when he came to full yeares, he perceiv'd it was his natural Genie, and could not avoid it. Heraldry, Musick, and Painting did so much crowd upon him that he could not avoid them; and could never give a reason why he should delight in those studies, more than in others: so prevalent was Nature, mix'd with a generosity of mind, and a hatred to all that was servile, sneaking, or advantagious for Lucre's sake."

Such were his beginnings. And not long after he became one of a musical society, the first, we suppose, of the kind in England; and the genuine type of "amateur concerts" of our day: and in 1656, thus describes his own condition:—

"This summer came to Oxon *The Antiquities of Warwickshire*, &c., written by Will. Dugdale, and adorn'd with many cuts. This being accounted the best book of its kind that hitherto was made extant, my Pen cannot enough describe how A. W.'s tender affections, and insatiable desire of knowledge, were ravished and melted downe by the reading of that book. What by Musick and rare books that he found in the Public Library, his life at this time and after was a perfect *Elysium*."

His account of "Tho. Balsar or Baltzar, a Lubecker borne, and the most famous Artist for the Violin that the world had yet pro-

Digitized by Google

duced," puts us much in mind of our own day and Paganini. Really Baltzar seems to have trod hard on the heels of his mighty successor. On July 24th, 1658, at the house where the musical society met,

"A. W. did then and there, to his very great astonishment, heare him play on the violin. He then saw him *run up his fingers to the end of the finger-board of the Violin, and run them back insensibly*, and all with alacrity and in very good time, which nor he nor any in England saw before."

The time was now coming when A. W.'s *prolusiones* of all sorts were to issue, like seeds that have laid at nurse till their due season, in the beginning of those works by which his name is endeared to all lovers of Oxford. On July 30th, 1660,—

"Dr. Joh. Wallis, the Keeper of the Universitie Registers, Muniments, writings, of the said Universitie, did put into the hands of A. Wood the keys of the School Tower, and the key of the room where the said Registers, &c. are reposed, to the end that he might advance his esurient Genie in Antiquities, especially in those of the said Universitie. . . . . Here he layd the foundation of that book, which was 14 years after published, viz. *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* He was so exceedingly delighted with the place and choice Records therein, and did take so much paynes for carrying on the work, least the keys should be taken away from him, that a great alteration was made in him. About 2 months after his entrance into the said Tower, his acquaintance took notice of the falling away of his cheeks, the chang of redness in them to white Or. Yet he was very cheerful, contented, and healthfull; and nothing troubled him more than the interruption of his labours by eating anithing, sleeping, and sometimes by company which he could not avoid."

(To be continued.)

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Observations on the School Return for the Diocese of Bath and Wells, showing the uncharitable Nature and Puseyite Tendency of some of the Questions contained therein. By the Rev. Thomas Spencer, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.* Fourth Thousand. London: Green. Price 2*d.*

When a man, who, at his own request, receives a commission to bear arms in defence of his sovereign, employs those arms against him, he is, without any breach of charity, considered to be a traitor of the deepest dye, and worthy only of detestation—"the universal hiss of public scorn." If there can be a lower deep of infamy for a human being to sink into, it is that into which he falls who has voluntarily undertaken to discharge the duties of a sacred function, and yet designedly neglects those duties, and brings that function into contempt;—one who has solemnly sworn to defend a holy institution, which he does all in his power to degrade and weaken. Surely, a renegade priest is a moral monster.

Digitized by Google

Reflections something like these involuntarily suggested themselves to us on the perusal of the scandalous tract placed at the head of this notice; for that it is most scandalous, no unprejudiced person will doubt, after he has become acquainted with its contents.

The occasion which called forth the "observations" was this:—The assistant visitor and inspector of parochial and national schools within the deanery of Frome, in the diocese of Bath and Wells, having forwarded a printed paper of questions to the perpetual curate of Hinton Charterhouse, the reverend gentleman takes advantage of the space left for "general observations," to address his own observations to the district inspector, who, it should be borne in mind, is appointed by the bishop of the diocese, and authorized by him to send the questions alluded to.

The queries appear to have been arranged under different heads; and under that of "religious instruction," it is inquired by the bishop, through the inspector,—

1. Do the children attend divine service twice every Sunday?
2. And on festivals and fasts?
5. Are they instructed in the Church Catechism?
6. Are they catechized by the parochial minister in church, before or during divine service?
10. Do godfathers and godmothers appear to take an interest in the religious teaching of the children?

Under the head of "appearance, conduct, and condition," were the following questions:—

4. Are their parents members of the Church of England?
6. Is a certificate of baptism required from each child on admission into the school?
7. Have any children not been baptized?
8. Are any old enough to be confirmed?
9. Have they been confirmed?
10. Do such young persons receive the sacrament?

Under the head of "statistics," it is inquired:—

4. Have the dissenters any schools?
5. If so, how many children are educated in them?
6. Are there any means of reclaiming such young persons?

Such are the sensible questions sent by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, through the inspector, to the perpetual curate of Hinton Charterhouse. And what are his answers thereto? or rather, his observations, for answer he condescends not to give. Being a clergyman of the Church of England, sworn to carry out her discipline, and inculcate her doctrines, one would naturally expect that these observations would be in strict accordance with the same, intended to assist the inspector in the important work in which he is engaged, and facilitate the progress of a sound Church education in the diocese of Bath and Wells. But no such thing; and how far Mr. Spencer can be considered to regard the sanctity of his ordination vows, the following extracts from his "observations" will show.

Digitized by Google

In reference to the questions referring to "religious instruction" in connexion with the Church in which he ministers, he observes:—

"Judging from past history. . . . . I infer that, if there is to be no education but such as shall be under the *superintendence of the Clergy*, there will, in the course of time, *be no education at all.*"—P. 5.

The conscientious objector then descends to particulars:—

"I object to the observance of *fasts and festivals* as in itself *superstitious and mischievous;* (!) one day in seven is necessary for health, for mental culture, for religious improvement; but agriculture, trade, and manufactures, require *all the rest!* . . . . Children who have but a small portion of their youth allotted to them for future action, cannot afford *thus to lose their precious time!* Is it possible that protestant England *is going back* to these *fasts and festivals?*"—*Ib.*

Now for Mr. Spencer's opinion of the sacredness of the priestly function:—

"It is a dangerous error to lead people to rely upon ministers, and upon public services, for their religion. A *foolish conceit* of the *superior sanctity of the clerical office* is at the bottom of it; and although I am myself a Clergyman, ordained deacon by one bishop, and priest by another, *yet I candidly avow my conviction that a Clergyman differs in no respect from any other man, any further than the devoting of his whole time to study, &c.* . . . . These were the sentiments of the Protestant Reformers; it was their perpetual employment to attack the *pomp of prelacy*, and the proud assumptions of a priestly caste. . . . . The unction, the tonsure, *ordination, consecration by the bishop or the pope, may make an* HYPOCRITE, *but never a spiritual man.*"—P. 6.

By the Protestant Reformers here appealed to, the writer does not mean the English, but foreign reformers. He quotes Luther and his German colleagues, though, had he referred to the *Augsburg Confession*, he would have found his opinions received no countenance from the Lutherans. By the Protestant Reformers he really means Knox and Calvin. Mr. Spencer reminds us of a few eccentric clergymen who lately attended a meeting at Leeds, we believe, for supporting the principles of the Reformation, when Mr. Cumming, the disciple of Knox, was the lion of the evening. After all the zeal for the Reformation evinced by the Latitudinarians, we are rather surprised to find, though we ought to have been shrewd enough to have expected as much, that it is the Scotch, and not the English Reformation which they profess to follow.

After this it will lessen the reader's astonishment to hear this truly evangelical and conscientious gentleman speak of the Church Catechism thus:—

"After the exposure of the consequences arising from a general use of the Church Catechism, made some years ago by the Bishop of Norwich, *and the thousands of falsehoods which children have been made to utter*, I had indulged the hope that the Church of England would either introduce a *more* RATIONAL *and scriptural formulary of instruction* for children, *or leave it to those whose proper business it is.* [Who be they?] . . . . *The Church Catechism is a part of the Prayer-book that loudly calls for reform!*"—*Ib.*

Hear Mr. Spencer's estimate of the blessed sacrament of Baptism, which an inspired apostle declares to *save us; i.e.* to place us in the way of salvation:—

"*To lay such stress upon baptism,* [*i.e.* in requiring that none but baptized children shall be admitted to the schools,] *appears to me to be a dangerous heresy;* contrary to the principles of the New Testament, and to the sentiments of the great reformers. We are distinctly told that Christ did not baptize; and the Apostle Paul thanks God, in

Digitized by Google

one of his epistles to the Corinthians, that he had baptized none of them except Crispus and Gaius, &c. . . . . *The compilers of the Prayer-book had not this superstitious regard to the outward act.*"—P. 9.

In regard to the apostolical ordinance of Confirmation, the Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse observes:—

"I have witnessed enough in our day to make me wish to *see it abolished!* . . . . It is to many a subject of ridicule and contempt, bringing discredit upon our holy religion. IF, [hence such a request is only hypothetical] if young persons of this parish were to ask me to give them a certificate for confirmation, I should be willing to do it; but for more than ten years my own desire has been, that in any measure of Church reform which may be adopted, the CEREMONY *of Confirmation* may be entirely left out."—P. 10.

The most outrageous of the reverend gentleman's opinions and practices yet remains to be noted; which, though an obvious corollary to the former, we were scarcely prepared to expect. "In this parish," he observes, "the word schism, or dissent, is seldom used or thought of." This, of course, we readily believe; but the following assertion is a severe trial of our faith:—

"*The only place of worship besides the parish church, is the chapel of the Wesleyan Methodists; and as my services are in the morning and afternoon, and theirs in the evening, they never clash,* BUT THE MEETING-HOUSE IS, AS IT WERE, A CHAPEL OF EASE TO THE PARISH CHURCH. I am not aware that there is any feeling of hostility, or any degree of rivalry or competition, but *both places are devoted to the* INSTRUCTION *of those who are willing to go.* As a proof of the spirit of unity which exists, I need only mention that our PARISH CLERK, who is a worthy and intelligent man, and a sincere Christian, *is also steward and* CLASS-LEADER OF THE WESLEYAN CHAPEL, and the master of our daily and Sunday-school; and I am told also [is this hearsay evidence only?] that some of *the Church singers sang also at the chapel*, and that some of those who attend the Church during the day, are at the chapel in the evening, in addition to some who cannot get out during the day. *Neither shall I do any thing to prevent it.*"—*Ib.*

Such, then, are the theological opinions of the Rev. Thomas Spencer, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath, a clergyman, as he calls himself, ordained deacon by one bishop, and priest by another. We need not stop to show how completely they contravene the teaching of the Church into which he was thus ordained; nay, more, how they contradict his most solemn vow, "to give faithful diligence, always so to minister the doctrine, and sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, *and this Church and realm hath received the same.*" (The Form of Ordering of Priests.) Although Mr. Spencer was ordained deacon, to, among other duties, *instruct the youth in the Catechism*,—though the rubrics and canons, both of which he is bound to obey, require him to catechize every Sunday, and the canons suppose that education is under the superintendence of the Clergy, (Canons 77, 78, 79,)—Mr. Spencer considers that, in respect of dissenters' schools, "it is not expected of the Clergy to become spies upon the concerns of other denominations," (p. 12,) and that, if education were confined to the superintendence of the Clergy, there would soon be no education at all. Although the Church has appointed "an order for morning and evening prayer *daily throughout the year*," which order every clergyman is bound in ordinary cases to observe,—although, also, *tables of all feasts, vigils, fasts, and days of abstinence, that are to be*

Digitized by Google

observed in the Church of England throughout the year, are given, which feasts and fasts, it is also enjoined, shall be duly announced by Mr. Spencer to his congregation for their observance, and for which a special service is appointed, Mr. Spencer declares it as his decided opinion, that only one day in seven is appointed for the worship of God, and that feasts and fasts are SUPERSTITIOUS and MISCHIEVOUS! Although, when Mr. Spencer was ordained a deacon by one bishop, and priest by another, he trusted that "he was inwardly *moved by the Holy Ghost*" to take upon him those offices,—and although he, at the bishop's hands, solemnly received "the *Holy Ghost* for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God," he trembles not to avow his conviction that *ordination by the Bishop* may make a *hypocrite*, but *never a spiritual man!* Although Mr. Spencer was ordained to baptize, and baptism is declared in the Catechism to be necessary to salvation, and in the Baptismal Service to be the laver of spiritual regeneration, he nevertheless declares that the laying of such stress upon baptism appears to him a *dangerous heresy*. Although the Church commands that no person shall be baptized without a certain number of godfathers and godmothers, Mr. Spencer considers the abuses of this requirement "so extensive, as to afford no hope except in its extinction." (p. 7.) Although confirmation is said by the Church to be done "after the example of God's holy apostles," and Mr. Spencer is *positively required* to prepare the children of his parish for confirmation, nay, "to use his best endeavour so to prepare and make able," (Canon 61,) he nevertheless wishes to see this sacred ordinance abolished, and only undertakes to prepare the young persons of his parish for its reception, "*if they should require it.*" Although he has vowed, the Lord being his helper, to be ready "to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines," he considers a meeting-house of Wesleyans, men guilty of schism, who blasphemously lay claim to a divine revelation and special mission of God, and who are excommunicated, *ipso facto*, by the canons of the Church, to be a *chapel of ease to his parish church*, and glories in the fact of his clerk being a leading Wesleyan schismatic, and encourages his congregation in committing the sin of schism. But it is unnecessary to proceed further in these revolting details. It is clear to the apprehension of a child, that Mr. Spencer sets every rule of Church order and discipline utterly at defiance, that he denies her doctrines, and, we may add, brings the priesthood, as far as he is concerned, into contempt.

What we want to know, then, is, how it happens that a clergyman should be allowed to propagate such pestilential opinions, through the length and breadth of the land, in a series of tracts, already eighteen in number,* thousands upon thousands of which are, while we are

* Each of the following Pamphlets, by the Rev. T. Spencer, weighs, with an envelope, less than half an ounce, price 2*d.* each :—

1. The Pillars of the Church of Englaud, eighth thousand. 2. The Prayer-Book Opposed to the Corn Laws, eleventh thousand. 3. Religion and Politics, tenth thousand. 4. Practical Suggestions on Church Reform, tenth thousand. 5. Remarks on National Education, fourth thousand. 6. Clerical Conformity and Church Property, thirteenth thousand. 7. The Parson's Dream and the Queen's Speech,

Digitized by Google

writing, in circulation, without being made to feel the just punishment of his apostasy, by being degraded and excommunicated from the English Church.

If Mr. Spencer has not violated, even to the letter, the following Canon, we know not what language means :—

"Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the form of God's worship, as in the Church of England, established by law, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, is a *corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God*, or containeth any thing in its rubrics repugnant to the Scriptures, let *him be excommunicated, ipso facto*, and not restored, but by *the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of his wicked errors.*"—*Canon* 4. See also Canons 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

But, if Mr. Spencer has most grossly violated these Canons—and if *whosoever* commits these wicked errors is to be condemned, *à fortiori* he is who, from his office, is peculiarly pledged to eschew them—how comes it, we inquire, that the Rev. Mr. Spencer can describe himself as Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse, near Bath? We observe that he writes after his name *late* (it is to be hoped that there are none such now) fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and not a day should be allowed to pass away without a similar past existence being assigned to his incumbency. As he most unfeelingly, and with an air of evident triumph, observes, "the Bishop of Bath and Wells is now, by extreme old age, prevented from attending to the affairs of his diocese," otherwise he would, we are persuaded, soon convince Mr. Spencer, that, whatever might be his lordship's "high esteem for Mr. Jay, that beloved and revered independent minister of Bath,"* he had very little sympathy for such conscientious clergymen as the Perpetual Curate of Hinton Charterhouse. This is not said to reflect upon that venerable Bishop. Age and infirmity are the lot of humanity, and who would do *his* grey hairs any violence? But, surely, when a bishop is incapacitated from personally rebuking error, and punishing refractoriness in his diocese, the archbishop of the province has power to step forward and expel "scandalous ministers" from the Church. At any rate, we have discharged our duty. We have dragged this infamous pamphlet from the holes and corners into which it has been clancularly circulated, in the hope that the eye of some one may rest upon it, whose arm has the power of inflicting condign punishmnet upon its dishonest, degraded, and, more than all, pitiable writer.

---

eleventh thousand. 8. The Outcry Against the New Poor Law, ninth thousand. 9. The New Poor Law, its Evils, and their Remedies, second thousand. 10. Want of Fidelity in Ministers of Religion, fifth thousand. 11, 12, 13, 14. Objections to the New Poor Law Considered, Parts 1, 2, 3, 4. 15. The Reformed Prayer-Book of 1842, third thousand. 16. The Second Reformation, (price 1*d.*) twelfth thousand. 17. The People's Rights; and How to Get Them, ninth thousand. 18. Observations upon the Diocesan School Return, fourth thousand.

Parcels, containing any number of the above tracts, will be forwarded, on application to the Author, at half price, such application containing an order for payment.

* This, we are convinced, is mere slander. See Article in a previous number, headed, *Jay Jubilee*, also last number of the *Englishman's Magazine.*

Digitized by Google

The Chapel of King Edward III. on Wakefield Bridge; or an improved Essay on this and other ancient Bridge Chantries: including an account of the Battle of Wakefield, and much antiquarian remark on the whole. *By* NORRISON SCATCHARD, *Esq.* London: Simpkin and Marshall.

THE intended restoration of the beautiful chapel on the bridge at Wakefield, by the Yorkshire architectural society, has induced Mr. Norrison Scatchard, a local antiquary of more self-sufficiency than depth, to republish an essay put forth by him fifteen years ago, on ancient bridge chantries. But we have little concern with the ignorance of antiquaries, except where it is combined with a low bad spirit, that degrades the subjects, sacred at least indirectly, on which it frequently touches. Of this spirit Mr. Scatchard's pamphlet affords abundant examples. What would our pious forefathers have thought, to see it stated as the first reason for building chapels on bridges, that "they were built as supports or stays for strengthening the bridges, and, *of course*, for the advancement of trade:"—that is, that they were buttresses, and counting houses? If this be so, the chapel in question has not lost much by its late desecration.

Again, to mark the flippancy with which Mr. Scatchard speaks of devotional services, and at the same time his ignorance of the structure of which he is writing:—

"Having made their offerings, the devotees would retire; but not by the way they came in. No, no! that would never do, to turn their backs upon St. Mary or St. Ann! Oh, no! They withdrew, of course, by that little door which you see leading under the demolished tabernacle of the virgin down into the crypt, and thence to the river. Here, I doubt not, was a ferry-boat, as the Wakefield people got off by land, and so the farce was ended!"

Of the sneer we say nothing, except that we can little sympathize with one who can so treat even mistaken devotion. But for the retiring by the crypt, a slight inspection of the chapel will show, that, though there is now a door opened to the river from the crypt, there was formerly only a window in that position; in a word, that there was no possibility of exit by that way.

Whether fifteen years ago Mr. Scatchard was in advance of the general information on the subject of the date of the chapel on Wakefield bridge, we know not; but now, at any rate, every tyro in Gothic architecture knows at a glance that it cannot have been built in the time of Edward IV., but that it must be referred, at any rate, to the more remote period of Edward III.

The Temple Church; an Account of its Restoration and Repairs. *By* WILLIAM BURGE, *Esq., of the Inner Temple, one of Her Majesty's Counsel, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.* London: Pickering. 1843.

So much has already appeared in our pages on the Temple Church, that we regret that Mr. Burge's excellent book is so late in the field, otherwise we should have drawn copiously from its learned stores,

Digitized by Google

when we furnished a memorial of the history and late repairs of the fabric. To say that Mr. Burge far exceeds Mr. Addison and Felix Summerly, were praise as unworthy of the author as defective in conveying a right notion of the literary merits of the work itself. A main point which Mr. Burge has kept in mind, is the religious character of the great restoration to which he has dedicated his perseverance and energies: indeed the perusal of this excellent toned book will at once refute the calumnies which are so rife in certain quarters, that religious feeling and earnestness throughout the restoration has been kept subordinate to artistic taste. Every page contradicts the insinuation; and, whether Mr. Burge is enthusiastically describing the beauties which he brought to light by sweeping away the abominations of pews, plaster, and paint,—or whether he is the historian of the organ, he invariably seems to write under the pervading feeling that in whatsoever he does, "All is to be done to the glory of God:" and higher praise we cannot give. We now only learn for the first time what perilous work these restorations are, and how very nearly balanced the chances are that things—even with the best intentions—should not be made worse; for example—

"A third position for the organ was suggested, [we should like to know by whom,] namely, to place it above the eastern window."

Such barbarism seems incredible.

The concluding sentences, both of the preface and of Mr. Burge's book, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of extracting.

"The writer may be disappointed in the wish he cherishes, that these pages may in some degree contribute to so desirable an object. But at all events he has afforded himself the gratification of thus expressing his grateful respect for the noble and munificent spirit with which the Masters of the Benches of the Societies of the Temple commenced, prosecuted, and completed this great work, and for the liberality and candour with which they gave and continued their confidence to the Committee whom they appointed to superintend its execution. He has the further gratification of thus acknowledging, with sentiments of the sincerest friendship and esteem for his associates in that Committee, the harmony and good understanding which uninterruptedly pervaded amongst them, and without which, their earnest and anxious endeavours to execute their trust to the satisfaction of those by whom it had been delegated must have been altogether fruitless."—Preface, pp. vi—vii.

"The present age has not found us less susceptible or less in need of this influence. May not the hope be cherished that its '*virtue, force, and efficacy*.' may be felt by the numerous congregations attending the service in the Temple Church, and that there are many on whom feelings of devotion and reverence awakened within its sacred walls, will have produced those deep and permanent impressions which will open their hearts to receive Him who hath *the words of eternal life?* If that hope be well founded, the Societies of the Temple in humble gratitude may reflect on the restoration of their Church as an act by which they have not only discharged the moral and legal obligations they incurred as its guardians, but have been made by God's blessing the instruments of promoting His service and extending the knowledge '*which maketh men wise unto salvation.*' "—Pp. 77, 78.

While on the subject we may express our great pain and disappointment at the step recently taken by the Master of the Temple in curtailing the choral service, in deference to the puritanical and dissenting cavils of an insignificant minority of the two societies. That a prebendary of a cathedral, and a successor of Hooker, himself shares in these miserable sentiments, is worse than we are content, without further evidence, to believe: though the obvious reluctance to

Digitized by Google

restore the daily service which survived in the Temple longer than in any other London church, even while the Reader is now bound by his appointment, (p. 76,) to be constantly offering the sacrifice of prayer and praise, the neglect of communion, the absence of the surplice, and other significant signs of puritanism, lead us to the conclusion that the spirit of Travers is by no means extinct.

Tracts for the People: A Course of Lectures on the general Coincidence of the Peculiar Doctrines of the Tractarians with the Church of Rome. By the Rev. M. W. Foye, M. A., *Curate of the Parish of Saint Martin's, Birmingham.* 2d Ed. Seeley, 1842.

For the word *Tractarian* the Master of the Temple is responsible. It was he who let it loose on the English language, and on English society. To do him justice, however uncouth the name may be, he used it in a definite and an inoffensive sense. He meant by it the writers of a certain well-known series of Tracts—neither less nor more. It now, however, serves as an exponent of all the hatred to Church authority felt by some, and of all the dark and dreadful imaginations which possess the souls of others. Its only merit, in its present irrational application, is, that it seems to be supplanting one as irrational and more offensive. Still there is a great evil in all nicknames, and therefore we hold Mr. Benson answerable for that which results from the present. Muddy minds, like dim sights, must mass together the objects around them; they have no perception of individual men, individual thought, individual conduct. A man must, in such judgments, belong to a set, whether he choose to do so or not, and must be prejudged according to a sort of *à priori* conception of that set. Now nicknames help this diseased tendency of dim seers and thinkers, from which, indeed, they themselves have their origin, and which, in their turn, they keep up and aggravate; and hence the public mind is kept in continual blunders and misapprehensions, and in a consequent state of morbid suspicion and alarm.

We have been led into this vein of thought by the title and by the prevailing practice of Mr. Foye's book. He has, no doubt, a full liberty to write against any given number of Tracts, and other publications he pleases; but both he and his readers should know distinctly with what they are occupied. But, by setting up the phantom of Tractarianism, it becomes impossible, either for him, or for them, to see what they are about. We find his missiles aimed at the Oxford Tracts, at a well-known Quarterly Journal, and at the works of Messrs. Gresley and Paget. All this is very convenient for a declaimer, a character which Mr. Foye deprecates somewhere in the course of his book, meaning, surely, in so doing to be facetious. To prove how superficial and inaccurate he is, he cites Bull, among one or two others, as an authority whom he reveres, and by whom he is contented to abide; and yet he stigmatizes, as altogether novel and hitherto unheard of in our Church, a doctrine which at once connects itself in the minds of English students with the name of Bull, to develop

Digitized by Google

which, he produced some of his most considerable and elaborate works!—a doctrine, moreover, which was held by Nelson, Grabe, Tillotson, Wake, Horne, and Horsley! So much for Mr. Foye's qualifications for pointing out theological error, or vindicating Anglican truth!

Were these lectures delivered in Church? It seems so incredible, that we should hardly have thought of the question, were it not the most probable thing in the world that Mr. Foye has never read the Canons; and did he not strike us as being, to use a vulgar phrase, *equal to anything*. Is he descended from Wordsworth's Betty Foy? if so, we are saved the trouble of affixing a *sobriquet*.

We have been much pleased with "Fables and Classical Sketches," by a Clergyman, (S. P. C. K. and Parker.) They are among the best metrical ones we ever saw; are sound in their principles, gracefully conceived, and no less gracefully executed; although in one or two places the English idiom seems to us not sufficiently preserved. This fault does not exist, perhaps, to such an extent as would be worth noticing were the book designed for general reading, but whatever is to contribute to the education of youth, ought to be *flawless* in this respect. We may add that the decoration of the little book is on the whole good.

Now that we have mentioned decoration, we must inform our readers that Messrs. Tilt and Bogue have published a very beautifully decorated edition of Milton's Poetical Works somewhat in the same style, though not quite so handsome, as that of Thomson's Seasons, which they put forth in the summer. It is ungracious to complain where there is so much to praise; but we must say, that the beautiful *cathedral* passage in *Il Penseroso* ought to have been illustrated by better Gothic than adorns its margin in the present instance: and that we do not think Milton's poetry—pure and elevating, nay divine, as in one sense it is—merits the holy symbol of the cross, which is emblazoned on the present edition. Our present space altogether precludes our embarking on so large a subject as the difference between art exercised (however suitably and successfully) on religious subjects, and art informed by a religious spirit. Many, however, must feel what we mean. The sins of Milton's life, moreover, and the fearful heresy into which he fell, cannot be lost sight of. In Mr. J. Montgomery's prefatory remarks, we have discerned no faults but those of omission.

"The National School Expositor, &c." by Francis Mason, (Martin, Newcastle-upon-Tyne,) is a little dictionary of words likely to be encountered by the pupils of a national school. The definitions are sometimes explanations likewise, and very sensible, sound, orthodox explanations they are. We understand that the author is himself a national schoolmaster, a circumstance which we rejoice to learn. May his likeness be propagated! We strongly recommend the little work.

"True Stories from the History of the Church," (Haselden,) are sufficiently well-selected and fairly told. Has the author made up his mind that St. James of Jerusalem was the son of Alpheus, of which he speaks confidently? If so, he has solved a very difficult question.

"A Voice from the Holy Land, purporting to be the Letters of a Centurion, written in the Days of the Emperor Tiberius," edited by the Rev. E. Mangin, M.A. (Painter,) is a sort of book which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make safe and reverent. Fiction of any sort intruding into the very centre of sacred

Digitized by Google

history—the words, and deeds, and suffering, and resurrection of our blessed Lord—is too daring. In this case, the whole narrative is marked by the grossest impossibility. Mr. Mangin cannot have ever read his English Bible with ordinary attention. He actually represents Simon Peter before the crucifixion getting intimate with a Roman soldier who had not embraced Judaism!—and the first appearance to His apostles of the risen Lord, as taking place several days after that event! The whole book is absurd as well as daring.

"Principles of Church Arrangement," by a member of a Diocesan Architectural Society, (Painter,) is obviously the work of a gentleman of intelligence and information. There is great good sense in some parts of the pamphlet, and a creditably temperate tone pervades the whole. It contains much, however, with which we are compelled to differ. The author disparages the rule, *Quod semper*, &c., without having caught its meaning; and his remarks on the Eucharistic Sacrifice are rather perplexing. He tells us there is no harm in speaking of "a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," "so long as we do not attempt putting it in practice! for unless the idea be kept in its native region of *Imagination (sic)* it becomes absurd."

We have just received the first number of a new edition of the "Holy Bible," by the Rev. T. J. Hussey, Rector of Hayes, Kent. It contains the authorized version, usual chronology, &c., in the first two columns; emendations, short notes, and the chronology of Dr. Hales in the third and fourth. We believe Dr. Hussey to be a gentleman of great learning, who has devoted many years to his present labour. As to his success, of course we can say nothing, so soon after seeing the publication; but the plan is obviously excellent; and if the execution shall prove proportionably good, it will be a very important one. The work is admirably printed.

"The Nature and Benefits of Holy Baptism," by the Rev. Francis Garden, of Trinity Church, Greenwich, (Burns,) is intended for a manual on the subject; into which it enters somewhat deeply, both in its doctrinal and practical bearings; and, although not directly controversial, it answers many of the recently revived statements of false doctrine which have been put forth in quarters which we are not called upon to particularize more fully.

"Modern Miracles condemned by Reason and Scripture," &c. (Painter,) is from an author whose principles would also condemn those of Scripture.

"The Lent Fast, with Appropriate Prayers," (Burns,) is a devotional compilation, which will be found very useful for the holy season upon which we are entering. It is put forth in a very cheap form for distribution.

We have to announce the appearance of a high-toned and vigorous weekly Newspaper, "The English Churchman;" we find it is to be reproduced in monthly parts, which is a novel as well as a useful feature.

All who know what the life of poor Scottish students often is, will read with great interest a memoir which has just appeared of one of the most remarkable men who ever enrolled himself among their number—the author of the well-known "Course of Time," (Blackwoods.) The life is written by his brother; and an interesting revelation indeed it presents us with, of a mighty mind and will struggling through unfavourable circumstances. Pollok's life was not protracted long enough for the correction of crudities; but we almost venture on the assertion, that, had he lived, a spirit like his would have shaken off Calvinism and Scotticism.

We have surely had enough of such productions as "Lectures on Popery," by the Rev. J. Owen, (Seeley and Burnside.) A writer, who in a sermon can gravely descant on the Carnival as among the enormities of the Romish Church, is obviously not likely to treat any department of the subject reasonably or profitably.

Digitized by Google

Our readers cannot have forgotten the merits of Mr. Hawker of Mowenstow's former volume of poems. Another very pleasing little book has just appeared from his pen, entitled, "Reeds Shaken by the Wind," (Burns.) All its contents are beautiful; and we are glad to see the verses reprinted,—"It flowed like light from the voice of God," &c., and freed from the blemish which formerly attached to them.

We must denounce such a publication as the "Portion of Jezreel," (Painter.) Even though the character of Jezebel be introduced, there is no excuse for the flagrant indecency which this book contains.

A beautiful old legend, entitled "St. Christopher," has just been put forth by Mr. Burns. One of the cuts represents what was once in the form of a fresco painting, a very frequent ornament of our country churches, and doubtless will frequently be discovered still as we go on removing barbarous encrustations. The allegory is very beautiful, and the little book altogether most attractively got up.

The clergy have just received a valuable present in a little compilation by Mr. Dodsworth, entitled "The Priest's Companion in the Visitation of the Sick," (Burns, 1843.) It contains the three offices of our Church, which at different times are needed in connexion with that branch of pastoral duty, together with penitential psalms and devotions, heads of examination, &c., from Andrews, Taylor, Wilson, &c.

The Rev. Mr. Haverfield has addressed a sensible letter to a lay member of the Church on the strict observance of the rubric now introduced into the Diocese of London.

We are glad to announce that Archdeacon Manning's sermons have come to a second edition, which has just appeared.

We expect a great treat in the perusal of Mr. Newman's "Sermons, chiefly on the Theory of Religious Belief, preached before the University of Oxford," (Rivingtons,) a volume which we have just received.

The Rev. C. Wordsworth's sermons on "Communion in Prayer," preached in the chapel of Winchester, (Burns,) cannot have too wide a circulation. The binding is very appropriately decorated.

We have not looked at the "Nine Sermons preached in the Palace Chapel, La Valetta at Malta, &c." by the Rev. J. W. Hatherell, D.D. (Hatchards;) but we have examined the two Theological essays at the end; and are compelled to say, that the first ought not, in our judgment, to have come from one who writes himself D.D. The author represents Noah as *regenerate* during his earthly career, and adopts the popular but surely altogether untenable interpretation of St. Paul's language in Rom. vii.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[*The Editor is not responsible for the opinions expressed in this department.*]

ARCHITECTURE.

Sir,—Our modern architects, after twenty-five years of severe study, appear at length to have made some important discoveries in Pointed Architecture. I allude more particularly to Mr. Pugin and his Principles, &c. Some, however, have been equally successful in discovering the pointed style to be not only not the perfection of styles, but also not to be essentially Christian, to the exclusion of any other. Your antagonists, the Cambridge Camden Society, have condemned the latter position. Mr. Pugin, no doubt, has done the same. How far either view may be received as the true one, it is not my purpose to attempt

Digitized by Google

to decide; but I would gladly avail myself of your permission, should you be willing to give it, to offer some remarks, which the controversy between the *Christian Remembrancer* and the *Ecclesiologist* has suggested. Not that I profess to have discovered principles which have hitherto escaped the notice of others; indeed, I think it highly probable, that some of your readers will find in my remarks little more than what they themselves have maintained. I wish to show, that there is no reason whatever, why we should regard all attempts to "introduce entirely new styles for Church-building, with entire belief in the certainty of their failure," nor "with the greatest suspicion," but rather, that we should thank those architects who may be advancing the first step towards the introduction of a "perfect and harmonious style, of which we now dream as little as the designers of the old Basilicas could have done of Amiens or Westminster." To begin, then, with the present state of Church Architecture in this country. I think it must be allowed, that since the revival of the pointed style, the first and last efforts have been in the main the most successful. The improvement so perceptible in works now being carried on, and in those which have been recently completed, no doubt, has its origin in the efforts that have been made to enter as much as possible into the spirit of mediæval architecture, and to discriminate carefully between the subdivisions of the styles. Of late, therefore, they have not followed Gothic as a whole, as one system; but whenever a church is to be built, it must be in the early English, the decorated, or the perpendicular style. Other styles are sometimes adopted, and the Norman and semi-Norman for churches, and the Tudor, Elizabethan, and some later styles have been tried with considerable success for manor-houses and other domestic buildings. Perhaps there is no style which ever prevailed, prior to the commencement of the last century, that our modern architects have not attempted during the last twenty years.

I perfectly agree with Mr. Petit in his remarks upon railway architecture. Whatever be the advantages which we at present derive from having no national style, the disadvantages are as great, perhaps indeed greater. On the one hand, it may be said with truth, that there is nothing to prejudice us in favour of any one style. We can readily appreciate the beauties of each in its turn, and are as willing to build our churches in Norman or Gothic, our public buildings in severe Greek or Roman, (though the latter style, for some inconceivable reason, has been of late less popular than others,) and our club-houses in Italian or Venetian. We can feel the peculiar merits of any one of these styles in a manner which they could not who were accustomed to regard the prevailing taste as alone worthy of their attention. On the other hand, it may be said, I think with equal truth, that we are standing still, if indeed not retrograding. I do not suppose that any architect, professional or amateur, looks forward to a time when christian temples shall surpass in beauty and solidity the works of Littlington or Wykeham. Of buildings lately completed or still in progress, I leave it to men of taste to say, whether in whole or in detail, they at all come near their models of the centuries which preceded the Reformation. Even if talent were not wanting, there are so many other obstacles in the way of our embodying in our ecclesiastical structures all, or the chief and most essential beauties of the pointed styles, that they cannot be used in these days without being forced and bent to meet our present circumstances. A man need only go to the nearest modern Gothic church, and he must perceive that there is some truth in this statement. It wants height, or length, or the roof looks like a mere covering to the building, instead of being an important and decorative feature in it, or the deficiency of funds (no uncommon case) is strikingly conspicuous in some portion of the building. And here I must refer your readers to an able review in the September number of the *Christian Remembrancer*. At p. 265 they will find the disadvantages of the pointed styles stated at length, and most satisfactorily according to my judgment. No one can admire these styles more enthusiastically than I do; and were I a member of the Romish communion, I should perhaps allow myself to indulge greater hopes of their being again restored to us to some extent in their ancient splendour. Protestant efforts, however, have

Digitized by Google

as yet failed to be entirely satisfactory, even in the best works of modern architects.

But even if we must build our churches in Gothic, are we adopting the best means of improving the national architecture, by our slavish adherence to styles? The following observations will, I think, tend to prove that we are not. How came the pointed style into existence? As far as we know, by gradual transition through the Norman, its predecessor. But the Norman was preceded by other styles, which were themselves only transitions, till we arrive at pure Grecian, which, as your reviewer has observed, is in itself a consistent style of architecture.

But how came the Cinquecento style into England? Not by transition certainly, nor any thing approaching to it, but by a sudden change in the mode of building, by a recurrence to what was then called the true principles of architecture, as laid down by Vitruvius, whose writings were then becoming more generally known. The architects of those days could see neither beauty nor consistency in any thing that had not the tapered column, its capital and entablature. This alone was worthy of the name of architecture. Had this taste unfortunately prevailed at the end of the twelfth, instead of during the fifteenth century, alas! we should have had no pointed architecture. According to Mr. Pugin, Christians would have had no architecture which they could call their own; or, what is really to the point, for a perfect we should have had an imperfect style.

Nor is there any thing so very improbable in the supposition, that such might have been the fate of pointed architecture. The style of the day, whatever that might happen to be, was not confined to one country only, but extended itself over the greater part of Europe; and the builders might have more easily detected departure from principles in their cwn style, than those who introduced the pagan styles did, or supposed they did, in Gothic. They might have pointed to a massive Norman pillar, with its capital of crumpled foliage, erected, perhaps, one or two generations before their own, and exclaimed, "This is not the true Corinthian," and, by degrees, discover that it had neither the form nor the proportions of the classic order. Their attention having been called to details, would soon begin to dwell upon the whole structure; and in this manner the great revolution in architecture, which was brought about in the fifteenth, would have been effected in the twelfth century.

Now, it is to this perpetual recurrence to what are termed principles, that I cannot but attribute many of the drawbacks to architectural improvement. A brief survey of the state of the art, since the period of the Reformation, will add further illustration to my position. In England, the Cinquecento style was progressing, some perhaps will say degenerating, through the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First. It was forming some new features, when Inigo Jones appeared, and renovated it upon the principles which he had derived from Palladio and the Italians. Wren followed Jones too soon for any considerable departure from the ordinary features of the style to have been effected by those who lived during the short interval between their respective careers. But Vanbrugh and others, who succeeded Wren, seem to have been quite willing to give the rein to their genius, and to be the designers of their works rather than the mere copiers from the Italians; but these, again, were not permitted to indulge their fancies long; for Lord Burlington, himself an amateur and patron of architecture, at length succeeded in driving his countrymen back to the Vitruvian school, there to learn fresh lessons of style and principles. After the death of its noble patron, architecture certainly did not flourish. Every thing indeed slumbered more or less during the middle of the eighteenth century, and Sir William Chambers appears to have been the person destined to awaken stone and timber, and bid them range themselves into a system, which, I believe, he has the reputation of introducing to this country. Like the other reforming architects, he found fault with all his predecessors for their departure from principles. His notion was that the Italians had corrupted the ancient orders. The old Roman buildings he took for his guide, and studied their

Digitized by Google

proportions with accuracy; and the present Somerset House and some other buildings were the result, and may be taken as a fair specimen of that school. What the dawn of the nineteenth century might have afforded us in the way of originality combined with talent, if it had met with encouragement, we have not allowed ourselves the means of ascertaining. The revival of the pointed style for churches, and a new school of the then national style for other buildings, seems to have combined to render that happy chance hopeless. And what was this new school?

Great things, no doubt, must have been expected from one who not only professed to go back to principles, but whose aim it was to introduce a style more noble and more chaste than any which the world had seen for ages. To revive the true Grecian, and to adapt it to all modern purposes, was the avowed object of Mr. Wilkins; and short-lived as has been the existence of his school, yet in its time it had many admirers. But it will be sufficient to compare the class of buildings which arose under his auspices with almost any which preceded them; and it will be found that, for tameness and want of genius, they are surpassed by none. Their recommendations, if they have any, are merely negative. Of the five architects already mentioned, Jones, Wren, Burlington, Chambers, and Wilkins, four were avowedly reformers. Wren appears to have relied upon his own powers of invention more than his illustrious predecessor did.

To speak of the merits of either of these two great men in his own peculiar line, and of the rare talent and genius displayed in their works, would here be foreign to my purpose; all I wish to show is, that whatever may have been the good, and it is not a little, which such men have done for the nation's architecture, still it has not been unaccompanied by harm; and if to Lord Burlington be conceded a portion of this praise, to him also, more especially, does the blame attach. His success, though not of the most happy kind, was sufficient to give him a reputation, which lasted even beyond his own time. His style was a servile imitation of the best specimens of the Vitruvian school, which he used much in the same way that a school-boy does his Gradus, in making verses, when, if he does not borrow whole lines of old hexameters from that valuable depository, he at least provides himself with endings. But, if such was the principle upon which Lord Burlington and his imitators constructed their buildings, they were men of learning, and thorough masters of the principles upon which they worked. But what improvement, beyond what they effected, was such a course to lead to? If buildings adapted to every variety of modern purpose were to be furnished with façades, wings, and ornamental detail, copied from buildings which existed centuries ago, it is not surprising that they failed to secure the admiration of succeeding generations. Such has been the fate of the works of Sir William Chambers, though not exactly from the same cause. And certainly, if we must fall back upon the styles of by-gone days, it is better to go at once to the true models, the antique.

For we must not forget that the style of Italy, which had hitherto supplied our architects with ideas, was itself a mere revival; and therefore some praise must be conceded both to Chambers and to Wilkins, for the preference which they gave to the models of antiquity. But it would seem that the choicer the materials, the more signal has the failure been. Who will say that any one of these reformers was an improvement upon his predecessor? Has the Grecian architect established a greater reputation for himself than did the Roman? Or did the Roman earn more praise than the noble Italian copyist has done? And who will venture to dispute the superiority of the English Palladio over the others? Many there are, I believe, who assign to Jones a place even before Wren, for the exceeding beauty of his designs, some of which equal, if they do not surpass, those of the architects of Italy, whose style he followed.

So much for principles; and whatever may be said in disparagement of horizontal architecture, revived upon the resuscitated dogmas of Vitruvius, more talent has been displayed by those who have had only his principles for their guide, than by any of the modern Greeks and Romans, the disciples of

Digitized by Google

Wilkins and Sir William Chambers. These gentlemen will probably be forgotten, when the names of Gibbs, Hawksmoor, James, and Vanbrugh, shall continue to hold their place. Among those who have left the ablest contributions to their country's architecture, I have included Jones in the number of the reformers; and if, in that capacity, he arrested the progress which architecture was making in this country at the commencement of his career, the astonishing improvement which he effected is certain, while the probable advancement of architecture towards the formation of a new style is only problematical. No doubt it was in the main a corrupt and confused style; an odd jumble of Italian detail, with the scanty remains of the old Gothic. But it is impossible to say what this might have led to in the course of time, if Englishmen had not had the writings of Vitruvius to consult, and the buildings of Italy to imitate. It is well known, that when the new style was first brought into England, in the reigns of Henry the Eighth and his successor, it appeared in its native dress; as may be seen in the drawings or model of old Somerset House. It afterwards became adopted by the native architects, in general only partially; by some, indeed, little more than the mere decoration was used. Hence the progress made in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First is not very easy to describe in general terms, as those of your readers will find, who have access to Richardson's Elizabethan Architecture. Such buildings, however, as Hardwick Hall and Wallerton, prove that we had builders of taste and genius in those days, who might have been inadvertently sowing the seeds of a style to come to maturity a century afterwards, in the place of the Italo-English structures of Wren and his disciples. Now, it appears to me, that what these reformers did for horizontal, our modern architects are now doing for vertical or pointed architecture. But they must have more than the talent of Inigo Jones, to enable them to equal their models of the mediæval styles, as he did his of the Cinquecento. We may have, perhaps, some ground for hoping, that more substantial and permanent success may attend the labours of some of them: still, however, there remain no inconsiderable difficulties to be surmounted. It is of no use to conceal from ourselves the fact, that the chief beauties of mediæval architecture owe their origin to some of the peculiarities of the unreformed Church; and since it has not yet been deemed expedient to restore these observances, there must always be a dead weight upon the hands of the copyist, which he has to get rid of in the best way he can. In returning to former styles, if we must do so, would it not be better to take them up at the point where they were forsaken?

We surely need not be ashamed of a style which left us such a model as the tower of Magdalene College at Oxford,—a style which would be more suited to the requirements of the reformed Church of England than that which for the last four or five years has been the favourite with church builders. Something like what is here recommended, appears to have been done by those who were the first to revive the pointed style, and to which may be attributed their success, such as it was. But a nobler and wiser plan would be to follow out one of the principles laid down by Mr. Pugin, though not with precisely the same object:—to construct our buildings for whatever purpose they may be required, considering this a point of greater moment than their style;—to have recourse to no make-shifts for appearance sake, concealing none of their peculiarities, but rather making them the vehicles of decoration.

This, it must be confessed, is not the character of any known system except Gothic; but in our endeavours after a new style, there is nothing to hinder us from bringing this most useful principle to our aid; a principle, to which pointed architecture owes many of its most characteristic beauties, and which may again enter into combination with other principles, to produce equally good results. It required centuries to mature the pointed style; the present generation, therefore, can hardly expect to witness any great achievements in the infancy of one that is entirely new. W. P. N.

Digitized by Google

DISSENTERS' MARRIAGES.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER."

SIR,—The subject of Dissenters' Marriages, treated of by F. in one of your numbers, is one of great difficulty, and the whole results of the late changes of the law on this subject cannot easily be foreseen.

They have, however, released the Church from the degradation, as your Correspondent states it, of being "an instrument for accomplishing the merely secular ends of the civil power," and those who despise her and her offices will no longer be compelled to use them, while her own ministers and people will obtain a better sense of their meaning, and therefore use them with more devotion, from the Clergy being obliged to enforce them on their congregations.

I must confess that I am not sorry that the late Act of Parliament has thrown us back towards the ancient law of the Church, which made the validity of the marriage to depend upon the contract between the parties; where two persons agree to live together permanently, for the purposes of marriage, their union is not to be denounced as immoral, or confounded with promiscuous intercourse; though it be highly disobedient in them, and therefore sinful, to disregard the wholesome provisions made by the Church for purity of life.

Your Correspondent F. therefore seems to be in error in studiously using the expression "coming together," with respect to parties married according to the Act of Parliament, and recommending a new marriage-service for their sakes, as if their marriage were imperfect. It might no doubt be well, that on conforming to the Church, their previous marriage should be blessed by the priest. This, however, as it seems from Van Espen, is not required by the Church of Rome; and while the laws of the Church are so ill administered as they are at present, an unseemliness would occur when a void marriage, previously contracted, is detected, by the banns being forbidden; which, under existing circumstances, could not easily be punished or dissolved.

As to marriages before the registrar, between persons who are members of the Church, it will be time enough to think of preventing or punishing them when discipline shall have been restored to us.

The question of divorce is a much more difficult one than that of marriage. both because public morality is more affected by it, and it is less easy to extricate from the confusion into which our lamentable schisms have thrown it. The present system, which carries all divorces through the courts of the Church of England, is defective in principle, inasmuch as those who are not members of her ought to have no *locus standi* in them. For such persons, obstinately persevering in their heresy or schism, the courts ought to have nothing but excommunication; and surely suits "before the Church," between "them that are without," would have seemed strange to the apostles.

If, however, we give up the jurisdiction which our courts exercise over dissenters' marriages, to whom shall we give it? to each sect for itself, or to some state court, which shall have a general jurisdiction? On the first alternative it will be necessary to have some court of appeal, to prevent the different sects from relaxing the law in all manner of ways most ruinous to morality; this appeal can hardly be to the Court of Arches; and if not, this case resolves itself into the second. There will then be great likelihood of this court drawing to itself the matrimonial suits of the Church also; as it would probably be more expeditious and cheaper than the ecclesiastical courts. And now that criminal proceedings for adultery are rarely taken, it will probably administer the whole law on the subject; and the jurisdiction of the Church will be effectually destroyed, whether this lay court have an appeal to it from her courts or not.

I hope your readers will give their thoughts on this subject, and that it will meet with the attention which its difficulties deserve, before any legislation takes place. The threatened bill to "Improve the Jurisdiction of the Eccle-

Digitized by Google

siastical Courts," which many persons suppose is intended to destroy all relics of Church discipline over laymen, and to make jobs for Doctors' Commons, may probably touch it and other kindred subjects indirectly; and if we prefer peace between Church and State to principle, or are ignorant what true principle is, we can hardly fail to incur loss to our Church, and shall prepare bad measures which will lead to worse.

If I shall succeed in drawing out any information, your readers, as well as yourself, will forgive me for occupying so much of your space.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. K.

[We agree with most of our Correspondent's principles, and should be disposed, like him, to welcome the recent Marriage Act as an emancipation, rather than an injury, to the Church, were we quite sure that the Clergy are now free to refuse the Prayer-book Office for Matrimony to persons over whom it is but profaned by being employed. We understand that high legal authorities have been consulted on this point, and that their opinions have been found adverse. Still we think our Correspondent's view a very important one for the Clergy to take into consideration, and we should be glad to see the question of its legality really tried.]

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

By the Lord Bishop of Norwich, *at Norwich, on Sunday, Jan.* 29.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—S. F. Bignold, B.A. Ball.; J. F. Fagge, B.A. Univ.; G. E. Murray, B.A. All Souls (*l. d.* Bp. Rochester.)

Of Cambridge.—G. R. Bell, B.A. St. John's; S. L. Chase, B.A. Emm.; C. Cream, B.A. Pem.; J. Farr, B.A. St. John's; R. D. Fowell, B.A. Christ's; C. W. Francken, B.A. Cath. H.; P. Freeman, M.A. Fell. St. Peter's; E. Gillett, B.A. Emm.; E. W. Montagu, B.A. Caius; R. W. Packer, B.A. Cath. H.; J. Penny, B.A. St. John's, at the request of Bp. Bath and Wells; H. E. Rackham, B.A. Trin. H.; J. W. Westhorp, B.A. Clare H.; G. F. Williamson, B.A. Trin.; J. H. Wise, B.A. St. Peter's.

Of St. Bees.—S. Pearson and J. M. Randall.

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—R. Firth, B.A. New; T. Jones, B.A. Jesus; J. T. Reeve, Wad.

Of Cambridge.—A. W. Hall, B.A. St. Peter's; J. Sheal, B.D. Corp. Chris.; C. Spencer, B.A. Pem.

By the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, *at Peterborough, on Sunday, Jan.* 29.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—G. Bucknill, B.A. Trin.; T. N. Twopenny, B.A. Oriel; T. R. Green, B.A. Linc. (*l. d.* Bp. Durham); J. Fuge, M.A. Magd. H. (*l. d.* Bp. Exeter.)

Of Cambridge.—W. L. Gibson, B.A. Trin.; J. Knipe, B.A. Pem.; H. S. Mathews, B.A. Clare H.; S. L. Smith, B.A. St. John's; L. Poynder, B.A. Trin.; W. Seymour, B.C.L. Trin.; J. Haskoll, B.A. Clare H. (*l. d.* Abp. Canterbury); F. Wells, B.A. St. John's, (*l. d.* Bp. Exeter.)

Of Dublin.—A. Moore, B.A. (*l. d.* Bp. Clogher); G. Edwards, B.A. (*l. d.* Bp. St. Asaph.)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. W. Cartwright, B.A. St. Mary H.; J. M. Gresley, B.A. St. Mary H.; W. Renand, B.A. Exet.; F. H. M. Blaydes, B.A. Ch. Ch.; A. R. Webster, B.A. St. Mary H.

Of Cambridge.—R. H. Killich, B.A. Queen's; R. Thorpe, M.A. Emm.; A. Hibbitt, B.A. Cath. H.; J. Prickett, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Abp. York.)

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Lincoln, *March* 12.
Bp. of Salisbury, *March* 12.
Bp. of Lichfield, *April* 9.
Bp. of Oxford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 11.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 18.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Allnutt, R.	Wicken, P.C.	Ely	Mrs. Rayner	£56	892
Austin, A.	Alderton, P.C.	Gl. & Brist	J. Neeld, Esq. M.P.	...	...
Bagshaw, A. A.	Wormhill, P.C.	Pec. D. & C. of Lichfield.	Trustees	270	313
Bellman, A. H.	Aldely, P.C.	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	120	530
Birley, W.	Chorlton *w.* Hardy, P.C.	Chester	Manchester Coll. Ch.	103	632
Blaydes, H. M.	Harrington, V.	Peterboro'	Countess of Dysart	421	191

Digitized by Google

PREFERMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Brandt, F.	Aldford, R.	Chester	Marquis of Westminster	330	737
Buckall, H. J.	Potterspury, V.	Peterboro'	Earl Bathurst	116	1554
Buckerfield, F. H.	Little Bedwin, V.	Pec. D. of Sarum	Marquis of Aylesbury	280	648
Calvert, T.	St. James w. St. Paul, P.C. Norwich	Norwich	D. & C. of Norwich	150	2968 / 2407
Cosserat, G. P. G.	St. Matthew, Ipswich, R.		Lord Chancellor	...	2204
Dallas, J.	Chorlton-on-Medlock, P.C.	Chester	Mrs. Smith	...	...
Davies, T.	Llaneynvelyn, V.		J. B. Chichester, Esq.	...	...
Dobson, J.	Wivenhoe, R.	London	N. C. Corsellis, Esq.	371	171
Ekins, R.	North Wootton, P.C.	Sarum	Earl Digby	51	78
Eley, H.	Broomfield, V.	London	Bishop of London	161	747
Ellis, W. W.	St. Clement Danes, R. London	London	Marquis of Exeter	518	11578
Evans, R.	St. John's, Llantrissant, P.C.	Llandaff	Mrs. Pritchard	95	...
Fell, S. J.	Drigg, P.C.	Chester	S. Irton, Esq.	88	432
Ford, C.	Postwick, R.	Norwich	Earl of Roseberry	432	237
Gray, W.	Ch. Ch. Glasson, P.C.	Chester		...	...
Hayne, —	Pilton, P.C.	Ely	Earl Fitzwilliam	101	452
Hepworth, A.	Ingoldsthorpe, R.	Norwich	Rev. L. Cooper	347	286
Hibbet, A.	Blakesley, V.	Peterboro'	J. W. Wright, Esq.	176	829
Hutchinson, J.	Pleshey, P.C.	London	J. Tuffnel, Esq.	50	320
Johnson, F.	Great Gidding			...	...
Jones, J. S.	Paull, V.	York	Archbishop of York	160	739
Kennedy, B. H.	Prebend of Lichfield			...	...
Kingdon, W.	Whitstone, R.	Exeter	Exs. Rev. J. Kingdon	231	481
Ludlow, A. R.	Littleton-on-Severn, R.	Gl. & Brist.	Tr. Sir H. C. Lippencott	52	179
Luney, R.	Kingsbridge, w. Churchstow, P.C.	Exeter	Lord Chancellor	150	326 / 1586
Molyneux, B. W.	Whitby, P.C.	York	Archbishop of York	206	11725
Newbolt, W. H.	Paulerspury, R.	Peterboro'	New College, Oxford	...	1092
Poole, G. A.	Welford, R.	Peterboro'	Bishop of Oxford	706	1011
Price, W.	Llangelynin, R.	Bangor	Capt. T. P. J. Parry	345	...
Rich, E. J.	St. Paul's, Writtle, P.C.	London		...	...
Rocke, R.	Littleham, w. Exmouth, V.	Pec. D. & C. Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	178	3189
Smith, C. F.	Pendleton	Chester	Vicar of Eccles	344	8435
Snow, J. B.	Arreton, V.	Winchester	J. Fleming, Esq.	220	1864
Stockdale, H.	Misterton, P.C.	Lincoln	D. & C. of York	85	1579
Storer, T.	St. Andrew's, Northampton, P.C.	Peterboro'	Hyndman's Trustees	...	...
Thomas, W. P.	Wellington, w. West Buckland, V.	Bath & W.	Rev. W. P. Thomas	894	4762 / 793
Todd, —	Stretford, P.C. Manches.	Chester	Manchester Coll. Ch.	150	3515
Turner, J.	Fen Ditton, R.	Ely	Bishop of Ely	404	528
Vyse, G. S. H.	Boughton, R.	Peterboro'	R. W. H. Vyse, Esq.	296	360
Ward, G. T.	Heddington, R.	Sarum	Trustees	239	310
Wells, G.	Boxford, R.	Sarum	Rev. J. Wells	761	628
Wilberforce, H. W.	East Farleigh, V.	Pec. Cant.	Lord Chancellor	858	1461

APPOINTMENTS.

Athill, W. jun. — Subdean, Surrogate, Official, and Canon of Middleham Collegiate Church.
Burnaby, A. A. — Canon of St. Ninian Stall, Middleham.
Childe, C. F. — Sunday Evening Lecturer, Bow Church, London.
Dale, T. — Preb. in St. Paul's Cath.
Delafield, J. C. — Can. of Coll. Ch., Middleham.
Eaton, T. — Canon of Chester Cath.
Edwards, J. — Rur. D. of part of Leominster.
Gorton, J. — Ast. Theol. Lect., St. Bees.
Grant, J. B. Esq. — Vice-Principal of Chest. Dio. Training School.
Jacob, G. A. — Principal of Sheffield Collegiate School.
Jowett, W. — Sunday Ev. Lect., Clapham.
Machlachlan, A. N. C. — Curate of Thoverton.
Money, H. E. A. — Curate of Weobly, Heref.
Redfern, W. T. — Cur. of St John's, Manchester.
Round, J. T. — Hon. Canon of St. Paul's.
Sharpe, L. — Preb. in St. Paul's Cath.
Soames, H. — Preb. in St. Paul's Cath.
Williamson, G. F. — Curate of Wymondham.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Fullerton, W., Rec. of Edlington.
Greaves, A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge.
Hayton, J., P. C. of Ryhope.
Jarratt, R., Vic. of Wellington.
Lloyd, G., Rec. of Christleton.
Morgan, J., Vic. of Cooston.
Natt, J., Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London.
Ord, J., at Langton Hall.
Usborne, J., Rec. of Augmering.

Digitized by Google

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

Extract of the Bishop of Nova Scotia's Journal, dated Halifax, 21st Dec. 1842.

"In the course of the year 1842, I have been enabled, by the goodness of God, to consecrate seven churches or chapels, and seven burial grounds; to have 27 confirmations, at which 836 persons were confirmed; to hold two ordinations, at which two deacons and two priests were admitted to their respective orders; to deliver 68 sermons and addresses, at which more than 8000 different hearers were present. In accomplishing this, 1436 miles were travelled. Although this falls far short of the wants of this diocese, and therefore of my earnest wishes, I desire to be duly thankful that I have been permitted to accomplish even this. My anxiety for the accomplishment of the benevolent intention of erecting a new See for New Brunswick, increases with my growing consciousness that more labour is required than any individual can perform. It is also increased by a conviction that the circumstances of the times are peculiarly calculated to insure, with the Divine blessing, the full benefit of such creation. The holy influence of the principles of the Church, of her evangelical doctrine, and Apostolic order, is more evident than it was only a few years ago, and thus the greatest encouragement is offered for perseverance in all those exertions which may be necessary for the accomplishment of so important and so happy a work.

"The calls for the continued aid of the Society are not likely to be diminished in the ensuing year. Churches and parsonages are in progress, which are beyond the means of the people, who engage in the holy undertakings; new and urgent appeals are constantly coming in from destitute but growing settlements, where the need of the Church's teaching is becoming more urgent, and where happily that necessity is, as it ought to be, more strongly felt. May such feeling pervade every portion of these colonies; may the people be led every day to realize more effectually their own responsibilities in this matter; and may the Society be strengthened more and more continually, for the extension of their benevolent assistance to every portion of the Colonial Church, where it is required, and, humanly speaking, is merited; and to God be all the glory and the praise!"

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

The monthly meeting of the General Committee took place on the 8th instant, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury president in the chair. A large number of very urgent applications for assistance in building, fitting up, and enlarging school-rooms, came under consideration, and the following grants were agreed to:—East Winch, 25*l.*; Belton, 25*l.*; Sandford, 25*l.*; Greenham, 20*l.*; Derry-Hill, Calne, 30*l.*; Bilston, 50*l.*; Broadwinsor, 60*l.*; Lovington, 35*l.*; Westerleigh, 20*l.*; Miserden, 5*l.*; Crookham, 25*l.*; Oughtibridge, 15*l.*; Bishford, 5*l.*; Birkenhead, 50*l.*; Thame, 10*l.*; Idle, 25*l.*; Chester, St. Mary, for an Infant School, 10*l.*, and for a Girls' School, 12*l.*; Bures, 30*l.*; Coates, 20*l.*; Haslington, 15*l.*; Newport, (Salop) 30*l.*; and Membury, 15*l.*

In several of the above cases grants had been previously voted; but the difficulties with which the promoters of the undertaking had to contend, rendered further aid indispensable.

Encouragement was also given to the Rev. A. Hulton, and the Rev. J. Handforth, to open for daily instruction two large school-rooms at Ashton-under-Lyne, which had hitherto been used only upon Sundays. The Rev. J. Sinclair gave notice, that having been appointed to a laborious pastoral charge, he would be under the necessity of resigning his appointment as Secretary.

His Grace the president expressed in strong terms his regret that the Society were about to lose Mr. Sinclair's services; and it was resolved that a sub-committee should make inquiries and examine testimonials, with the view of recommending the most efficient candidate for the office. Applications for organizing masters were received from the Ripon and the Essex Boards of Education. The Secretary reported that the Rev. H. Hopwood, by direction of the Bishop of Salisbury, had commenced a tour of inspection in that diocese.

Digitized by Google

MISCELLANEOUS.

"ADDOLORATAS IN YOUGHAL.—*The Waterford Chronicle* of last Saturday states, that more than one case, resembling those of the Tyrol, was supposed to have occurred in the Magdalen asylum of this town. *The Waterford Chronicle* is inaccurate in some particulars, but is perfectly right in expressing his disbelief of the whole story. We had intended to observe a strict silence on the subject, to avoid scandal; but, as the matter has thus been brought before the world, we think it right, *after personal examination*, to say that, so far as an unauthorized examination can have any validity, there is little doubt that the director of the asylum has allowed his unsuspecting piety to be imposed on by a gang of wretches, who, if they had their deserts, would indeed bear on their persons the bloody stigmata —of cart-whips, as a fit punishment for their blasphemous and diabolical impieties. We give this, of course, as nothing more than the personal conviction of an individual, founded on his own use of his own eye-sight, and without wishing for a moment to prejudge the judgment of better qualified persons. We are glad to learn that the exhibition, which was beginning to excite a good deal of local curiosity, has been closed, by the prompt interference of the Ordinary, on the representation of some of the neighbouring clergy."—*Ed. Tablet*, who has been lately in Waterford.

LONDON.—*St. Marylebone.*—The following notice has been circulated among the parishioners of All Souls District, by the Rector, the Dean of Chichester:—

"'It is proposed to deliver courses of Catechetical Instruction in this church; and all Parents, God-Parents, Guardians of Youth, Masters, Mistresses, and Teachers, are requested to give in, on any day of the present week, before or after Morning or Evening Prayers, or between the hours of 10 and 12, the names of any such Children, God-children, Apprentices, Servants, and Scholars, as may be desirous of attending, in order that steps may be taken to arrange them in classes according to their respective ages, and proficiency in knowledge. (Further particulars respecting the days and hours will be given hereafter.)

"'A course of Catechetical Instruction, preparatory to Confirmation, will be given every Tuesday evening, at half-past 6 o'clock, and all persons of the full age of sixteen, who desire to offer themselves as candidates for admission to that Rite, (to be administered by the Lord Bishop of London, in the course of the ensuing summer,) are requested also to give in their names, in the course of the present week.'

"We trust this example will speedily be followed in other quarters. If there are any who hesitate upon the subject, we earnestly recommend to them a perusal of Mr. Ley's 'Documents and Authorities on Public Catechising,' an enlargement of a Series of Papers which originally appeared in Mr. Maurice's 'Educational Magazine.' Bishop Short well observes, 'The neglect of the Church Catechism has done more to undermine the true principles of our Church, than any other one thing. While we teach by a formulary, we teach systematically; without one, *each man may teach what is right in his own eyes, and not the doctrines of the Church.*"—*English Churchman.*

ABERAYRON (ABERYSTWITH) NEW CHURCH.—This church, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, has been built about seven years; but in consequence of some misunderstanding in the arrangements as to the raising of the required endowment, the late Bishop of St. David's would not consecrate the church. It was opened in the summer of 1836, and divine service carried on there every Sunday evening till the autumn of 1838, when it was all at once relinquished. However, in February, 1839, the Rev. J. D. Jones kindly officiated gratuitously till December, 1839, when it pleased the great Head of the Church to remove him from the Church below. Since that period the inhabitants (the English in particular) have had no regular stated service; and it is very grievous to them and a sore trial, to behold no less than *three* conventicles in the town, besides others in the parishes of Henfynyw and Llanddewi, while they themselves are without the means of grace. The parish churches are situated two miles from this town, and there only *Welsh* service is celebrated; but now, (as the advertisement in the January Number of the "Christian Remembrancer" informed its readers,) an endeavour is making to obtain the sum of 1000*l.* for the purpose of endowing this much-wanted Church, and by this means obtaining the services of a zealous and orthodox clergyman for this much-

Digitized by Google

neglected and destitute place. It is hoped that English Christians will commiserate this very distressing case, and bestow their mite on the Aberayron Church Endowment Fund. It may be right to state that the nomination to the curacy rests either with the Bishop of St. David's or with the patrons of the living of Henfynyw, the Dean and Chapter of St. David's.—(*Communicated by the Secretary to the Fund.*)

Ecclesiastical Commission Doings —Christ Church, Belfast.—"We have lately noticed the dilapidated state in which the Cathedral Church, in Lisburn, has long been allowed to remain, by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and we find they have paid equally little regard to the petition presented by the congregation of Christ Church, in this town, and to various memorials of the incumbent, in which were set forth the necessity of internal repairs. After the minister had applied for several years in vain, a meeting of the congregation was held last year, when a memorial signed by a great number of the congregation was forwarded, but without effect. An application made this year has also been rejected. Taking both these local cases into consideration, it may well be inquired, whether the expenses of the Commissioners be not too great, and whether salaries of 1000*l.* per annum each, to several of the Commissioners, be not too large a drain on the funds, when the Cathedral of the diocese, and Christ Church, which contains the largest congregation in the diocese, are left in a state of disreputable neglect."—*Church Intelligencer.*

Religious Agitation and Sympathetic Feelings.—"In reference to the Birmingham Anniversary Meeting of the Pastoral Aid Society, just held, *The Birmingham Advertiser* says:—'It has been our practice to attend the meetings of the Church Pastoral Aid Society, but never, on any former occasion, do we call to mind such a fervid display of eloquence, zeal, and abounding interest, as were displayed at the anniversary meeting on Monday evening. There were nearly two thousand persons present, of great respectability, who evidently most warmly participated in the sympathetic feelings such a scene was so well calculated to excite—and upwards of four hours and a half occupied by this 'labour of love,' this 'religious agitation,' in behalf of our Church, appeared but to increase, and fix the eager attention, and elicit the unanimous approval of such a numerous assemblage."—*Church Intelligencer.*

"We understand that in consequence of recent events, to which allusion is unnecessary, the Bishop of Madras has resolved in future to withhold his license from the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, there being no guarantee in the constitution of the Society, as explained and acted upon by the governing body, that his license will be respected in his own diocese."—*English Churchman.*

"The late case of the Attorney-General and Cumming, decided only last week by Mr. Vice-Chancellor Wigram, affords an instructive example of the defenceless state of the heads of the Church in England, and of the natural results of popular elections of clergymen. In the year 1682, the vicarage of Chudleigh, in Devonshire, was invested in certain trustees, who were to summon the parishioners of Chudleigh, having an estate of freehold of not less than twenty years, to elect their vicar, whenever the benefice should be vacant, and were to confirm the election of the bishop nominated by the major part of the voters, and present him to the minister for induction. The original trustees were never to be more than nine, or less than five. Twice, however, had they been permitted to die off to a number less than five. However, in 1838, the six trustees then in being conveyed the advowson to nine others, and among these was Sir L. Palk. In 1841, the vicarage fell vacant, the electors were summoned, legally, according to the Vice-Chancellor, and the election took place on the 21st and 22d of January: Two candidates presented themselves, Mr. Palk and Mr. Cumming. How was the election conducted? Mr. Wigram stated, and his statement was not denied, 'that, though he would not charge corruption, the election was unseemly, disorderly, and such as ought not to have taken place, held as it was for such a purpose. The evidence of the waiter at the Clifford Arms was, that, previously to the election, certain persons, calling themselves Mr. Palk's committee, sat there; and that during the election, they informed the witness that the voters might have what they liked, such as grog, ale, biscuits, sandwiches, and such like; and that Mr. Scott was the person

Digitized by Google

to whom they were to be charged. A dinner for fifty was supplied, and tea and coffee afterwards; and witness believed that bill would ultimately be paid by Mr. Palk.' Such seems to have been the election in which, by bringing up distant voters, Mr. Palk gained a majority over his opponent. On the second day of the election, Sir Lawrence Palk, for the first time, signed the deed of trust; and after the close of the poll, one of the trustees refused to sign the document of the election, and entered his protest against it. Shortly after, the other trustees present Mr. Palk to the bishop of Exeter, who having heard somewhat of the election, after stating that he had no personal objection to the thus elected vicar, distinctly refused to induct him, unless compelled. The newly-elected vicar soon proceeded to force the bishop to induct him; and the Vice-Chancellor having decided that 'the trustees were sufficient—*the election not affected by anything extraneous to the poll;* and the presentation sufficient as regarded both the parish and the bishop,' Mr. Palk's diocesan is compelled by law to induct him—elected, as he firmly believes, by improper means—or rather prevented from inducting any other clerk to the vicarage.

"Has the diocesan adequate protection from the law? It is not denied that the scene stated by the witness occurred at the Clifford Arms. Conscientiously deeming such an occurrence as unseemly, if not simoniacal, the diocesan refuses to induct, and the court of chancery, a temporal judge in a temporal court, maintains that nothing is material to the election of a Christian minister, save the number of legal votes, condemns the bishop in his own costs, and forbids his exercise of his right of induction. Doubtless the advocate for the vicar elect deemed it a very jocose saying, to tell the judge that, 'had the right rev. prelate been a member of the house of commons he might, consistently with his parliamentary habits, have endeavoured to establish such a case as that of treating.' A pleasant truth forsooth, that, to use the words of the judge, 'matters extraneous to the poll affect an election for a senator, but not for a Christian minister.'

"As to the proceedings at the election, we are far from being astonished at them. We have had too much experience of these scenes, of the canvassing, writing, placarding, hunting out and fetching up of voters, of the newspaper attacks, and regular election squibs, with which the election of clergymen have been conducted, to be surprised at the injudicious proceedings of the supporters of the vicar elect of Chudleigh; but we must express our horror at the prospect of the Rev. Mr. Palk freely, and without a doubt, swearing that no simony has been committed by him, or any one else on his behalf, in the procuring of his election; when he must feel assured that the treating at the Clifford Arms—unsanctioned by him we freely admit—unknown to him at the time, as he says and 'Brutus is an honourable man,' and the breakfast yet to be paid for by some supporter of his own—were among, if not the main causes of his election to the vicarage of Chudleigh.

"'No,' he will say, 'nothing is now simony but such as is to be construed within the act of Elizabeth.' Was, then, that act of Elizabeth privative of the jurisdiction of the Church, or accumulative? The reservation of the right of the ecclesiastical courts in the ninth clause, supports the latter view. 'It appertains to the spiritual courts to determine simony, and not to this Court of Common Pleas,' said the judges, in the case of Baker and Rogers, ten years after the act of Elizabeth passed. 'It leaves the church all the authority she had before,' says archbishop Wake. 'This act,' said Stillingfleet, 'did not abrogate the ecclesiastical laws as to simony; it only enacted some particular penalties on some more remarkable simoniacal contracts as to benefices and orders, but never once went about to repeal any ecclesiastical law as to simony, or to determine the nature and bounds of it.' That the Church held such elections as that at Chudleigh simoniacal, we presume the vicar elect will hardly dispute; that the act of Elizabeth is no shield against such acts, the concurrent opinions of those prelates and dignitaries of our Church who have made her laws their study, and of those judges who have been called upon to decide cases under the statute, sufficiently prove.

"Let no one delude himself that the act of Elizabeth created a new crime to the abolition of the old; it did but create a new penalty, and a readier means of punishment for a portion of the old offence."—*English Churchman.*

SEES OF ST. ASAPH AND BANGOR.—The following petition against the proposed union of these ancient dioceses was agreed upon by the Archdeacon and Clergy of the archdeaconry of Craven,

Digitized by Google

in the diocese of Ripon, at a meeting held at Leeds, on the 22d of February. Parliamentary petitions are not matters of criticism, but we are glad that the impression adopted at Leeds does not, as too many have done, weaken the impression they may produce, by introducing topics not immediately connected with the question in hand.

PETITION.

"To the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal (or the honourable the Commons) of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled.

"The humble petition of the Archdeacon and Clergy of the archdeaconry of Craven, in the diocese of Ripon,

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners earnestly deprecate the intended union of the ancient sees of Bangor and St. Asaph, under the provisions of an act of parliament, passed in the 6th & 7th years of his late Majesty King William IV., 'Intituled an Act for carrying into effect the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to Ecclesiastical Duties, Revenues, and Patronage.'

"Knowing the remote antiquity of the sees proposed to be consolidated, that they have existed for more than thirteen hundred years, and during that period have been associated with many of the most memorable events of our ecclesiastical and civil history; that they are dioceses, moreover, which from their foundation have been adorned by bishops not less eminent for sanctity than zeal for the Catholic faith; your petitioners cannot but view with unmitigated sorrow, any plan, however well intentioned, the adoption of which would annihilate one or other of episcopal sees so long distinguished by the learning and piety of the prelates who have filled them, and so justly dear to the best sympathies of English churchmen.

"But these emotions of unfeigned sorrow give place to others of most serious alarm, when your petitioners advert to the obviously injurious operation of the proposed union towards the Church in North Wales. The unmanageable extent of diocese, comprising no less than six counties and above three thousand square miles, which would thereby be left to the superintendence of a single bishop, combined with impediments to communication peculiar to the Principality,—an increasing population, and the prevalence of dissent, could not fail,—your petitioners humbly submit, to produce results sadly fatal to the interests of true religion and virtue in that locality.

"Nor can your petitioners, consistently with the solemn responsibility which attaches to them as ministers of Christ, refrain respectfully expressing their apprehension at the principle on which the contemplated measure is founded, inasmuch as they conceive that it can in no case be carried into effect without endangering the wellbeing of the Church.

"Your petitioners, therefore, deeply sympathising with the fears and anxieties of their Welsh brethren, humbly pray your right honourable House to take such measures, as to your wisdom shall seem fit, for preventing the consolidation of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, and particularly for procuring the repeal of so much of the Act of 6th & 7th years of the reign of his late Majesty King William IV. c. 77, as provides for the union of these ancient dioceses.

"And your petitioners will ever pray," &c.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received several communications referring to our recent articles on Wesleyan Methodism; and, we may say it without affectation, all applauding our labours, and all bearing ample testimony to the truth of the facts which we have produced. We may take this opportunity of stating, that the substance of them will appear in the form of a Tract, for general distribution, according to a generally-expressed wish. One of our correspondents, now "a Catholic Priest, but formerly a member of the Wesleyan body," will perhaps be good enough to communicate his name to us confidentially.

Were we to adopt the Rev. C. W. B.'s suggestion, we should have to pay advertisement duty for every announcement, according to the terms of the stamp act; otherwise we should gladly avail ourselves of the hint.

We have complied with as much of Clericus's request as we possibly could.

C. A. We have not hitherto considered poetical articles suited to our plan.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1843.

History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution to the present time. By JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A. Edinburgh: Gattie and Bayley. 1843.

IN the last of our reviews of the elaborate history of Mr. Tytler, we brought down our sketch of the fortunes of the episcopal and presbyterian communions in Scotland to the restoration of the former, in a partial manner, in 1585, by James the Sixth. The appearance of Mr. Lawson's very able work prompts us to make a leap over the greater part of a century, and to undertake, under his guidance, a sketch of the church in Scotland from the time of the revolution in '88. At some future time, when either the Scottish historian shall favour us with his concluding volume, or the ecclesiastical annalist shall put forth his promised history of the church in Scotland from the Reformation to the coming of William of Orange, we may more at length discuss the events over which we now propose to leap, giving to them only just so much attention as will enable our friends to understand the state of the Scottish church at the time when Mr. Lawson's present work commences her history.

Without deciding that the Episcopate restored by James the Sixth was merely nominal, or entering into the *vexata questio* of how far the succession was maintained in the Scottish church during the tumultuous reformation of the Roman establishment in that country, we cannot but feel grateful for the conduct of the king in 1610, when he assured to the church of his country that succession of Bishops, which, to say the least, was then questionable. Dr. Spottiswode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishops of Galloway and Brechin, were consecrated at London-house, on the 21st of October, 1610, by Bishops Abbot, Andrews, Neale, and Parry; and on their return to Scotland conferred the episcopal function on their brethren, who had previously been nominated to the other Bishoprics. During

Digitized by Google

the troubles of the rebellion and the commonwealth, this line of Bishops became all but extinct, but one, Bishop Sydserf, of Galloway, being alive at the restoration. It was thus again necessary to provide for the succession by investment of the episcopal functions from the English church. In August, 1661, four parish ministers were summoned by the king's letter to London: Mr. Sharp, minister of Crail, in the county of Fife, who was nominated to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; Mr. Hamilton, of Cambusnethan, who was to take Galloway, whence the aged Sydserf had been translated to the See of Orkney; Mr. Leighton, minister of Newbattle, for the Diocese of Dumblane; and Mr. Fanfoul, the Archbishop elect of Glasgow. On the 15th of December, in the same year, they were all consecrated in Westminster Abbey, after being previously ordained priests and deacons by Bishops Sheldon of London, Morley, Sterne, and Lloyd; both Archbishops, Juxon from age and infirmities, and Frewen from other unavoidable causes, being prevented from assisting at the consecration. From these prelates the present church in Scotland dates her succession, and consequently no portion of her history has been more fiercely attacked by her opponents than the consecrations of 1661; and when the act itself could not be assailed, the course of attack has been diverted on to the private characters of the consecrated, as if the wickedness of the man could invalidate the succession.

Early in the May of 1662, the newly consecrated Bishops proceeded to confer the episcopal office on their brethren; seven were consecrated on the 2d of the month at the chapel at Holyrood, and the remaining three, who had arrived too late for the ceremonies, were invested with their authority on the 1st of June. We give Nicol's account of the consecration of the seven Bishops; he was an eye witness.

"All the nobles, gentry, and others that were here for the time, and the town of Edinburgh, with their council and officers in their best apparel, were ready to contribute their best endeavours for his Majesty's honour and respect to the Bishops. The church of Holyrood-house being prepared and made ready for their consecration, numbers of people were convened, but none entered the church but such as had passports. The two Archbishops went to the church in through the abbey, clothed in their white surplices under their black gowns, except their sleeves, which were of thin white delicate cambric or lawn. All the inferior Bishops were consecrated, none absent but three, who are to be here with diligence. These that were consecrated were, the two Archbishops and Mr. James Hamilton, now Bishop of Galloway, who ordered that business very handsomely and decently. Before the consecration there was a sermon, made by one Mr. James Gordon, minister at Drumblade, in the north, whose text was the fourth chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, fifth verse, wherein he acted his part very learnedly, and held out the faults of their predecessors that made them fall, desiring them not to encroach upon the nobility, but to keep themselves sober, and not to exceed the bounds of their function, and much more to this purpose. The Archbishop of St. Andrews sat there, covered with his episcopal cap, or four-nooked bonnet. All that was said by the Bishops at the consecration was read of one book; and their prayers were likewise read. The first prayer was the Lord's Prayer, and some short prayer or exhortation after it; next was the Belief, and some little exhortation after it; thirdly,

Digitized by Google

the Ten Commandments read, and after it some few words of exhortation, much more to this purpose, and not necessary to be written." *

Next day the parliament met, Bishop Hallyburton preached for two hours and more before them; and the prelates were received with due honour, and placed according to their several degrees. At this re-establishment of the church no Liturgy was adopted. The following quotation from Nicol shows how the service was ordered in Edinburgh, and the tenderness with which the prejudices of the people were regarded:—

"After the publication of the act of council for holding diocesan assemblies, there was a diocesan assembly or meeting held at Edinburgh by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and by his Dean and Chapter, upon the 14th day of the same month, (October, 1662,) wherein these particulars following were acted: viz. first, there were appointed by the Bishop two of every presbytery to prepare business for the synod, whom he termed brethren of the conference; next, it was enacted that there should be morning and evening prayers in every burgh, and in every other place where there was any confluence of people; then, that the Lord's Prayer should be repeated once by every minister at every preaching, or twice as the minister pleased; then, that the Doxology, or Glory be to the Father, being a song composed and universally sung in the church when the Arians and other sects denied the deity of our Saviour, that the same be revived and sung, this being a time wherein many sectaries deny the godhead of Christ; then, that the Belief, or Apostles' Creed, be repeated at the Sacrament of Baptism by the father of the child, or by the minister, at his discretion; then, that all the ministers of the diocese, who did not conform to the act of council above mentioned, holden at Glasgow, repair to the same, and be indulged to come in and accept collation from the Bishop betwixt that and the 28 day of Nov. next to come, otherwise the Bishop is to proceed against them, and fill their churches with other ministers. The indulgency given by the Bishop of Edinburgh to the ministry of his diocese did move many of them to come in, and to accept collation from him before the day appointed, and to submit themselves to the prelatical orders. The instability of the church government (presbyterian) for many years bygone has been observed by me in several of my papers; and, among others, how that the reading of scriptures by readers, and singing of psalms, did cease, and in place thereof the examining brought into the church instead thereof by two boys, and thereafter lectures by ministers, which did not satisfy the people; wherefore the singing of psalms was brought in again in the churches of Edinburgh in the beginning of October, 1653; and now this year, 1662, the reading of scriptures was of new brought in again, and the psalms sung with this addition, 'Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.' This now brought in by authority of the Bishops with greater devotion than before, for all the people rose at the singing of the Glory."—*Nicol's Diary*, pp. 381, 382.

The pious and orderly performance of divine service thus introduced by the Bishops, connected, as it was, with the use of a few stated prayers, and reading portions of the Scriptures, was very distasteful to the more violent presbyterians, who had been accustomed to give vent to their feelings during the service in sighs and groans, and who declared they could read the Scriptures at home, and did not come to hear them read at church. Yet the reflecting classes were rapidly beginning to subside in their opposition to the church,

* For the convenience of our readers we have modernised old Nicol's spelling in this and the following quotations.

Digitized by Google

and as Alexander Peden said, "Ye were all cursed from the beginning in complying with prelacy and hearing these cursed curates, after ye had covenanted and sworn to God, and engaged yourselves in that covenanted work of reformation." "And yet such was the weakness of the people," he says, in alluding to the year 1662, "that many of them began to censure what they had formerly approven, and the ministers' bitter suffering turned with some rather into offence than ane edifying example, such was the cloud upon us at that time." This feeling was fostered by the indulgence of the Bishops towards the presbyterian ministers who refused their orders, to many of whom Nicol says "they gave liberty to preach openly until the 1st day of February, 1663. But this license and liberty was refused to such as were panelled (under legal prosecution), and to such whose churches were provided to other ministers during their disobedience."

It has been said that the great temporalities of the episcopal sees were the chief reason of the conformation of Archbishop Sharp and his colleagues to the church, after so many years of presbyterian ministry. Facts are stubborn things; and either the revenues of the sees have sadly dwindled down, and that with assignable reason, or the prelates of 1661 were willing to be bribed with very small revenues. By the return in 1831 to the Scottish Exchequer, it appears that the two Archbishoprics and the See of Orkney were between 1,000*l.* and 1,500*l.* a-year; Caithness and Ross from 450*l.* to 550*l.*; Moray, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Galloway, and the Isles from 150*l.* to 290*l.* per annum; whilst the rest vary from 43*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* to the great sum of 93*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*, annual revenue in Scots money. Allowing, however, that at the time of the confiscation of the revenues of the sees most inaccurate and defective accounts were given to the government, and taking current report of the days of the revolution, the Archbishoprics were little more than 1,000*l.* sterling, one Bishopric about the same value, and the next best having a revenue of half that amount.

After a very careful and detailed account of the prelates who held the various sees in Scotland at the time of the revolution, and several notices of the state of the church at that period, Mr. Lawson thus winds up his facts:—

"It will thus be seen from the preceding narrative that the Scottish Bishops, at the time of the revolution, were men of the highest respectability, and some of them connected with ancient and distinguished families. Among the inferior clergy were many persons of great talent and erudition; some of whom subsequently became prominent in the defence of the church, when it was left to the voluntary support of the members, and subjected to the ordeal of persecution. These clergy were the parochial ministers, commonly termed *curates* by the Presbyterians, by way of reproach, though there is neither sarcasm nor wit apparent in such an application of the word. In every field-harangue delivered by the covenanting preachers, the Bishops and clergy were often assailed in the most scurrilous language, their conduct studiously misrepresented, and unscrupulously accused of every species of crime. To such an extent was the ignorant credulity and superstition of the peasantry influenced by the covenanting

Digitized by Google

preachers in the rural and remote districts, that the Bishops were actually believed to have no shadows, and to be cloven-footed; and many of the *curates*, if we are to credit Kuton, and others of his enthusiastic persuasion, were little better than wizards,—an accusation, however, which the clergy occasionally retorted on the maligners."—*Lawson*, p. 36.

The cruelties which the government inflicted on the Cameronians, and on every non-episcopalian, after the murder of the primate, and the rebellions that rose out of it, naturally led the people to believe in the demoniacal agency of their bitter persecutors. It was not to the clergy alone that they attached the title of wizards, but they readily believed the Royalists to be sworn to Satan and to Charles; and that the soldiers of the persecutors of the covenanters had the legs on one side shorter than on the other, to enable them to clamber along the steep sides of the hills; and that the judges that tried and condemned them were sworn friends and companions of the foul fiend. Doubtless the cruelties of the government agents were charged on the church of Scotland with some reason. But while we must acknowledge with regret the want of christian feeling, and the absence of political wisdom, that thought to dragoon poor ignorant peasants into sound religious and political opinions, we must also bear in mind the fact of the men who fought at the Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge, were not so much banded against the civil government, the established church,—the church of the then majority of the people,—as against religious toleration and liberty of conscience; men determined, like the puritans in America, not to accept those boons in their own case, and far less to permit them to be enjoyed by others. Let it not be thought, however, that we would justify those bitter persecutions, or would excuse the church from the share she had in them; all that we would wish to do is to keep in mind the principles for which those unhappy men were persecuted, that we may not sit down to condemn the policy of the day, without carefully weighing the probable effects of any other line of policy, on persons imbued with such opinions as the covenanters of the restoration. But let us here pause, and leave the consideration of these painful scenes, in order to commence our view of the Scottish church, from the coming of the Prince of Orange into England to the repeal of the penal acts from which she so long suffered for her attachment to the exiled line.

Well known, and anxiously expected, as was the coming of the Prince of Orange, among the English, except by him whom it most concerned, it was not so on the northern side of the border; there William was neither plotted for, nor wished for; and when the Scotch Bishops met in the capital, late in October, they heard with sorrow, for the first time, of the expected invasion from Holland. They had, indeed, little reason to love their king, who, well knowing that popery had nothing to fear from presbyterianism, had encouraged the favourers of those tenets, and sought to depress the church, but they had sworn their allegiance to James, and they respected their oaths. Their first determination was to assure James of their

Digitized by Google

fidelity, their second to seek the advice of their episcopal brothers in England, "in case," as Bishop Rose said, "that any unlucky thing might possibly happen to occur with respect to the church." Bishops Rose of Edinburgh, and Bruce of Orkney, were chosen as delegates for the mission. Ere they could begin their journey, a sudden illness prevented the Bishop of Orkney from proceeding, and Dr. Rose set out alone for London. December had commenced before Dr. Rose could begin his journey, and he could not expect to be in the metropolis for many days, so difficult and dangerous was the communication between the south and north at that period. At length he reached Northallerton, and learnt for the first time of the misfortunes of the king, the assumption of the government by the prince, and James's ill-judged flight from Rochester. The Bishop hesitated, it was but for a short time; and then, as he wrote, "considering the various and contradictory accounts I had got all along the road, and that in case of the king's retirement matters would be much more dark and perplexed, I resolved to go on, that I might be able to give just accounts of things to my brethren here from time to time, and have the advice of the English Bishops, *whom I never doubted to find unalterably firm to their master's interest.*"

Rose's first interview with the Primate undeceived him; seven alone were found faithful to their oath among the English prelates. Sancroft and Turner of Ely received the Bishop with kindness. Stillingfleet, his personal friend, could not conceal the violence of his party feelings even against friend; Compton, of London, declined to use his influence with the Prince in favour of the church; and Burnet, once an incumbent in Scotland, had the coolness to tell the Bishop "that he did not meddle with Scots affairs." Every interview convinced the Bishop of the hopelessness of the cause of his church, unless he could compliment William on his descent, "as a deliverance from popery and slavery." This Rose was not instructed to do; nor, indeed, had he himself "clearness to do it." At length the vote of abdication was passed, the crown was accepted by William and Mary, the people were absolved from their allegiance to James by proclamation, and the pains and penalties of rebellion denounced against the adherents of James. Bishop Rose prepared to leave London, when he was informed that a pass from William was necessary, and that unless he waited on the king it would not be granted. He applied to the Bishop of London to introduce him. Dr. Compton, believing that the Scotch Bishops had altered their opinions, asked the Bishop of Edinburgh whether he had any thing to say to the king. Nothing but to ask for a pass, was the Bishop's reply. "Will you not speak to the king to put a stop to the persecutions of your people by the presbyterians?" asked Compton. Bishop Rose replied that the Prince had been ere now applied to on that score, as well by the sufferers as the nobility of Scotland, and yet all to no purpose. Compton suggested that some of the Bishop's countrymen should accompany him; and Sir G. Mackenzie, it was agreed, should come

Digitized by Google

with Dr. Rose on the morrow. At the time specified they met at Whitehall, when Mackenzie suggested that a deputation of the nobles and gentry of his country should wait on the king. Dr. Compton promised to speak to William, and retired to the next chamber to communicate with the king. In half an hour he returned; for fear of offending the presbyterians, the king could not accede to the proposal; two only of their party might speak with him at a time about Scottish ecclesiastical affairs.

"The Bishop of London now addressed himself in an almost official manner to the Bishop of Edinburgh, 'My lord,' said he, 'you see that the king, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand. The presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him; and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he can be served. *And the king bids me tell you that he knows the state of Scotland now much better than he did when he was in Holland; for while he was there he was led to believe that Scotland, generally all over, was presbyterian,* BUT NOW HE SEES THAT THE GREAT BODY OF THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY ARE FOR EPISCOPACY, AND IT IS THE INFERIOR AND TRADING PART THAT ARE FOR PRESBYTERY. *Wherefore he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support church and order, and throw off the presbyterians.*'—'My lord,' replied the Bishop of Edinburgh, 'I cannot but humbly thank the prince for his frankness and offer; but withal I must tell your lordship, that when I came from Scotland neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I now have seen in England; and therefore I neither was nor could be instructed by them what answer to make to the prince's offer, and therefore what I say is not in their name, but my own private opinion, which is, that I truly think that they will not serve the prince so as he is served in England; that is, as I take it, to make him their king, or give their suffrage for his being king. And though, as to this matter, I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say, that rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have or may expect to have in Britain.' The Bishop of London commended the candour of his reply, and said that he believed the Bishop of Edinburgh spoke the sentiments of all the Scottish prelates. 'All this time,' said his lordship to Bishop Rose, 'you have been here, neither have you waited on the king, nor have any of your brethren, the Scottish Bishops, made any address to him; *so the king must be excused for standing by the presbyterians.*'"—*Lawson*, pp. 43, 44.

So coolly could the Bishop of London regard the existence of the church in Scotland. The conversation had hardly ended ere William entered the room, addressed Sir G. Mackenzie, and passed out without noticing the Bishops. On the following day Bishop Rose was presented. "My lord," said William, coming forward a few steps, "are you going to Scotland?" "Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me," replied the Bishop. "I hope," said the king, "you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England." "Sir," replied his lordship, "I will serve you as far as law, reason, and conscience will allow me." William turned away in silence, and the Bishop left the presence. The fall of the church was now settled, as far as its legal establishment.

In all the various meetings of the Scotch estates in which, after the model of the English convention, they proceeded to declare the throne of their realm vacant, and to elect the prince of Orange and his consort of the sovereignty, many decrees were made, in which the

Digitized by Google

safety and good of the Protestant religion were specially intended to be cared for, but for a time no overt act was compassed against the church. After the first meeting, indeed, when the letter from James was passed over, and William virtually admitted to be the right holder of the crown, the prelates of Scotland seceded from the estates, and were never again present during the meetings of the parliament. On the 11th of April 1689, the estates spoke out against the church; "Prelacy," they said, in their claims of rights, "and the superiority of any office in the church above Presbyters is, and hath been a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished." Two days after, came forth a strong proclamation from the estates against owning James, and ordering prayers for William and Mary; on the same day they voted that the act of 1669 for the royal supremacy, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was inconsistent with the establishment of the church government now designed, and ought to be abrogated. As yet, though thus publicly denounced, there was no public act by which the persecution of the church was recognised, however much the government might connive at the cruel acts by which the more violent presbyterians were endeavouring to oust the clergy from their cures. The order for public prayer for king William and his queen served the required purpose of testing the clergy. It was almost universally refused by the clergy, and the consequence was deprivation; not as episcopalians, but as rebels. The church was not at present disestablished.

On the 5th of June, the estates resumed their sittings under the commissionership of the duke of Hamilton. For a month, routine business occupied their attention and episcopacy was not mentioned. Early in July came the king's letter, in which he says, "We have likewise instructed our commissioner to hasten our people's satisfaction in settling the church government." The estates immediately acted on the hint, episcopacy was the grievance, episcopacy alone; for in rites, in ceremonies, in doctrines and in discipline, the least possible difference existed between the presbyterians—not the Cameronians—and the church. Ten days after the receipt of the letter, "our sovereigne lord and lady the king and queen's majesties, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, did thereby abolish prelacie, and all superiority of any office in the church in this kingdom above presbyters." Still the incumbents of the parishes were not legislated against, the only means used to oust them was the test of prayers for the king and queen: but a few days after the act against "prelacie," parishioners were incited by the council to cite their disobedient ministers before them.

"This was a direct encouragement to the discontented and malicious to become inquisitors and informers against the clergy. Citations were soon prepared, they were summoned to appear within a specified day, and those who refused were

Digitized by Google

to be deprived for contumacy; those who obeyed, and came prepared with defences, were treated in the most summary manner, unless they could prove that they had literally complied with all the terms of the proclamation; 'so this,' says the venerable historian Skinner, 'drove out most of the parochial clergy in the counties of Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Perth, besides some in Aberdeen and Moray, who had been particularly informed against.'"—*Lawson*, pp. 99—100.

Another means of turning out the incumbents, was indeed worthy of the privy council. A fast was ordered on a particular Sunday, the reason, the sins of the times, and amongst them episcopacy was hinted at. Few who had any regard for episcopacy, or understood the primitive design of the festival of the Lord's day, were likely either to read the proclamation or observe the fast. Hence a new mode of ejecting the Clergy without an open persecution.

Two months after the abolition of Prelacy, a further step was made towards the disestablishment of the Church.

"On the 19th of September an order was published 'signifying his Majesty's royal pleasure that warrant be given to Alexander Hamilton, of Kinkell, one of the leaders in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, to *draw and uplift the tithes and other rents of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and that fit persons be appointed for drawing and uplifting the tithes and rents of the other bishoprics for the present crop*, 1689.' By this proclamation, more oppressive than any measure recorded in the ecclesiastical annals of Scotland—for even the popish bishops at the Reformation were allowed to retain two-thirds of their revenues, at their own valuation—'*payment of any rent or duty to archbishops, bishops, deans, or any others of superior order and dignity in the Church above presbyters*' was prohibited, and 'fit persons' were appointed to receive the 'teinds, rental bolls, fens, blanch, or lack duties formerly paid to the bishops and others aforesaid.' This seizure of all the episcopal and other revenues by the Exchequer, without allowing their legal possessors the smallest portion for their subsistence, was followed by an act of the 29th of December, which deprived the parochial incumbents of any 'chance of recovering their current stipends, or bygone arrears, which were most unjustly detained from them, to the utter starving of many a poor family,' who, if they had no private resources, were left to be supported by the charity of their friends."—*Lawson*, pp. 100, 101.

One more act only was wanting to complete the disestablishment of the Church; and ere the new parliament of the year "ninety" had sat a month, an act was passed giving the presbyterians ejected since January, 1661, "free access to their churches, that they might presently exercise the ministry in those parishes, without any new call thereto; and allowing them to bruike and enjoy the benefices and stipends thereunto belonging, and that for the hail crop, 1689."

The majority of persons whose principles and feelings have attached them to the Church, have ever regarded with the deepest regret the disestablishment of the Church in Scotland; and not a few, whilst they could not but admire the firm spirit which dictated the refusal of William's terms, by the Scottish bishops, have been inclined to find fault with them for not bowing to the fashion of the times. Has, however, the Church really lost by her disestablishment?—has she not rather been a gainer by the persecution? Accustomed, as we happily are, to look upon our Liturgy and our discipline as so intimately connected with our episcopate, as to appear an essential

Digitized by Google

element of the episcopal principle, we are hardly prepared to learn that at the time of the Revolution, that from the Restoration to the coming of William of Orange, the Church in Scotland was in no respect, save in its episcopal succession, different from the presbyterians; that, to use Mr. Lawson's words, "*there was scarcely an outward distinction between the episcopalians and presbyterians, in faith, worship, or discipline.*" This fact, of the truth of which we will offer some evidence, must go far to lessen our regret for the disestablishment of the Church in Scotland; when we compare her state as established, with the unity of discipline, faith, and ceremonies which she now exhibits in her poor but primitive form.

The attempt to introduce the English Liturgy in 1637, every one knows was a failure; during the troubles that followed so quickly, the strong arm of military power kept the country quiet in religious matters. Cromwell was not likely to tolerate the meetings of the presbyterian ministers. He who had braved the English commons, needed not to fear such as them. Anon came the return of Charles the Second and the establishment of the Church.

"At the Restoration, when the Church was established, *no Liturgy or public form of prayer was introduced*, and no presbyterian could plead a violation of his conscience by acknowledging that to which he might entertain conscientious objections. The Liturgy of the Church of England ..... was indeed used in some places, *but it was with the consent and approbation of the people.* Some of the parochial incumbents compiled forms of prayer for the use of their respective congregations, with some petitions and collects, taken from the English Liturgy: *but this was merely optional, and the prayers were generally extempore, or said in the same manner as those who reject a Liturgy and set forms of prayer.* All the Clergy, however, concluded their prayers, whether previously arranged or not, with the Lord's prayer, which was followed by singing the Doxology."—*Lawson*, pp. 50, 51.

To the Lord's prayer and the doxology some of the stricter presbyterians had a great objection, as formal and superstitious. Sometimes even this was conceded to their tender consciences. But to continue our quotations relating to liturgies and ceremonies.*

"It is further to be observed, that there were no organs in the parish churches; for the cathedrals, with three exceptions, had been almost demolished by the leaders of the Reformation, and their destructive followers, in the preceding century. Perhaps the only exception, at least one of the very few with respect to organs, was the abbey church of Holyrood House. *There were no fixed communion tables; neither the Bishops nor the Clergy wore their episcopal robes and surplices during the ordinary performance of divine service: and it is not even certain whether the latter wore black gowns, though it appears from various cotemporary portraits, that the Bishops did so on ordinary occasions.* As there was no Liturgy, no responses were made, or expected to be made, by the congregation. The two sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist were

* This objection is retained to the present day. But lately, Dr. Andrew Thomson presbyterian minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, has stated in one of his sermons, that the Lord's Prayer is a Jewish, and not a Christian prayer; and therefore cannot with propriety be introduced into christian worship. A similar objection is taken to reading portions of the Bible in public worship. They come to hear sermons, not to listen to God's word.

Digitized by Google

administered by both episcopalians and presbyterians, nearly in the same manner, *without signing the cross in the one or kneeling at the other.* Only when administering Baptism, the Episcopal clergy required an assent to the Apostles' Creed, as the ground of the infant's religious education, a condition to which no presbyterian could reasonably object."—*Lawson*, p. 52.

Again, as to discipline.

"The dioceses were composed of presbyteries, as the synods are at the present time. Every parish had its kirk session, at the head of which was the incumbent. The presbyteries of the several dioceses were constituted in much the same manner as they are at present under the presbyterian system; and in these presbyteries the moderator or chairman was always nominated by the bishop of the diocese. In the provincial diocesan synods, the bishop always presided, or in his absence the dean, or some one by his appointment; and in the general assemblies, whenever the Government deemed it expedient that such convocations should be held, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, as Primate of all Scotland and Metropolitan, would have presided as moderator, especially if the meeting had been held in any town in his own or in his suffragan dioceses."—*Lawson*, pp. 54, 55.

Thus, then, with the exception of the episcopal title and the canonical succession through the episcopal functions, the Scottish Church at the period of the Revolution was as little analogous to that of the present day, as it was similar to the presbyterian government. Well indeed might Calamy say, when he heard of the conduct of the Scottish Church and that of the presbyterians, "What would our brethren in Scotland be at? what would they have? Would to God that we had these offers." What, then, would have been the consequence of the continuation of the establishment of the Church by William of Orange? We cannot shut our eyes to the general effect of the principles of the revolution on the Church in England, an effect we are now struggling to counteract. And yet in her case no dissenter could claim her as like to his religion in her ceremonies or her doctrine, however different her constitution might be. In Scotland, on the contrary, these principles—the principles of parliament sovereigns, and parliament churches—would have acted on a form of religion hardly distinguishable from that of its dissenters, and daily would the one have fallen to the other; the latter have encroached upon the former. Disestablished, persecuted, abased, and reviled, the Church of Scotland retained the canonicity of her succession, whilst taught by adversity the folly and the danger of lowering her worship to the standard of her enemies, "if that perchance she might gain one;" and convinced that where she gained one straggler from the hostile ranks, she lost a company from her own, by degrees she assumed that form in which she now appears, "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of her people."

The act of 1690, by which the revenues of the bishops, deans, and chapters, was vested in the crown, having effectually disestablished the episcopal government in the Scottish church, and given a legal right to the ejected presbyterians of 1661 to return to their manses and enjoy the hail crop of the last year should the benefice be already empty, and if not, to evict the incumbent and share with him

Digitized by Google

"to the half of the stipend due and payable at Martinmas last," the presbyterians proceeded to further attacks on such of the clergy as still retained their cures and offices in the universities. Early in June the Westminster Confession was approved of by the estates, the presbyterian general assembly restored to legal existence, and summoned for the October of that year, vesting the entire ecclesiastical government in the hands of those ministers who during Cromwell's time had possessed themselves of their benefices in violation of the law, and who were now replaced by the acts of the estates, in the same cures from which they had been expelled nine and twenty years before. To these presbyters all power was conceded, and especially of appointing "*visitors to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process and censure.*" These ministers were of course the episcopal clergy, and no portion of the act occasioned more debate than this clause, which vested the entire power in the originally expelled presbyterians. The following account of the debate shows how far the boast of kirkmen of their faith being at the revolution that of the "greatest and best of the people, and indeed of the majority," is true as regarded the nobility of the kingdom.

"A petition was presented from those of the episcopal clergy who were disposed to transfer their allegiance to King William, but it was unceremoniously rejected. Another member proposed that at least those ministers then alive who had been deposed by their own judicatories before the re-establishment of episcopacy at the restoration, should not be included among the number of those who were to become judges by this act. This amendment was also rejected, though strenuously supported by the Duke of Hamilton. 'For what was this,' said his grace, 'but, instead of fourteen prelatical bishops, to give unlimited authority to fifty or sixty presbyterian ones, from whom the episcopal clergy could expect little justice and less mercy.' The debate upon the hardships inflicted on those of the clergy who had been expelled from their benefices by the mob was also particularly strong. The incumbents had been ..... represented as having *deserted* their parishes..... In supporting a supplication from these unfortunate clergymen, presented by Sir P. Scott of Aucrum, the Duke of Hamilton said, 'It was wonderful to call these men *deserters*, when it was notorious all the kingdom over that they were driven away by the most barbarous violence; and it was no less wonderful to declare their churches vacant because of their being removed from them. For what could be the sense of the word *removed*, in this case, but neither more nor less than *rabbled*, and what might the world think of the justice of the parliament, if it should sustain that as a sufficient ground for declaring their churches vacant?' Notwithstanding the arguments and remonstrances of the duke, the clause in the act was carried by a considerable majority. The duke indignantly told the house, 'that he was sorry he should have ever sat in a Scottish parliament where such naked iniquity was to be established into a law; and it grieved him to the heart to consider what a reflection this act would bring upon the Government and justice of the House.' His grace immediately retired, followed by several members; and when it was proposed to vote the whole act entire, the Duke of Queensbury, the Earls of Linlithgow and Belcarras, and many gentlemen, also withdrew, and would not vote. Only a few remained to vote against the act." —*Lawson*, pp. 106, 107.

This absence of all strenuous opposition to this important act may

Digitized by Google

seem matter of surprise. It must be remembered that so many blows had already been struck against the Church, that not only did defence seem no longer hopeful, but a number of votes in its favour had been lost by the abolition of prelacy. The gentry, too, disaffected to the new form of government, had retired to their estates, and the silence with which the Earl of Linlithgow's bill for the toleration of the clergy, "and permission to worship God after their own manner," had been received in the previous month, showed the episcopalians the uselessness of any further opposition.

Before the parliament rose in July, the purgation commissions were extended to the universities, in which the test was to be the Westminster Confession,—and the ancient Church was at length formally deposed, and presbyterianism elevated into her place.

As soon as the session was over the persecution commenced in all its various forms. The ejected bishops quietly betook themselves to honourable and patient retirement, well satisfied with their principles, and contented to abide the result of the new laws; one, indeed, the Bishop of Galloway, followed the fortunes of James, and died at St. Germains; a few, a very few, officiated in secluded rooms of meeting in the most retired parts of the capital, and one or two of the greater towns; yet by far the greater number spent their lives in peaceful retirement, enjoying during their lives the respect and veneration of the members of the Church. The purgation committees, to whose tender mercies the four universities were committed, in some cases proceeded with violence and injustice. At St. Andrew's, Lord Crawford, who was the head of that commission, says Skinner, "acted with great harshness and severity, and was much blamed, even by his friends, for his rough uncivil behaviour to the masters, particularly the Dean, Dr. Wemyss, who had been regent five and forty years, and had taught Crawford his philosophy; yet my lord would not allow him the favour of a seat, and when the old man's infirmities obliged him to rest on the step of the stair, he sent an officer of court and made him stand." Every one was ejected from St. Andrew's, the refusal of the test had been universal. At Glasgow the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, and Lord Carmichael, "a man of temper and good breeding," had a most beneficial effect, and the zeal of his presbyterian assistants was not allowed to mar the decency of the ceremony. Whilst at Aberdeen, so strong was the attachment of the citizens to episcopacy, and so well affected were the great mass of the people, that many episcopalians were joined and acted in the commission, and the northern university was permitted to remain in the hands of its original professors. At Edinburgh everything was exactly contrary to Aberdeen. Every encouragement was given to informations, and the violence of Hall, the provost, and the ministers Kirton and Rule, increased the severity of the purgation.

The principal of the university of Edinburgh was more especially obnoxious to the kirkmen; his high character and his polemical talents rendered him the most formidable opponent of the presbyterians in

Digitized by Google

the capital. Every means was used to gather charges against him, and, after due formalities and postponements, the hatred of his opponents was digested into ten heads. He was a papist, and had renounced the protestant religion beyond the seas. He had set up the English liturgy; he was highly disaffected to the new rule, in Church and State; he had listened to Dr. Pitcairne's ridiculing of the Westminster Confession, (the bitter satire of the doctor of medicine was as unpalatable as the grave polemics of the reverend principal.) He had taken down the pictures of the protestant reformers in the college library; he had approved of somebody's *eucharistic*—they meant *eulogistic*—verses on the Prince of Wales; he was a curser and swearer; a neglecter of private worship with his family, (though accused of using the English liturgy in public and private prayer;) and last of all he had baptized a child in a neighbouring parish without sending word to the presbyterian minister. We cannot here give the doctor's refutation of this decade of libels—(see *Lawson*, pp. 114—119;) one by one he overthrew their attacks, and at last drove them to the new legal tests and oaths, and when he refused these, Crawford and Rule pronounced his deposition, and the latter shortly after occupied his chair. Eager to ruin the high character of their opponents, the presbyterians, instead of coming at once to the question of the legal tests, preferred to raise such charges against the episcopalians as were exhibited against Dr. Moore. Sometimes they were accused of having too many prayers, sometimes of using too few; do what they would it was erroneous,—and immorality, popery, and Arminianism were standard charges.

In order effectually to *purge* the parishes of the incumbents, the general assembly appointed perambulatory committees, to receive and hear the various libels which were continually being presented by some discontented spirits in every parish, against their clergyman. That a libel should be presented and received was a matter of course. However trifling the charges might be, however informal the evidence on which the libel was based, or incompetent the witnesses in the case, the libel was always proven, and deprivation awarded as the sentence. The most common charge was disaffection to the new rule, and refusal to pray for William and Mary: sometimes it was disobedience to the fasts ordered by the general assembly,—fasts to bewail the late episcopal tyranny;[1] at other times it was acting as a spy,[2] requesting to have the charges legally proven,[3] expecting a blessed reformation,[4] bringing down the rebel Dundee,[5] saying that General Mackie deserved his defeat,[6] opposing the Westminster Catechisms,[7] praying "God to have mercy on King William and

[1] Rev. D. Murray, Blackford, Perthshire.
[2] One of the ministers of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh.
[3] Rev. R. Graham, of Abercorn.
[4] Rev. Paul Gelly, of Avoth.
[5] Rev. John Cameron of Kincardine.
[6] Revs. Graham and Cowper, of Dumfermline.
[7] See Lawson, p. 129.

Digitized by Google

Queen Mary *and the royal family.*"[1] To have whisted, to have played at bowls, and broken a harmless jest, to have not persecuted his quaker parishioners, to have allowed his people to bring in kail and fan barley for the pot on the Sunday, and allowing his children to play with others on that day, were quite sufficient in the eyes of the perambulatory purgers to warrant the ejection of the clergy, and to make room for the new ministers. It was no use to object to the unconcealed malice of the witnesses by whom these charges were proved. "If these men," replied the perambulatory purgers to the ministers of Glencorse, "If these men had done so out of malice and personal prejudice, they ought not to be received as witnesses, *but if they had done it for the glory of God*, (of course they had,) *there was no reason why they ought not to be admitted.*" The presbyteries compounded their purges without ceasing. "Nothing," says an authority of the time, "came before the presbyteries, except citations and libels against episcopal ministers, and to make the greater dispatch they sat every week." The effects of these works soon began to be extensively felt; wherever the popular feeling allowed and encouraged this rabbling of the clergy, parish after parish became vacant, and deprived of the care and superintendence of its pastor. In Haddington, Dunbar, Dunse, and Chirnside, presbyteries of between twenty and thirty parishes each, hardly five presbyterian ministers were found to occupy the place of the number ejected. In Auchterarder, in the place of twenty pastors, was found one presbyterian; and when the adjoining presbytery was added, the ministers mustered only three. For twenty miles westward of Perth, said Sir Colin Campbell, in the first general assembly, "there are but *two or three* ministers." And when to Perth were added Dunkeld and half of Auchterarder, "there were only *six ministers* qualified to meet," says the Perth MS., "and two or three ruling elders, who occasionally gave their assistance, and were people of mean station in life." Could it be necessary for the minister of a popular religion, the faith, they boasted, of the entire people, to be guarded to his pulpit by a military?[2] Is the following sketch of a cotemporary writer, a picture of a popular reformation?

"More than a third part of the churches in the kingdom wanted ministers, and the most of them for more than a year; but as if that was only a small matter, it was overlooked, and all pains and care laid out in emptying those churches where episcopal ministers continued to preach. Their beloved West was destitute of ministers, the churches there and in Galloway were almost all shut up; so that when the assembly met, *two ministers declared before them that where they lived there was not so much as the face of a church, there being ministers but themselves and one other.* Yet none were sent thither, but they showed greater inclination to seat themselves in the Lothians and the south of Scotland, which is indeed a better country, but where there was less room for them, and where they were not so acceptable to the people. It was sad and

---

Rev. William Cairns, Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh.

Mr. John Anderson, appointed by the presbytery to Perth. Hospital Registers. Perth MS., pp. 175, 177. Lawson, p. 135.

Digitized by Google

lamentable to see so many desolate congregations in all parts of the land, such multitudes of persons without the gospel, and without the direction of pastors; and yet they (the presbyterians) would endeavour to deprive those of this blessing, who by divine providence had still it continued with them. However, they did this either to force the people to join with them when none other could be had, or, being conscious of their own ignorance and inability, they thought it neither fit nor their interest to tolerate those who were more judicious, and who could accustom the people to sensible and solid discourses, which held forth the true nature and design of the Gospel, and which armed people against fanatical delusions. When some were asked why they studied to cast out all the episcopal clergy, seeing they could not yet supply their churches; and why they would preach in a meeting-house, where there was an episcopal minister unblameable in his life and doctrine, and draw the people from him, rather than go to another parish which wanted a pastor altogether, it was answered—*There was less prejudice, both to the church and the people, by the want of preaching, than by the preaching of men of episcopal principles and persuasions; and Mr. Frazer of Brae, in a sermon before the parliament, declared—That it was better that the temple of the Lord should be sometime unbuilt and unrepaired, than be reared by Gibeonites and Samaritans.*"—*Lawson*, pp. 135, 136.

No one can read this description of the state of religion in Scotland, and bear in mind the extraordinary charges to which the libellers of the clergy were driven, and the opposition which was shown to the acts of the perambulatory purgers in many parts of the country, without perceiving the unfair grounds on which it has so long been credited that the whole Scottish nation welcomed presbyterianism as a boon, and felt the episcopal establishment to be an "intolerable grievance." We cannot here go through the very numerous instances adduced by our historian of the determined resistance of the people in various dioceses to the ejection of the clergy and the intrusion of the presbyterian ministers; nor can we stay to enumerate the localities in which, so strong was the popular feeling in favour of the Church, that for very many years the clergy were allowed to retain their benefices, in opposition to the new regime; but we cannot but feel the complete refutation of the popularity of the kirk at the revolution which Mr. Lawson's facts afford, and the additional evidence they give to the truth of William's declaration that the great body of the people were in favour of the Church and opposed to presbyterianism. We must not be deceived. The Scottish people were relieved from no temporal burthens by the change of religion; they only placed the crown in the place of the Church: neither did they desire this change before it was recognised by law, and every day showed them how great was their loss, when they had once been parties to this resignation of their Christian privileges and benefits. By law, the kirk was established; by law, against the wishes of the nation.

"If it is asked," says Mr. Lawson, "how it happened that the descendants of those who so zealously stood out for the Church in several districts should have merged into the presbyterian establishment, various reasons might be assigned. One has always appeared of importance to the present writer, and this was the want of a liturgy in the public service of the Church. The mode of divine worship followed by the parochial episcopal clergy was nearly the same as that practised by the presbyterians, and in many places the people did

Digitized by Google

not understand the difference in fundamental principle and constitution. *There can be little doubt that the want of a liturgy in the episcopal Church of Scotland was at that period a very great misfortune.* The presbyterian establishment had the advantage of being supported by political power and the law; its incumbents were now entitled to all the temporalities of the ejected clergy, and not a few of them took advantage of the credulity of the people by representing that there was no essential difference between their system and the Church. To these and other reasons may be added the prosecutions to which the clergy were frequently subjected in the legal courts, and the various discouragements which the Church encountered when it was repeatedly smitten to the ground by the ruling powers, and discountenanced in every possible manner."—*Lawson*, pp. 148, 149.

Our space forbids us, however unwilling, to do more than notice the further proceedings of the government and the general assembly during the remainder of the reign of William. The conversation between Forbes of Culloden and the king, (*Lawson*, 170—173,) warrants us in concluding that for some years after the revolution the establishment of presbyterianism was so weak and frail as to raise doubts in the king's mind of the policy of his previous conduct, and to predispose him, and to incline the leading men of rank and talent in Scotland, to the restoration of the disestablished Church. During this period—from 1690 to 1701—little is recorded of the measures of the bishops and clergy for the perpetuation of the Scottish church. Here and there, in towns and villages, the ejected pastors gathered a few followers, congregations of a few families, according to the feelings of the inhabitants, and the accommodation of the locality. Disgusted though he was with the church he had established north of the Tweed, and supporting it, as he did, merely from political motives, still William encouraged his government in discountenancing the episcopal laity, and in subjecting the clergy to many hardships.

The accession of Queen Anne in 1702, seemed likely to heal matters. The Jacobites willingly gave their allegiance to her, as a quasi regent for the chevalier; and the Church naturally looked for help from one who had the reputation of churchmanship. The presbyterians, on the contrary, "looked upon themselves as undone." Aware of Anne's opinions, conscious of the disrespect with which they had treated her in William's life, acquainted with the preference of churchmen to rank and place in England, they had recourse to their pulpits, and preached unceasingly to the people to stand by them, and not desert *Christ's cause*, as they styled their faith and constitution. A change of ministry soon followed in Scotland, and a letter from the queen to the Scottish privy council bad the members of the two faiths live in amity together, and expressed the queen's desire that those episcopal incumbents who submitted to the government, and still retained their cures, might remain unmolested in their incumbencies. In this letter the presbyterians pretended to see the intended overthrow of their establishment, and made use of this false alarm to secure a preponderance of their party in the first Scottish parliament of Queen Anne. Favourable, however, as were these sentiments of the queen, no one could deem them to intend aught

Digitized by Google

more than a qualified toleration, a protection from legal prosecution, for the clergy and laity of the Scottish Church. It wanted but the taking off of the hand of active persecution to recall the church feeling. Although no edict of toleration had appeared, the queen's letter was immediately followed by the rise of numerous congregations and chapels in the capital and the other great towns of the kingdom. The death of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in 1704, drew the attention of the surviving prelates to the necessity of perpetuating the Church. Warned, as they say in their letters of consecration, of the daily decreasing numbers of the episcopate, and of the constant approach of sorrows, sickness, and age, on the few yet remaining, Archbishop Paterson, and Bishops Rose and Douglas, consecrated Fullarton and Sage, as bishops of the Church in Scotland. As long as any one of the ejected prelates lived, the new bishops were to exercise no diocesan power, nor to be appointed to any district. The sole object of the consecration was to preserve the apostolical succession. Two years after the union, the deaths of Archbishop Paterson and Bishop Hay, and the mental infirmities of Bishop Hallyburton, of Aberdeen, rendered a fresh consecration requisite; Falconer and Christie were therefore added to the number of the prelates on whom the care of the Scottish Church rested.

Immediately after the Union, the English liturgy began to be adopted as the general service-book of the Scottish Church. Considering how slight was the difference between that liturgy which had been attempted to be introduced in Laud's time, from the Anglican Service-book, it was deemed expedient by the Church in Scotland to lessen the distinction between herself and her English sister, by the adoption of the ritual more universally known, and which would enable the English churchmen to enjoy the benefits of their own common prayer in the communion of that branch of the Church which existed in the northern kingdom. The adoption of the liturgy was the signal of persecution. The presbyterians were hot against such an innovation, the general assembly denounced it, the government assisted in imprisoning the clergy, and shutting up their chapels. The gradual increase in number and violence of the episcopalian persecutions, at length compelled the crown to interfere in their defence, and to pass the toleration act of 1712. By the united parliament that relief was given to the Church which was denied by the Scotch estates, and the Toleration Act rendered the episcopal chapels legal, permitted the use of our liturgy, and sanctioned the performance of baptism and marriage by clergymen of the Church. The recognition of the queen, and the praying for her by name, were the chief terms on which these privileges were granted. The presbyterians were immediately in arms, and by every means endeavoured to prevent "the rising of the towers of episcopacy through the land." It is needless to particularize the conduct of that party, as well previous as subsequent to the Act of Toleration; let us rather cite one nstance of a kind, a conscientious, an able opponent.

Digitized by Google

"Dr. Carstairs, or Cardinal Carstairs, as he was popularly called, was a very distinguished man, and much superior to the ordinary mass of his party. In a sermon on the opening of the general assembly, in 1709, says Wodrow, 'he recommended charity and ingenuity in dealing with those of the episcopal communion who did not think fit to join with us, and avoiding harshness and bitterness of spirit towards them; and told us that morosity and disingenuity will no way recommend us in dealing with them, which expressions some looked upon as what contained a tacit reflection on ourselves.' Although, perhaps, the most efficient enemy the episcopal Church of Scotland ever had, it is related of him that he continually exercised deeds of charity towards her unfortunate clergy. When his body was laid in the grave, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh, in 1715, two persons were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, burst into tears, and lament their mutual loss. They were ascertained to be episcopal clergymen, whose families had been supported a considerable time by his benefactions."—*Lawson*, p. 191.

How far more consoling is it to linger over such a sketch as this, than to collate instance upon instance, alas, too numerous, of cruelty on the one side and suffering on the other! Quum talis sis, utinam noster esses. If we may judge from Wodrow's lamentations, to his friend Cotton Mather, in America, the state of the presbyterians was far from encouraging at the time of the passing of the Toleration Act and the restoration of the rights of patrons in their communion. "Upon the late change of ministry," says Wodrow, "we had a very unfavourable change in our parliament-men from Scotland, many of whom, with the highflyers in England, are catching at every thing whereby they may encroach upon this (presbyterian) church. We have boundless toleration put upon us . . . . *and the English service is setting up in all corners of the land.*" Though many of the clergy could not conscientiously enjoy its full benefits, yet so long as they acted peaceably, they obtained protection from state prosecutions, and the presbyterians could no longer agitate on the question of the English Liturgy; peace, if not prosperity, was enjoyed by the Church during the queen's reign; her succession was continued and maintained, and her clergy became the more zealous in her cause, as the cord of persecution being loosened, poverty alone remained to test the sincerity of her professors.

The death of the queen and the accession of George the First, was hailed with joy by the kirk, but regarded with silent sorrow by the Church. Sherrifmuir and Preston soon added to their distresses and despair. Almost to a man in favour of the prince, and ready to show their allegiance on the first opportunity, they had hastened into the chevalier's service, acted as chaplains in his army, prayed for him in their chapels, and even fought in his ranks; and therefore on them the measures of the new government were, of necessity, vigorous. For a few years, however, the government were content with closing those chapels where the king's name was omitted in the service; and it was not until the report of a renewal of the attempt, in 1719, that imprisonment was enforced against every clergyman who did not take the oaths required by the Act of Toleration, and that every meeting of nine persons was declared to be a meeting-house within the terms of the enactment. Still, however, the prosecutions were far from

Digitized by Google

severe; again the Church continued her episcopal succession unrestrained; and it was more often the injudicious conduct of the sufferer than the enmity of the government, that brought upon the clergy the pains and penalties of the statutes.

The death of Bishop Rose, in 1720, gave rise to a series of discussions, and eventually to two parties in the Church of Scotland, that went nigh to bring that holy society to a state of helpless division. Without entering into minute particulars, we will endeavour to give a sketch of the dissensions in the Church from 1720 to the concordat of 1732.

As none of the bishops elected during the life of Bishop Rose had been endowed with diocesan rule, they had been consecrated solely to continue the succession. On that bishop's death, there was no ecclesiastical jurisdiction vested in any of the then bishops in Scotland. Hence arose two questions, whether the primitive diocesan jurisdiction should be restored, or the Church be henceforward governed by the College of Bishops. With this was mixed up the question of the usages: 1. The mixing of water with wine in the cup; 2. The commemoration of the dead in the Communion Service; 3. The consecrating the elements of express invocation; and, lastly, The use of the oblatory prayer before administering, as in the present communion office of the Church in Scotland. The College party, as they were called, who opposed the diocesan division and the admission of the usages, were Bishops Falconer, Fullarton, Miller, and Irvine, whom the clergy of Edinburgh had recognised as the episcopal college on the death of Bishop Rose, to the exclusion of Bishops Campbell and Gadderer, whose residence in England seems to have been the main cause of their omission; with this party the chevalier and his "trustees," as his three acting representatives in Scotland were called, agreed. The diocesan party were Drs. Campbell and Gadderer, and the majority of the clergy; and to the residence of the former among the non-jurors of our country may be attributed their adhesion to the usuages.

The first act of the presbyters of the capital was to elect a diocesan over themselves, after a vain attempt to refer the decision to the bishops themselves. Bishop Fullarton was then chosen as diocesan of Edinburgh and primus of the ecclesiastical synods. According to custom, the proceedings were represented to the chevalier, and his approbation was obtained. Further than this the Church was not willing to admit of his interference, nor could he ever obtain from them the right of previous consent and approval in all episcopal nominations, however willing they might be to receive his approbation after the presbyters had elected their pastor. In the same year Bishops Falconer and Campbell were respectively elected diocesans of Forfar and Kincardine and Aberdeen, though the latter soon after resigned, and Bishop Gadderar was promoted in his place. Notwithstanding these elections, the idea of the government of the Church by the College of Bishops was not abandoned.

Digitized by Google

"On the contrary," says Mr. Lawson, "it was attempted by a party, and it was sanctioned by the Chevalier and some of his advisers. There can be little doubt that the Bishops who were in favour of diocesan government were as strongly attached to the cause of the Chevalier as the college party; but they considered that in their then circumstances, as entirely unconnected with the state, it was the inherent right of the clergy to elect their diocesans to whom they were to render canonical obedience; and also that the idea of a church governed by such a college, the members of which might be increased by intrigues or dissensions, was not only preposterous, but might be attended by the most disastrous consequences."—*Lawson*, p. 228.

This power over the most venerable and respected Church of Scotland, which the chevalier might have obtained through the college scheme, was too great a bait to be resisted by the prince and his advisers; and the consequent superiority of that party, for a time, was mainly due to the expectations of the coming again of the chevalier, and the consequent increase of his interest among the episcopal laity and clergy in the country. On the death of Bishop Falconer, no new diocesan was elected, and Bishops Fullarton and Gadderar alone retained diocesan authority in the Church. Several new consecrations of Freebairn, Cant, Duncan, and Irvine, increased the votes of the college party; and a few years after, notwithstanding the opposition and protest of Bishops Fullarton, Gadderar, and Millar, two other presbyters, Mr. Rose and Mr. Ochterlonie, were added to the list of bishops, chiefly on the recommendation of the chevalier, and for the purpose of strengthening the college party.

In July, 1726, the chevalier had written to the bishops, forbidding all diocesan superintendence without his permission, and giving his orders for the election of a Mr. Gillan into the episcopal order. Four of the bishops seemed willing to acquiesce, and had it not been for the strenuous opposition of Bishop Gadderar, the college party, evidently now Erastian, would have triumphed. By argument and ceaseless exertion, Bishop Gadderar at length roused up a strenuous opposition among the presbyters, brought Bishop Millar over to his views, and rendered Bishop Cant very lukewarm on the college side. Gillan's consecration was delayed, and a powerful party were now taking their stand on the primitive ecclesiastical constitution—to contend for diocesan episcopacy—and to maintain the right of the presbyters to elect their bishops, the Church being disestablished, and, in their eyes, the throne unoccupied.

"In this excited state was the Scottish episcopal church at the death of its venerable primus, Bishop Fullarton, in May, 1727. On the 5th of that month, probably the day of the Bishop's funeral, the presbyters of Edinburgh met at the summons of their Archdeacon, for the purpose of electing a successor to their diocesan. As the Archdeacon had been appointed by Bishop Fullarton, he considered himself as *functus officio*, for he immediately left the chair, and a preses was chosen. It was proposed to proceed immediately to the election, without any reference to the Chevalier and his 'Trustees,' when one presbyter left the meeting, because, in his opinion, it was called by no authority. All the rest remained, and some of them argued against the election, requesting time for deliberation. The vote was then taken to *proceed* or *delay*, when the former was carried by *twenty-one* to *ten;* and the minority immediately rose,

Digitized by Google

protested against the meeting, as not convened by canonical authority, and withdrew."—*Lawson*, p. 253.

The twenty-one now left, unanimously elected Bishop Millar as their diocesan. Bishop Gadderar, the only diocesan left, approved of the election; and thus the first blow was struck at the college system. Nothing daunted, the college bishops appointed Bishop Freebairn as interim superintendent of the diocese; and the question of right arose again. "No clergyman out of Scotland," says Bishop Russell, "we believe, ever supposed that a number of men admitted to the *order* of bishops, but to whom, as individuals, the government of *no part* of the Church was committed, had, as a *body* or *college*, a right to claim the government of the *whole*." Such, however, was the claim of the college party, who, to support their party, now consecrated Mr. Gillan and Mr. Rankine, bishops, without dioceses. The diocesan party were, however, now very strong; and, encouraged by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, Cant, and Campbell, Dunkeld and Moray elected Dr. Rattray and Mr. Dumbar, as their diocesans, and the presbyters of Edinburgh chose Dr. Keith as coadjutor to their aged prelate. Before the year had expired, the aged bishop of Edinburgh died; and the college party made one more attempt to procure the election of one of their own party, whilst the other side endeavoured to turn the election on the coadjutor, Dr. Keith. Both were disappointed, as their old archdeacon, Lumsden, was chosen by the presbyters to be their diocesan. The college party felt they were losing ground, and that every year rendered them weaker, especially as the oft-expected restoration was still delayed. At length, in the year 1731, they intimated an inclination to enter into terms of agreement by which the dispute might be satisfactorily adjusted, for the future peace of the Church. The junior bishops on either side met and drew up the concordate, by the signature of which, May the 13th, 1732, internal peace was restored to the Church in Scotland.

"The contents of this important document are given by Mr. Skinner; they are intitled, 'Articles of Agreement amongst the Bishops of the Church of Scotland,' to the following effect:—I. That we shall only make use of the Scottish or English Liturgy in the public divine service; nor shall we disturb the peace of the church by introducing into the public worship any of the ancient usages, concerning which there has been lately a difference amongst us; and we shall censure any of our clergy who shall act otherwise. II. That hereafter no man shall be consecrated a Bishop of this church without the consent and approbation of the majority of the other Bishops. III. That upon the demise and removal elsewhere of a Bishop of any district, the presbyters thereof shall neither elect, nor intrust to another Bishop, without a mandate from the Primus, by consent of the other Bishops. IV. That the Bishops of this church shall, by a majority of voices, choose their Primus, for convocating and presiding only; and that no Bishop shall claim jurisdiction without the bounds of his own district. The Vth Article chooses Bishop Freebairn as Primus; and the last assigns the various dioceses amongst the Bishops. To this arrangement, by which the boundaries of the ancient dioceses are preserved, is added, '*By the foresaid division of districts we do not pretend to claim any legal title to dioceses.*'"—*Lawson*, pp. 257, 258.

Digitized by Google

"From this time the collegiate system fell to pieces every day," says Mr. Skinner, "and primitive diocesan episcopacy revived, though not to the former legal extent, yet as far as the circumstances of the Church required or allowed."

The disputes among the members of the Church were, naturally, hailed with joy by the presbyterians, and the united state of their communion referred to with satisfaction. At the time when the Church divisions were healed by the concordate, the presbyterians were planting the seeds of dissent in their communion, which so soon after produced the numerous secession sects with which their kirk is tainted in the present day. The Seceders, that numerous and powerful sect of the presbyterians, began to divide from their elder brethren at the time when the Church was once more reunited by the concordate of 1732. The admissions of such seceding men among the presbyterians as Wodrow, are proofs that at this time the kirkmen did not regard their establishment as secure; and they clearly show that in many districts, especially towards the north, the presbyterians were very far from certain of the attachment of the people. "Laying all these together," says Wodrow, after a catalogue of "episcopalian encroachments," "I fear a very few years will bring about a terrible change in this church, and the inclination, for the most part, will be for bringing in the English Services among us; and some think, were it not for the listlessness of the English as to any worship, and their apprehensions that it is not safe at present to break in upon this reserved article of the Union, we had had prelacies and ceremonies amongst us by this time. The Lord pity us!" The Church congregations at this time were numerous, and supported by the highest and best of the land; and had not the enterprise of the year '45 worked that fatal discouragement to the Church, from which it did not recover for more than half a century, Wodrow's fears might have had some chance of eventual realization.

During the next ten years no event of any consequence occurs in the history of the Scottish Church. Externally, the Church enjoyed peace and security. The absence of any new attempts against the house of Hanover had calmed the fears of the adherents of that line, and rendered them less eager in enforcing the laws against the followers of the Stuarts. The presbyterians were too much engaged with the rapid increase of the secession from their own communion, to bestow much attention on the Church; and the troubles of the Porteus riot occupied their minds, to the general exclusion of any thoughts about their adversaries.

"During that period," says Bishop Russell, "her clergy were numerous, and many of them learned, whilst her chapels were frequented by all orders of the people, from the highest peer to the lowest peasant, even judges and magistrates joining in her worship. Although the king was not prayed for by *name*, and although by far the greater number of the clergy were attached to the exiled prince, political opinions, respecting the rights of the sovereign, were at no period, at least after the extinction of the college party, made terms of communion. Some even of the clergy, and, indeed, one of the most learned

Digitized by Google

among them, disclaimed the very idea of *indefeasible hereditary right*, and declared that they thought the sovereign who afforded protection to the people, was in return intitled to their allegiance and prayers; but such clergymen were restrained from deviating from the general practice of their fathers and brethren by the *oath of abjuration*, which, supposing a kind of right, that, if possessed by any one, they could not but think was possessed by him whom they were called on to abjure, they could not take; and without taking the *oath of abjuration*, as well as of *allegiance*, the praying for king George by name would have been no advantage to them whatever. Of all this the magistrates, to whom was intrusted the execution of the laws, were fully sensible, and therefore they seldom if ever enforced the penal part of the Act of Queen Anne."

In the year '43, some temporary discussion arose in the Church connected with the passing of the canons of that year, in which the terms of the concordate were included, and the attempt which was unsuccessfully, made to introduce a non-juring bishop, of the name of Smith, into the episcopal college of Scotland. We must be content with referring our readers to Mr. Lawson's sixteenth chapter, for a full account of this unseemly discussion.

At this moment of peace and prosperity the enterprise of the year '45 broke upon the Church. In a few months, the best blood of Scotland flowed on the field and the scaffold—estates were forfeited—families alienated and exiled—and the Church proscribed and persecuted, as if none but its ministers and members had been concerned in the disastrous enterprise. The victor of Culloden, on his march to the north, closed every episcopal chapel, and incited the people to burn and destroy these humble edifices. In an incredibly short time, every chapel in Scotland had been ransacked and closed, either by the military or the mob, and the majority of the clergy and laity insulted and personally maltreated. In the summer of the year 1746 the act against the Scottish Church was passed. Every episcopal minister must register his letters of orders, pray for the king by name, and take every oath required by law, under pain of six months' imprisonment for the first offence, and transportation for life on a second conviction. By the act of George I. eight persons besides the family were necessary to constitute a congregation within the terms of the act; now it was reduced to five, and a further penalty was exacted from any member of a congregation who attended an unlicensed minister, and did not turn informer. One more blow was required, and that was now struck. The only legal letters of orders were henceforth to be those of a bishop of the English or Irish Church; by this clause the Church in Scotland was declared by parliament to be no church. In this attempt to annihilate the Church succession, its opponents were disappointed. Within a year of the passing of this persecuting act, Mr. Gerard was elected by the presbyters of Aberdeen as their bishop, and consecrated by Bishops White, Falconer, Rait, and Alexander. Under the supposition that the Scottish letters of orders, if registered before the 1st of September, would be legal under the new act, several of the clergy who had not been very conspicuous in the late political disturbances, registered their letters;

Digitized by Google

took the oaths, and endeavoured to render their chapels legal places of worship. This was not what the government wished; and, consequently, in the year 1748, the act was revised and amended. All Scottish letters of orders, whether registered or not, were declared illegal, and even private chaplains, except presbyterians, were forbidden. It was in vain that the English bishops threw out the obnoxious clause; the influence of Lord Hardwicke, supported by all the representative peers of Scotland, obtained its replacement. It was in vain that Bishops Sherlock and Maddox spoke of the poverty that must, of necessity, fall on the Scottish clergy, were they thus forbidden from following their calling. With equal cruelty and ignorance they were told by several peers, that these clergy might pursue any base or servile labour, or take orders again in England and Ireland. "This clause," said Bishop Maddox, "was fraught with such dangerous consequences to the public, and such great hardships upon private men, that I can, neither as a Christian, a churchman, an Englishman, a faithful subject to his majesty, nor as a man of any humanity, give my consent to its being passed into a law." "This clause," said Dr. Secker, "seems, in my opinion, to arrogate to the civil authority a power to determine whether a priest has been duly and regularly ordained, or a bishop consecrated—a question with which no true member of the Church of England will allow the civil authority to have any thing to do. *It is the Church only that can determine this question; and if the Church determines that a priest has been duly and regularly ordained, he ought not by any civil authority to be debarred the exercise of his function, provided he conforms in every other respect to the law.*" These arguments were in vain; the presbyterians were in power, and they were determined to deny the privilege of political repentance to their opponents. In the time of Charles II. the acceptance of the indulgence enabled any presbyterian to retain his parish church. It was not so now, when presbyterianism was established and episcopacy degraded, as far as man could effect either the one or the other. The clergy submitted with meekness to the calamities they could not avert; and whilst they administered the holy rites privately and without ostentation, they trusted to better times and the superintending providence of their divine Master.

"So vigilantly were the clergy watched after the passing of the clause in 1748, that it was with the utmost difficulty they could celebrate any of the services of religion. There are instances of individual clergymen performing public worship no less than sixteen times in one day; the sacrament of baptism was often administered in the woods, and the holy communion with the greatest privacy. Confirmations were held with closed doors in private houses, and divine service often performed in the open air, in the northern counties, amid the mountains or in the recesses of forests.—The expedients adopted to evade the law, which liberally allowed the clergy four hearers, besides the members of the family, in celebrating divine service, were various and ingenious. In some cases, in several districts, the people were congregated at the mansions of noblemen and gentlemen. The service was performed by the officiating clergyman in a large room on the ground floor, in which were the clergyman,

Digitized by Google

the family, and four persons. The window-frames, however, were removed, and as many as could look in or hear from the outside listened and responded. If the apartment communicated by wide folding doors with another room, the doors were removed for the time, and that room was filled with people, who could hear and see with the greatest ease, while in the other apartment were only the clergyman, the family, and four persons. If the apartment was not so constructed, the passages and staircases were crowded with auditors, and every spot in the vicinity of the room where the pastor's voice could be heard. Sometimes divine service was celebrated under a shed, in which was the number allowed by law, while the people stood at a small distance in the open air. At times parties of people would resort to the residence of the clergyman in succession, when the service was read, and a short sermon delivered; at other times the clergyman was invited to private houses, where he found a number of people assembled in various rooms; the outer doors were instantly locked, and, stationing himself in the passage or staircase, he in this position, and elevating his voice, performed the whole service."—*Lawson*, pp. 300, 301, 302.

We have no wish to detail the severities with which the act of 1748 was put in force against the clergy of Scotland. Such as it was, carried on by a government of a christian state, professing the same religious principles, and acknowledging the same ecclesiastical government in England as it was persecuting in Scotland, it has, happily, few parallels in history. To excuse it on the score of political bias, is to overlook the plain tendency of the act of 1748, and to forget the grounds on which alone it was objected to by every English bishop. Notwithstanding the persecution, the Church in Scotland did not omit to continue her succession. Bp. White succeeded the aged Keith as primus in 1759, and the Rev. H. Edgar was consecrated his coadjutor in the same year, and succeeded him as diocesan of Fife within two years afterwards. Towards the end of the reign of George the Second, the severity of the persecution gradually ceased, and the clergy, though still under the ban of the act, did not fear boldly to evade the law, and to perform the rites of religion to their people. For some years previous to the accession of George the Third, numerous Episcopal clergy, ordained by English or Irish Bishops, had come into Scotland, and qualified themselves as ministers; Episcopalians, indeed, in orders and in title, but rather independents in principle, as declining the diocesan jurisdiction of the Scottish Bishops. The discouragement given to informations against the clergy by the ministers of George III. was productive of most salutary consequences to the Church. Chapels began to rise in the towns and greater villages, candidates for the ministry appeared, ordinations were openly held, and congregations willingly received the newly-ordained as their pastors. Opinion must have indeed undergone a marvellous change, when Bp. Falconer in 1764 could venture to consecrate a presbyterian burying-ground, and the presbytery, when duly informed of the act, could be content to reprimand those elders who had been present at the ceremony, and to allow the bishop to pass off unscathed. Little of interest occurred in the history of the church in Scotland, until the year 1784, when the blessings of Episcopacy were given to the Americans, by

Digitized by Google

the consecration of Dr. Seabury as Bishop of Connecticut.* It was this act on the part of the Scottish bishops that seems to have recalled the Church of England to a remembrance of the existence of a branch of the Church Catholic in Scotland, having the same orders and using the same Liturgy. "It first," says Bp. Skinner, "introduced me to the knowledge and acquaintance of some eminent divines of the Church of England. They were the men who thenceforth interested themselves so much in the respect of the penal statutes, and in the grievously depressed state of our Church, that, for my own part, I had only to inform them, and some invaluable and equally zealous lay friends, what my venerable colleagues and I wished to be done, and they did it."

"After the consecration of Bishop Seabury," says our author, "various plans were proposed by the friends of the Scottish episcopal church to procure the repeal of the penal laws of 1746 and 1748; but the predilections of some of the older clergy, supported by their laity, proved an obstacle as long as the Prince Charles Edward was alive. In the summer of 1786, one of the Scottish clergy resided some time in England, and held many conversations on the subject, not only with Dr. Horne, then Dean of Canterbury, (afterwards Bishop of Norwich,) and Dr. Berkeley, but with the Primate. It was the unanimous opinion of the Archbishop and the two dignitaries now named, that no attempt should be made to procure a repeal of those laws during the life of the Count of Albany, as the prince was styled, which was not then likely to be of long duration. 'When you do apply for a repeal,' said the Archbishop, 'take care not to ask for too much, lest you obtain nothing. You were happy and prosperous under Queen Anne's toleration; ask nothing more than to be again placed under its protection. Let him who shall take the lead in your favour in either house of parliament move for nothing more at first than a simple repeal of the laws of 1746 and 1748. These laws are so severe, and will appear so unjust, that the bare reading of them will carry the motion unanimously; and if you shall find it necessary to ask for more afterwards, more will probably be granted to you.'"—*Lawson*, p. 334.

Within eighteen months, Charles Edward expired at Rome; and despite of the vain declarations of the Cardinal Prince, the race of the Stuarts had now evidently run their course, and their claim to the throne become utterly hopeless. The Scottish Episcopalians could now offer their allegiance to the king, without infringing their own principles. Three months after the prince's death, the Bishops met at Aberdeen; and after a conference with the presbyters, resolved to pray for the reigning king and the royal family by name. Two persons alone objected. The king was informed of the fact; and in reply to the Scottish Bishops, expressed his great satisfaction at this proof of their loyalty and attachment to his person, and the Primates of Canterbury and York were humbly requested to recommend to their Bishops the repeal of the penal statutes, under which the Church in Scotland had so long groaned; and under the judicious manage-

* Wesley is generally supposed to have applied about this time to Bp. Kilgour, the primus of the Scottish church, for Episcopal consecration for two of his preachers. Mr. Lawson's account seems to negative the general report, which is further disproved by Bp. Torry, who had every opportunity of knowing Bp. Kilgour's correspondence, having never heard of Wesley's application. See Lawson, pp. 332, 333.

Digitized by Google

ment of the new primus, Dr. Skinner, who happily for the Church was elected to that high post at this eventful crisis, every person of consequence, likely to be favourably inclined to the cause, was consulted. The temporary illness of the king for a time delayed the proposed measures; but at length in April 1789, the primus and two other bishops proceeded to London, with the draught of the proposed bill, and exerted their utmost endeavours to procure its enactment. The opposition of the Presbyterians, and also of those Episcopal Independents, if such a misnomer may be allowed, who had received orders from English and Irish bishops, and refused all submission to episcopal jurisdiction, aided by the untoward conduct of Lord Thurlow, who deeming himself not sufficiently courted by the Scottish deputation, used all his tact and influence against the measure, threw out the measure in the House of Peers: nor were the attempts in the two succeeding sessions of more avail.

For four years, the promoters of the measure had to contend with the open opposition of their enemies, and the captious queries and frivolous objections of the offended chancellor. At length in 1791, after numerous petitions had been presented from the royal burghs, in favour of the measure, the Earl of Kellie, one of the representative peers, moved for leave to bring in the bill.

"Two days afterwards the bill was read a first time, without any opposition on the part of Lord Thurlow, who merely observed that some alterations would be necessary. On the 2d of May, the Earl of Elgin moved the second reading; and on this occasion, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Durham, Salisbury, St. David's, Oxford, Bangor, and Carlisle were present. After the Earl of Elgin had stated the principle of the bill to the house, and the situation of those it was intended to relieve, the Lord Chancellor left the woolsack, and in the course of his speech declared, that though he would not object to the principle of the bill, he thought it his duty to make some observations on it; and he concluded by remarking, that as the religious principles of the episcopalians 'were not sufficiently known, or at least no public evidence was given what these were, or how far they deserved that indulgence which was intended by this bill, he did not think it would be prudent to grant it on such a broad unlimited footing, as it might open a door to similar applications, and create much unnecessary trouble to the legislature.' "—*Lawson*, p. 339.

The effect of Lord Thurlow's suggestion was to introduce subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, "as the best and only means of showing in a legal manner," says Bishop Russell, "what our religious principles were." From the Reformation to the rebellion, the only confession of faith in Scotland was the twenty-five articles of Knox, ratified by the Estates in 1560 and used by both communions. During the ascendancy of the kirk this was superseded on their part by the Westminster confession, but on the restoration of the church with the monarchy, the old faith once more became the national standard. From the revolution the candidates for episcopal ordination were not required to sign any confession of faith; they solemnly professed their faith in the Scriptures, and declared that nothing not therein, or not to be proved thereby, was to be taught as necessary to salvation. The Bill, thus altered, passed the Lords, and,

Digitized by Google

after a rapid progress through the commons, received the royal assent in June 1792. One harsh clause alone remained in the act, that by which the Scottish clergy were forbidden to officiate in England unless ordained by an English or Irish Bishop. This has now but lately been partially repealed; ere long we may hope to record its total abolition. Dr. Gaskin, Mr. Steven, and the late lamented Judge Park, shared with the Scottish bishops the labour and honour of this successful attack on the penal statues of '46 and '48; and the Scottish prelates would not retire from London, before they had presented to each of their three friends a lasting memorial of the sincere gratitude which the episcopal church, relieved from penal statutes, offered to their true friends, in commemoration of their kind and important services towards obtaining that relief.

We have now at some length traced the varied fortunes of our sister church in Scotland, from the revolution to the final repeal of the persecuting statutes, which her firm adherence to the Stuart family had, in the main, brought upon her. We will not now speak of her great exertions since her restoration to peace and safety; of her numerous charities, which she has, year after year, raised among her own members—charities one and all subjected to the superintendence of her prelates, and regulated by her clergy, neither need we here mention the last sad instance of schism in her well-tried communion, an event of too late occurrence to be written of with calm and dispassionate language; rather, with a general reference to our author's full and very elaborate history, a history bringing times down to the last consecration in Edingburgh, we will close this, we hope not uninteresting article, with a passage from Bishop Russell's late charge, so well delineating the position and prospects of the church in Scotland.

"'Our attachment to our own doctrines,' says the Bishop, 'has never rendered us intolerant towards others whose tenets are different, who either have not taken the trouble to examine into our system, or who are disposed to undervalue it because it has not the authority of a legal establishment. On all occasions we have maintained our peculiarities, without any wish to infringe on the Christian liberty of others, or allowing the remotest grudge to harbour in our minds. Did we not differ from the presbyterian church in some essential points, we should have no apology for dissenting from her pale, nor be able to acquit ourselves of the blame of a needless and disgraceful schism. If the episcopal church in Scotland enjoys no protection from the state farther than is implied in a liberal toleration, neither is she in any degree impeded in the exercise of her discipline, nor restricted in her spiritual prerogative, by the pressure of laws emanating from a secular source. In those respects she enjoys all the freedom which belonged to the primitive Christians before any of the kingdoms of the world professed to belong to the kingdom of the Redeemer. The form of episcopacy that exists amongst us is that which has properly been described as moderate, and for the attainment of which a great effort was made two centuries ago. The legislative power is vested alike in Bishops and clergy; the consent of each being held indispensable to the enactment of our canons. The administration of our laws, too, is intrusted to both orders, as represented in the synods annually held,—the diocesan and episcopal. Our strength and security rests entirely upon principle, warmed and enlightened by confidence and mutual affection. Principle cannot be destroyed, and it will never die. You may depress a man to the lowest depths of poverty; you may tear his

Digitized by Google

flesh on the rack, and give his body to be burned; but you cannot reach the inward part, where is lodged the covenant which he has made with his God and his own soul. He fears not them which kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; and hence the last breath of the expiring martyr rises to heaven, and becomes a flame either to enlighten or consume. No church was ever more tried by adversity than that to which we belong; and by a species of adversity, too, which sooner exhausts the principle of endurance than a direct persecution pointed against the life. When men are dragged to the scaffold, and held up as a spectacle to a sympathising and admiring multitude, a power of reaction is created in the soul, which laughs to scorn the weapons of such warfare, and at the same time forges other weapons which will in due season avenge their cause. The iron which entered into the soul of the episcopalian, when penal laws hung over his head, was not taken from the burning fiery furnace; it was rather like that cold and sharp instrument which pierced the heart of the young Hebrew, when he lay in the prison of Egypt, suffering at once from forgetfulness, groundless suspicion, and contempt. But the pains and penalties denounced against Scottish churchmen made no change on their principles, nor on their determination to adhere to them. The fate of the Puritans in England illustrates the difference between a system founded on a well-defined principle, acknowledged by all, and held indispensable by all, and a system which rests merely on local opinion, is supported by a few leaders who succeed in impressing their sentiments on the passing age, and which, having such an origin, cannot be expected to continue long in one stay. In the circumstances which distinguish the position of our body, our principles, while they are clear and distinct, are most easily reduced to practice; and as our views and motives are the same, so, generally speaking, are our feelings and conduct. With us there can be no such distinction as High Churchmen and Low Churchmen,—a distinction that has no appreciable meaning anywhere, but which here must be positively absurd. Were we not churchmen, we ought not to be professional members of the communion to which we belong; and I see not how we can be either more or less.'"

Such, then, has been the Scottish church in its difficulties, its hardships, its vicissitudes, its discouragements. Its succession preserved by men, humble and lowly in the world's account, conscientious, steady, resolute, and persevering in the right path; every succession seemingly imparting new vigour to the entire body, by the addition of some young and zealous presbyter. And now she stands openly before the nation; and all classes, from the noble to the peasant, worship at her altars. What may be in store for her, God alone can tell. It is our duty zealously to cooperate, as members of a sister church, with the clergy and laity of her communion, as far as we can to obliterate the few distinctions between us, to succour her in her misfortunes, support her in distress, counsel her in her difficulties, and warn her in her prospriety.

Rambles in Yucatan, including a Visit to the remarkable Ruins of Chi-Chen, Kabah, Zayi, Uxmal, &c. By B. M. Norman. New York. 1843.

Since the time that Waldeck first spoke of the relics of cities of the aborigines of the new world, many years elapsed ere the subject was again mooted, and the persevering curiosity of travellers directed to the wondrous and inexplicable piles with which the plains of

Digitized by Google

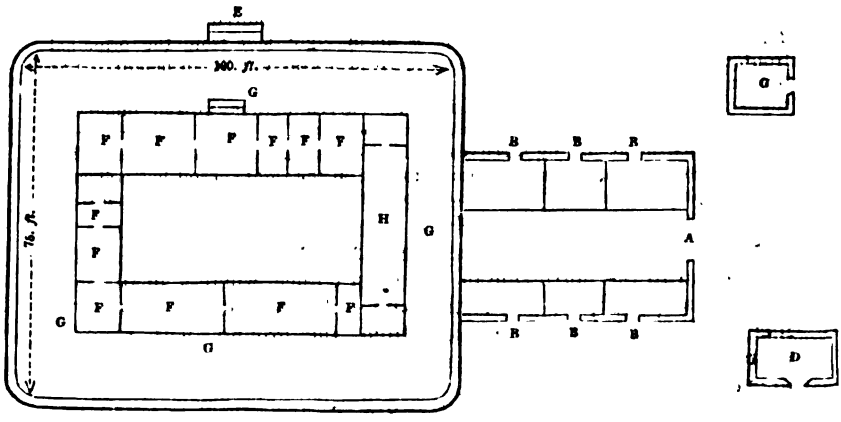
Mexico and its adjoining provinces are covered. At length the labours of Mr. Stephens, and his companion, Gatherwood, re-directed public attention to this interesting subject, and revived among Americans as great an enthusiasm in the discovery of the long-neglected homes of their predecessors, as years since pervaded the literary world of France on the subject of the hieroglyphic wonders of the banks of the Nile. The field of investigation is large; the labour required in conducting these researches arduous. In the first work of Mr. Stevens, now so well known in this country, the ruins of Mexico proper were carefully and elaborately delineated and described. Much, however, in the immediate vicinity of his researches remained unnoticed. In the peninsula of Yucatan, but one city, that of Uxmal, was noticed by that writer, and that in but a few sentences towards the conclusion of his work. The wonders of Chi-Chen, Kabah, and Zayi, lay not in his route, and were, consequently, left unrecorded. This deficiency has been supplied by Mr. Norman's book; a work indeed of less pretensions, but not less interest and information, than that of his more voluminous predecessor. Doubtless there are passages in this work that would hardly be tolerated in this country—passages which seem to cast a doubt on the religion of the writer, except so far as it is capable of being included as one of the negations of Romanism, but which show such an entire disregard of the feelings of the people among whom his lot was cast for a short time, as to disgust the most furious paper of the Protestant Association. To what form, or sect, or heresy Mr. Norman nominally belongs, we know not. When we read his laments over the power of the clergy, and his trivial remarks on the mistaken penitential zeal of the monks of Merida, we naturally class him as a Protestant; we turn over a few pages, and discover our author attending vespers at Chi-chen, handing the drunken priest out of the chapel, and performing the ceremonies of the Romish church himself, as well as he knew how, we are naturally at a loss to class our religionist. With these remarks we proceed to the writer's novelties.

Between the bays of Honduras and Campeachy, lies a peninsula stretching from the main land of Mexico towards the western corner of the island of Cuba, in length about 500 miles, in breadth about 160. Some half million of people, chiefly Indians, inhabit the plain land of which this territory is composed, and form a new republic out of the greater one of Mexico, that of Yucatan, a sovereign state, with the due complement of presidents, councillors, and all the other paraphernalia of a democratic government of limited electors. There is little either in the soil or climate of the country, to encourage the agriculturist. To the north, the plain consists of a light soil, laid upon solid and broken masses of a white lime and flint rock, whilst to the south the heavy rains of the country render the rich loam of that district more tantalizing than productive to the agricultural labourer. Rivers the country has not; but the natural wells, or sonatos, supplied, as the people believe, by the countless

Digitized by Google

subterranean streams that flow under the surface of the country, give a constant and sufficient supply of water to the inhabitants. Such is the last new republic of the new world, the scene of the labours of our traveller, the depositary of the five ruined cities that now attest the power, the numbers, and the skill of the aborigines of America.

It was towards the close of the year 1841, that Mr. Norman sailed from New Orleans for the Havanna, resolved to embrace the first opportunity that presented itself to run down to the coast of Mexico, and December was three parts gone before he anchored in the port of Sisal, on the coast of Yucatan. Caring much more about the ruined than the existing cities of that country, our traveller wasted but a small portion of his time and patience in Sisal, and the capital of the province, but, passing rapidly across the country in an easternly direction, reached the hacienda, that now stands on the skirts of the ruins of Chi-chen. This city, to all appearance the greatest among the ruined ones, contains four very remarkable piles: the temple, the pyramid, the dome, and the house of the Caciques. Passing from this spot, in a westernly course, towards the base of the Cordileras, we reach the less distinguishable mounds of Kabah; immediately on crossing the mountain-range we descend into Zayi, and again some twelve or fourteen miles direct east, reach the wonders of Uxmal. In all these ruined cities, so far as we are permitted to discover, we have distinct specimens of the secular and religious architecture of the aborigines. The houses of the Caciques at Chi-chen, and of the governor, and the Nun's at Uxmal, come under the first class, whilst the pyramids at Chi-chen, Zayi, and Uxmal; and the temple and dome at the first of these ruins, are included in the second division; under what class we are to range the pigeon-houses of Uxmal, we know not. But we proceed to give examples of the secular architecture of the Mexicans, which we hope to render tolerably intelligible to our readers, by the accompanying ground plan:—



Digitized by Google

"Situated about three rods south-west of the ruins of the dome, are those of the House of the Caciques. I cut my way through the thick growth of small wood to this sublime pile, and by the aid of my compass, was enabled to reach the east front of the building. Here I felled the trees that hid it, and the whole front was opened to my view, presenting the most strange and incomprehensible pile of architecture that my eyes ever beheld—elaborate, elegant, stupendous—yet belonging to no order now known to us. The front [A] of this wonderful edifice, measures 32 feet, and its height 20, extending to the main building 50 feet. Over the door-way, which favours the Egyptian style of architecture, is a heavy lintel of stone, containing two double rows of hieroglyphics, with a sculptured ornament intervening. Above these are the remains of hooks carved in stone, with raised lines of drapery running through them, which apparently have been broken off by the falling of the heavy finishing from the top of the building; over which, surrounded by a variety of chaste and beautifully-ornamented borders, and encircled within a wreath is a female figure in a sitting posture, in basso relievo, having a head-dress of feathers, cords, and tassels, and the neck ornamented. The angles of this building are tastefully carved. The ornaments continue round the sides, which are divided into two compartments, different in their arrangements, though not in style. Attached to the angles are large projecting hooks, skilfully worked; and perfect rosettes and stars, with spears reversed, are put together with the utmost precision."

And here it was that, among myriads of strange ornaments and devices, two were seen on which our forefathers prided themselves as distinctive marks of the peculiar architecture that sprang out of the rude Saxon—the *chevron* and *cable* mouldings of the Normans. It is not only the nineteenth century, that finds it difficult to establish its claim to originality.

"The sides have three doorways [B B B], each opening into small apartments, which are finished with square blocks of stone; the floors of the same material, but have been covered with cement, which is now broken. The apartments are small, owing to the massive walls enclosing them, and the acute angled arch forming the ceiling. The working and laying of the stone are as perfect as they could have been under the directions of a modern architect. Contiguous to this front are two irregular buildings; the one on the right, [C] situated some 25 feet from it, (about two feet off the right line,) has a front of about 35 feet, its sides 10 feet wide, and its height 20 feet; containing one room, similar in its finish to those before described. The front of this building is elaborately sculptured with rosettes and borders, and ornamental lines; the rear is formed of finely-cut stone, now much broken. Near by are numerous heaps of hewn and broken stone, sculptured work and pillars. The other building on the left, [D] is about eight feet from the principal front, and measuring 22 feet in length, 13 in width, and 36 in height. The top is much broken, and has the appearance of having been much higher. On all sides of this building are carved figures, broken images in sitting postures, rosettes and ornamental borders, laid off in compartments, each compartment having three carved hooks on each side and angle. This building contains but one room, similar to that on the right; a soil has collected on the tops of these structures, to the depth of three or four feet, in which trees and other vegetation are flourishing."

Such is the front of this building. Mr. Norman now worked his way round to the north side of the main edifice, where a small flight of stone steps [E] led him to the main edifice, a platform 100 by 75 feet, and at a height of 40 feet from the ground, with a range of rooms over two-thirds of the area [F], and the relics of a promenade on the remainder [G].

Digitized by Google

"The majority of these rooms," says Mr. Norman, "were plastered, or covered with a fine white cement, some of which was still quite perfect. By washing I discovered fresco paintings, but they were very much obliterated and the subjects could not be distinguished. On the eastern end of these rooms [H], is a hall running transversely, four feet wide, (having the high, angular ceiling,) one side of which is filled with a variety of sculptured work, principally rosettes and borders, with rows of small pilasters, having three square recesses, and a small room on either side. Over the doorways of each are stone lintels, three feet square, carved with hieroglyphics, to show the front and under side. The western end of these rooms is in almost total ruins. The northern side has a flight of stone steps, but much dilapidated, leading to the top; the southern range of rooms is much broken, the outside of which yet shows the elaborate work with which the whole building was finished."

Into the interior of the central mass of building, there appeared no entrance, nor could any traces of apartments be discovered, through those few breaches which time had made in the apparently solid mass of masonry. Such is the great palace of Chi-chen. There are also two other houses still visible in these ruins: one containing as many as eighteen rooms, with the same angular ceiling, and varied lines of hieroglyphics as those in the house of the Caciques, and bearing over each of the inner doorways an enormous lintel stone, as much as 12 inches deep, 48 long, and 32 wide, on the inner side of which is the figure of an Indian, in full dress, with cap and feathers, sitting upon a cushioned seat finely worked, and having before him a vase of flowers, and around him a border of hieroglyphics. The other house has but one peculiarity, a hall, with a range of sculptured and painted hieroglyphics over the entire length of the doorways that lined its sides, and led to rooms in total ruins, whilst across the hall were beams of the zuporte wood, still perfect, and bearing creases, as if worn by the hammock ropes.

Extensive as are the ruins of the Caciques' house, they are mere nothing to those of the so-called governor's house at Uxmal. A low terrace, upwards of 500 feet square, carries another of little less dimensions, but rising to a height of 30 feet, and enclosed with a wall of fine hewn stone. Upon this terrace rises another of smaller dimensions, itself indeed nearly 340 feet in length, and 82 in breadth, whilst a majestic flight of stone steps leads up to the platform of this inner terrace, 30 feet above its predecessor; on this third terrace stands that pile to which the Indians have given the name of the Governor's house.

"This majestic pile," says Mr. Norman, "faces the east; is 272 feet long, 36 broad, and 24 high. The whole building is plain, (unlike that of Chichen,) from the base to the mouldings, which run through the centre over the doorways; over which, to the top, are ornaments and sculptured work in great profusion, and of the most rich, strange, and elaborate workmanship. It is divided into double ranges of rooms, from front to rear. Two of the principal are situated in the centre, 55 feet long, 10 broad, and about 19 high, with an angular ceiling, occupying one half of the entire room. There are fourteen other rooms on the front and rear, also two rooms on each end, and one in front and rear of the two recesses, of about one-half of the average size. The interior of these rooms is sometimes covered with a beautiful hard finish, and at others presents a surface of uniform square blocks of smooth stone. The floors are of stone, covered with a hard composition, which, toge-

Digitized by Google

ther with the stone, is now much broken. The inner sides of the doorways are pierced, and hooks attached, whereon doors were probably hung. There are, also, apertures in the walls, where beams rested, to support hammocks, some of which still remain, and show the marks of the cords. There were no fresco or other paintings or decorations of any kind to be discerned in the interior of the building."

It is, however, on the front of this building that the greatest architectural skill has been exhibited. The walls are thick, of durable limestone, hewn and laid with the greatest care. There are eleven entrances, and the finish of the angles is as sharp and smooth as if cut with a knife.

"The ornaments are composed of small square pieces of stone, shaped with infinite skill, and inserted between the mortar and stone, with the greatest care and precision. About two-thirds of the ornaments are still remaining upon the façade; the most elaborate are over the centre or main entrance. These have fallen, and now are a heap of ruins at the base. One of them was the figure of a man, with a head-dress of feathers and tassels; part of which still remains, with lines of hieroglyphics underneath. The ground-work of the ornaments is chiefly composed of raised lines running diagonally, forming diamond or lattice-work, over which are rosettes and stars, and, in bold relief, the beautiful Chinese border. Over the principal doorway are the remains of a female figure, in a sitting posture; the hands and legs have fallen. It has a fine head-dress of cap and tassels, and neck ornaments; the waist looks quite natural, and the whole was finely finished. On each side of this figure was hieroglyphical writing."

Let us now turn to the Nuns' house at Uxmal. An extensive pile of ruins, consisting of four ranges of buildings arranged in a quadrangle, and standing on a terrace measuring above 1100 feet around, and varying in height from 15 to 24 feet. The southern range, in length about 200 feet, and in height 16, has the principal entrance, an acute angled archway, wanting but the least rounding of angles to convert it into an early English doorway. The opposite, or northern, range, presents five entrances, and, though 60 feet less in length than its opponent, establishes its claim to the principal station, by being raised on a platform some 24 feet high, from whence it entirely overlooks the rest of the buildings. The eastern and western ranges are of equal lengths, about 140 feet, and stand on raised foundations, 10 feet in height, but the ornaments are everywhere different, and the arrangement and size of the rooms very varying in fashion and size.

"The western façade," says our traveller, "is much broken. The remains of two great serpents, however, are still quite perfect; their heads turned back, and entwining each other. They extend the whole length of the façade, through a chaste groundwork of ornamental lines, interspersed with various rosettes. They are put together by small blocks of stone, exquisitely worked, and arranged with the nicest skill and precision. The heads of the serpents are adorned with pluming feathers and tassels, their mouths widely extended, and their tails represent the rattle divisions."

Here, again, we have that most favourite ornament, the carved hooks of stone, placed over the doorways, and at the angles of the divisions, apparently prepared for the display of ornamental hangings. Within the quadrangle is a terrace leading down by steps on all sides into a large court, in the centre of which is an excavation, con-

Digitized by Google

taining one immense shapeless stone. A like one was excavated from the area of the main terrace of the governor's house, and was, doubtless, equally with this, of supposed talismanic power.

Such are the specimens yet to be seen of the secular architecture of the Indians, and as we hardly know where to place that strange building to which the Indians have attached the name of the Pigeon-house of Uxmal, and conceive it to be somewhat of a middle term between the plainly secular and plainly religious edifices, we will give our author's description of the edifice before we enter on the temples, pyramids, and dome of Chi-chen and Uxmal:—

"A few rods distant, in a south-westernly direction from the governor's house, are the remains of an extensive range or succession of ruins, composed of terraces, walls, rooms, corridors, and court-yards. The principal view fronts the north, and probably was connected with the governor's house; a wall of 200 feet remains standing on a foundation of 10 feet. Its width is 25 feet, having ranges of rooms on both sides, only parts of which remain. This wall has an acute-angled arched doorway through the centre, similar to that of the nun's house, with rooms on both sides. The top of this wall has numerous square apertures through it, which have the appearance of pigeon-holes, and its edge is formed like the gable-end of a house, uniformly notched. The front of this wall appears to have been an immense court or square, enclosed by stone walls leading to the nuns' house; the interior of this square, apparently, shows the ruins of walls, and rooms, and walks, but nothing definite could be made out. In the rear of the principal wall is another court, or square, but much smaller than that in front, having broken corridors, and the sides running back to an artificial elevation of about 50 feet, the form of which was lost, owing to the dilapidation of the sides and angles: ruins of rooms and corridors, both at its base and summit, were perceptible. Other squares can be defined by broken walls contiguous to these extensive ruins; also numerous mounds. In the centre of the avenue between the governor's and the nuns' house, in a line with the principal doorway of the latter building, are the ruins of two wells, running parallel with each other, north and south, about 12 feet apart. The eastern and inner side shows the remains of a serpent along its façade, similar to that of the nuns' house—a small portion, however, only remains. *It shows also rooms and ceilings quite level with the ground.* The western wall is more perfect, and has a ring inserted in its façade, like those of Chi-chen; but instead of ornaments, presents hieroglyphics on its sides."

The religious buildings of the Americans still discoverable seem to have been of three kinds; an example of each of which we propose to give in the case of the temple of Chi-chen, and its almost inexplicable *dome*, and the pyramid of Uxmal. That each of the edifices were especially devoted to religious purposes, few can doubt who have compared their peculiarities with those of acknowledged religious character in other climes, or who consider the common custom among the ancients, especially in an early state of civilization and religious knowledge, to symbolize their faith in the forms of their religious edifices. The dome especially will illustrate this custom.

"These remains," says Mr. Norman, "consist of four distinct walls. I entered at an opening in the western angle, which I conceived to be the main entrance, and presumed, from the broken walls, ceilings, and pillars still standing, that the opposite end had been the location of the shrine, or altar. The distance between these two extremes is 450 feet. The walls stand upon an elevated

Digitized by Google

foundation of about 56 feet. Of the entrance or western end, about one-half remains; the interior showing broken rooms, and ceilings not entirely defaced. The exterior is composed of large stones, beautifully hewn, and laid in fillet and moulding work. The opposite, or altar, end, consists of similar walls, but has two sculptured pillars, much defaced by the fallen ruins, six feet only remaining in view above them. These pillars measure about two feet in diameter. The walls are surrounded with masses of sculptured and hewn stone, broken columns, and ornaments, which had fallen from the walls themselves. In the rear of the pillars are the remains of a room, the back ceilings only existing, sufficient, however, to show that they were of rare workmanship. The southern, or right-hand, wall, as you enter, is in the best state of preservation, the highest part of which, yet standing, is about 50 feet, where, also, the remains of rooms are still to be seen. The other walls on either side are about 26 feet high, 250 long, and 16 thick, and about 130 apart. The interior or inner surface of these walls, is quite perfect, finely finished with stone, cut smooth, in uniform squares of about two feet. About the centre of the walls, on both sides, near the top, are placed stone rings, carved from an immense block, and inserted in the wall by a long shaft, and projecting from it about four feet. They measure about four feet in diameter, and two in thickness, the sides beautifully carved."

The entrance and the shrine, if such it was, stand equi-distant from the ends of the side walls connected with them, by semi-circular masses of rubbish, forming curved ends to the entire building. It may, however, be fairly doubted, from the small quantity of rubbish to be there found, whether the temple was ever entirely enclosed at the west and east end, or whether the altar and the entrance were not connected with the side walls by much lower walls than at present exist. Towards the outer base of the south wall is a room remarkable for its ornaments. Indian figures with feathered head-dresses, rings in their noses, bows and arrows in one hand, and a musical instrument, similar to that now in use among the Indians, in the other, and animals resembling crocodiles. The square entrance pillars are carved with Indians, flowers, borders, and spear-heads, and bear the marks of colour, whilst the exterior carries borders of flowers and animals interspersed. Such is the ruined temple of Chi-chen. The dome is more remarkable, not for its size, but for its structure.

"About the centre of the ruins of the city is the dome, to which I made my way, as usual, through thick masses of vegetation, by which it was surrounded. This building stood upon a double foundation, as far as I could judge, though I was unable to satisfy myself completely, owing to the fallen ruins, which once formed part of its structure, but which now almost concealed its base from view. I found on the east side broken steps, by which I ascended to a platform, built about 30 feet from the base, the sides of which measured each about 125 feet. The walls were constructed of fine hewn stone, beautifully finished at the top, and the angles, part of which had fallen, were tastefully carved. In the centre of this platform, or terrace, was a foundation-work, 12 feet high, and in ruins; the four broken sides of which measured 50 feet each. Upon this was raised a square of a pyramidical form, 50 feet high, divided off into rooms, but inaccessible, or nearly so, owing to the tottering condition of the walls. I could discover, however, that the inside walls were coloured, and that the wood that supported and connected the ceilings was in good preservation. In the centre of this square is the dome—a structure of beautiful proportions, though partly in ruins. It rests upon a finished foundation, the interior of which contains three conic structures, one within the other, a space of six feet intervening; each cone communicating with the others, by

Digitized by Google

doorways, the inner one forming the shaft. At the height of about 10 feet the cones are united by means of transoms of zaporte; around these cones are evidences of spiral stairs, leading to the summit."

Surely there is a very remarkable collocation of figures in this structure. The three square terraces, one within the other; then the truncated pyramid, and rising out of that, the circular building, containing three cones one within the other, and yet connected together. That it was erected in a time when men symbolized their faith in their religious buildings being nearly certain, we cannot look upon the squares and circles and cones but as symbols of the main article of their belief, some rude tradition of the triune godhead; whether worshipped as Jehovah, or as the Solar Luminary—the chief god of the Mexican Indian. Intimately acquainted as the Mexicans seem to have been with some of the principal events of the Jewish history, we cannot wonder at their knowledge, however vague, of the trinity in unity; for indeed it was but a dark revelation to the Jew himself. The almost similar building called the Temple of Greenan, in Ireland, near Lough Swilly, coupled with the tradition of the connexion between the ancient Irish and the nations of Phœnicia, adds to the probability of the Indians of America having rather sprung from, or been, in after years, taught by some of those nations in Canaan, who, driven from before the people of God, carried with them to their new abode their own idolatrous worship commixed with vague notions of the religion of their conquerors.

In their tradition of the deluge, they state that Tezpi saved himself and his wife, Xochiquetal, on a raft or canoe. That the raft rested at the foot of the mountain, Colhuacan; that on this raft were several animals and children; that when the Great Spirit ordered the waters to withdraw, Tezpi sent out a vulture, which never returned, on account of the countless bodies it found whereon to feed. Tezpi sent out other birds; at length he sent a humming-bird, which returned to him with a branch in its beak covered with leaves; and then Tezpi, seeing that fresh verdure clothed the land, left his raft at the mountain's foot, and went to dwell on the earth. If we require any further proof of the identity of this tradition with the Mosaic account of the Noachian flood, we find it singularly supported by the tradition of the dumbness of all the people that were born after the deluge—a dark hint at the confusion of tongues on the building of Babel. But this is not all, among the deer-skin paintings that Humbolt saw, were clear delineations of the fall of man, of the seduction of Eve by the serpent, and of the murder of Abel by his brother. In the north-west, says a recent traveller, we find the tradition of the deluge:—

"An old man," said one of the chiefs, "live great while ago, he very good man, he have three son. The Great Spirit tell him, go make raft,—build wigwam on top: for he make it rain very much. When this done, Great Spirit say, put in two of all creatures, then take sun, moon, all the stars,—put them in—get in himself, with his wife, children, shut door, all dark outside, then it rain much, hard, many days. When they stay there long time—Great Spirit say, old man go out. So he take diving animal, say, go see if find the

Digitized by Google

earth: so he went, come back, not find anything. Then he wait a few days—send out musquash, see what he find. When he come back, brought some mud in his paw; old man very glad; he tell musquash, you very good, long this world stand, be plenty of musquash, no man ever kill you all. Then few days more, he take very pretty bird, send him out see what it find: that bird no come back; so he send out one white bird, that come back, have grass in the mouth. So old man know water gone down. The Great Spirit say: let sun, moon, stars, go out, old man too. He go out raft on much big mountain, when he see pretty bird, he send out first, eating dead things. He say bird you do no right, when me send you no come back, you must be black, you no pretty bird any more—you always eat bad things; so it was black."

Similar traditions are found in Cuba and in almost every island on the coast of America; but we must not linger over this part of our subject, but hasten back to the architectural remains of Yucatan.

There is but one kind of religious fabrics to which we would now call the attention of our readers—a form common to every nation and language of the East—the pyramidal. In the ruins of America, the pyramid assumes a new variation, in becoming truncated, and thus forming a foundation for the temple which was generally erected on its flattened summit. We have already seen this use of the pyramid in the dome of Chi-chen standing on, or rather springing out of, the square pyramidal base, the pyramids of Chi-chen and Uxmal will serve as further illustrations:—

"From the temple," says Mr. Norman, "I proceeded to the pyramid, a few rods to the south. It was a majestic pile; measuring at its base about 550 feet, with its sides facing the cardinal points. The angles and sides were beautifully laid with stones of an immense size, gradually lessening, as the work approached the summit, or platform. On the east and north sides are flights of small stone steps, 30 feet wide at the base, and narrowing as they ascend. Those of the south and west are carried up by gradations resembling steps, each about four feet in height, but are more dilapidated than those upon which the steps are constructed."

The bases, as in all these ruins, were piled up with fallen stones, and overgrown with the rank grass and strong creepers of the country. Our traveller, however, was not to be daunted, and, after great labour, he cleared his way to the east side of the edifice. Two square stones were there found, in size enormous, and partly buried in the ruins. They were carved, but not elaborately; a monster with wide extended jaws and a protruding tongue, and rows of teeth, was the only form of sculpture on their surface. That the stones had formed the finish of the flight of steps was evident from their position:—

"On this side," says our traveller, "I ascended the fallen and broken steps, through bushes and trees, with which they were partly covered, to the summit, 100 feet. Here I found a terrace, or platform; in the centre of which is a square building, 170 feet at its base and 20 feet high. The eastern end of this supplementary structure contains a room 12 by 18 feet, having two square pillars eight feet high, supporting an angular roof upon strong beams of zuporte wood, the stone and wood being both carved. The sides of the doorways, and their lintels, are of the same material, and ornamented in the same style. Fronting this room is a corridor supported by two round pillars, three feet in diameter and four in height, standing upon a stone base of two feet;

Digitized by Google

both of which are surmounted with large capitals, hewn or broken in such a manner that no architectural design can now be traced. The sides of these pillars were wrought with figures and lines, which are now quite obliterated. The door-sides of these rooms are built of large square stones, similar to those of the temple, with the difference of having holes drilled through the inner angles, which were worn smooth, and apparently enlarged by use. The other sides contain halls and rooms in tolerable preservation, having the same form of roofs supported by zuporte wood. These rooms and halls are plastered with a superior finish, and shadowy painted figures are still perceptible. The exterior of the building had been built of fine hewn and uniform blocks of stone, with entablatures of a superior order, and projecting cornices. I could find no access to the top but by the pillars, and by cutting steps in the stone and mortar of the façade," (for which he ought to have had steps cut in his façade) "by which, and the aid of bushes, I reached the summit, I found it perfectly level, and one of its corners broken and tumbling down. The whole was covered with a deep soil, in which trees and grass were growing in profusion."

This kind of building seems to have been a favourite with the aborigines. Examples of it are found more or less perfect in every ruin, and those at Rabah and Uxmal seem to equal in grandeur that of Chi-chen. At Uxmal the pyramid stands about two rods from the *Nuns' House*, and presents a fine exterior of smooth hewn stone, forming precipitous sides, now much broken and covered with trees. Unlike the pyramids of Egypt, the only ascent is by a flight of a hundred steps on the eastern side, each about a foot in height, and hardly six inches in depth. The platform to which these steps lead, measures above 70 feet by 22, and is occupied by a building 60 feet in length, and with a height of 20, and a breadth of 12 feet. In this edifice there are six rooms, two on the east and west sides, and one on either end. They are much defaced and their doorways dilapidated.

"The eastern front," says Mr. Norman, "has two doorways, and two small pavilions, projecting six or eight inches from the façade, supported by plain pilasters. The western façade is ornamented with human figures, similar to caryatides, finely sculptured in stone with great art. Their heads are covered with a casque and ear-ornaments similar to those worn by the Egyptians. They have girdles around their bodies. On the western side, immediately in front of the doorway, is a platform, or roof of a room, the base or floor of which includes about 20 feet of the inclined side of the pyramid; leading to which is a broken plane, once occupied by the steps. Here are two rooms, one of which is of an unusually large size, with a proportionate doorway fronting the *Nuns' House*. The interior of these rooms are finely finished with hewn stone. There appeared to be no communication from them with any other part. The front and sides of the interior were filled with sculptured work of the most elaborate and incomprehensible description. The same degree of skill and precision was perceptible here that distinguishes the rest of the ruins. Below these rooms, at, or near, the base of the sides are others, where excavations have been made. They are now much broken and covered with the fallen ruins."

Such were the structures of the aborigines of America. We will not here speculate whether they were raised by a nation of slaves to gratify the vanity and luxury of a despot, or by a nation of freemen as abodes for their gods and their priesthood, their rulers and their guides. Neither will we endeavour to solve the problem of their age, or of the origin of the nation by whom they were raised. Such

Digitized by Google

as they are we have endeavoured, so far as can be effected, with no aid from pictorial embellishments, which Mr. Norman uses to so much advantage, to bring them before our readers, where their mighty structures stand sublime amid the plains, and fling abroad their shadows on the earth, as dials raised by the hand of Time to count his ages by.

The Life and Times of St. Bernard, by Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER, *Professor of Theology in the Royal University of Berlin. Translated from the German by* MATILDA WRENCH. London: Rivingtons. 1843.

SURELY it wanted not the excuse of an act of charity towards her birth-place to induce the translator of Neander's work to place her labours before the public. The name of St. Bernard, or the last of the Fathers, as he is justly called, of the monk who exercised an influence over the actions and faith of the twelfth century, that was known to all, and was felt by all, from the pope and the king on their thrones to the lowliest member of the human race; surely the name of this man must ever kindle in our hearts a desire of obtaining a more intimate knowledge of how he lived, thought, acted, and died. Such an opportunity the work of Neander offers to us; compiled from the very voluminous sources which still exist for the life of the Abbot of Clairvaux, we need not fear for the accuracy of its facts, however much we may question the correctness of the deductions and observations with which some of the leading incidents in the saint's life are disfigured—the natural consequence of the peculiar opinions entertained by the able professor of Berlin. We need not here particularize the Doctor's errors of opinion. Mr. Woolf's pamphlet has long since performed that task for them; and, as the professor's faults are connected with the whole scheme of Church and Sacramental doctrine, they do not vary whatever may be the particular subject of his labours.

St. Bernard was a firm, a conscientious supporter of the papacy, but, at the same time, the continuous opponent of the vices of those who sat in the chair of St. Peter. Every passage in his last work, the "Book of Considerations," in which the false and the true pope's characters were contrasted, impresses the reader with the feeling that it was what the papal power might and ought to be, that St. Bernard revered and contended for, not what it was, except so far as its existence was one step towards its reformation. This was his idea of a pope, the head of Christendom: "the pattern of piety, the teacher of the people, the defender of the faith, the refuge of the oppressed, the hope of the unhappy, the dread of tyrants, the father of kings, the supporter of the laws, the administrator of the ecclesiastical canons." Such was his idea of what the popes should be, and how far they fell

Digitized by Google

short of this standard, the stern and unsparing reproofs with which he constantly visited their corrupt practices abundantly testify.

To the Church he was bound as a faithful son, but not to her corruptions. Against these his life was one unceasing warfare; for he lived at a time when those who had power on earth took advantage of her misfortunes and her schisms to work iniquity within her fold, as the price of their temporal support. Bernard could never forget to what exalted purposes the Church had been set apart by her Founder, and he could not but see that, in every corruption with which she was marred, there was a stumbling-block in the way of the fulfilment of the Divine scheme. Could he, then, ever be over-diligent in compassing their removal?

But the truly spiritual character of the mighty mind that dwelt within so poor a frame, is more especially shown in his writings—"that stream of paradise," as they are styled by Heinsius. His meditations, along with those of Augustine and Anselm, have been years ago recommended to the study of the members of our Church by their translator, Dean Stanhope. "His sermons," said Sextus of Sienna, "are at once so sweet and so ardent, that it is as though his mouth were a fountain of honey, and his breast a whole furnace of love." Some, perhaps, may be displeased at the absence of all subtilty in his discourses, and astonished at their plainness, when the age in which they were composed is considered. It was their writer's principle, "that all knowledge founded on truth is good, yet that since we are to work out our salvation, we must, on account of the shortness of the time, learn those things which concern our salvation." The following beautiful passage is taken from his discourse on his brother, Gerard's, death. The entire sermon is translated in the Appendix to the little work prefixed to our article:—

"And, alas! he is taken away, and with him all my joys have departed; new cares rush on, new troubles beat against me, and on all sides I am environed by perplexities; *and alone.* These are all that remain to me, now thou art absent; and alone I groan under the burden. Would that I might have died with thee, for to survive thee is drudgery and grief. Nevertheless it is fit I should live, though in sadness and bitterness. Flow, then, my tears, since you would fain be shed; let the floodgates of my eyes be opened, and pour forth tears to wash away the crimes that have drawn down on me this chastisement. Yet though I be in heaviness I repine not. The Divine Justice hath acquitted itself towards us both: the one who deserved it hath been punished; the other, who had earned it, hath received the crown. Me it smote, not him; me it slew, for, would any one say that he is slain who is planted in life? But that which is the gate of life to him, is manifestly death to me. But the Lord hath shown himself just and merciful: 'He hath given, he hath taken away,' and while we deplore the loss of Gerard, let us not forget that he was given to us. . . . God grant, Gerard, that I may not have lost thee, but that thou hast preceded me, and that I may be with thee where thou art. For a surety, thou hast rejoined those whom, in thy last night below, thou didst invite to praise God; when, suddenly, to the great surprise of all present, thou didst, with a serene countenance and with a cheerful voice, commence chanting the verse of the Psalm, 'Praise ye the Lord from the heaven. Praise ye him, all his angels.' At that moment, O my brother, the day had dawned upon you; but it was night to us; the night was for thee all brightness. I was called to

Digitized by Google

be present at this miracle, to see a man rejoicing at his death. 'O grave, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?' Thou art no sting but a triumph to him. He dies singing, and sings dying; and death, the parent of sadness, is to him a source of joy."

But let us commence the subject of this article—the actions of St. Bernard rather than his opinions.

Bernard, like the pious Anselm, whose life we have so lately endeavoured to sketch, was indebted to his pious mother for the first elements of his education, as well as for those early habits on which his after course through life was founded. Burgundy, the place of his birth, was, at the close of the eleventh century, too much disturbed with wars and troubles to permit his knightly father, Tecelin, of Fontaines, to devote his attention to the education of his son, and, perhaps, he was not unwilling that one of his seven sons should be educated for the Church, by whom, peradventure, should trouble supervene, a more secure refuge might be afforded within the walls of his monastery, than the towers of his castle could promise to its inmates. Short as was the time during which his mother, Aletta, could lead his studies, for she was taken from him in his youth, every hope was realized in his rapid progress in learning, and in his innate love of a solitary and contemplative life. His mother was taken from him. She, who was often to be seen, alone and on foot, on the road between Fontaines and Dijon, visiting the cottages of the poor, and, as the old writer says, carrying provisions and remedies to the sick and afflicted, was dead, and his brothers and their noble associates, strove in vain to seduce Bernard from his solitary habits, by visions of worldly aggrandizement. Again, his relations strove to wean him from a monastic life through the novel study of dialectics, which at that period so greatly exalted the youth of France. In this they were partially successful. "I am not ashamed to confess," said Bernard, "that often, and particularly at the beginning of my conversion, I experienced great hardness of heart, and an extreme coldness." The image of his beloved mother recurred to his mind; he thought he heard her voice rebuking him, and, when he had prayed to God to confirm him in his purpose of monasticism, he ceased not until he had communicated his own feelings to his kinsfolk and friends. Gerard, the second of his brothers, was the only one of them who refused his invitations, treating his sudden impulse with levity, and preferring the battle field to the recluse's cell. "Brother," said the ardent Bernard, "suffering alone can bring you to reflect." "Yea," he continued, placing his hand on Gerard's side, "yea, Gerard, it shall come to pass, and that quickly, too, that a lance shall pierce thy side, and thus open thy heart to the counsel of salvation, which thou dost now despise." Time passed away, and the brother fell wounded on the battle-field, a prisoner, in the hands of the enemy; he sent to Bernard to entreat his presence. Bernard came not. "Your wound," he said, "is not unto death, but unto life." Gerard escaped, and from that time devoted himself to God alone.

Bernard was but three-and-twenty when he led his small band of

Digitized by Google

professors into the Church previous to their primary seclusion at Chatillon, six months before his departure for the convent of Citeaux. "Being confident of this very thing," said the text of the day, "that he who hath begun a good work in you will perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ." Regarded as a voice from heaven to command them to persevere, no persuasions of friends or relations could alienate one of that small band during the time that they remained at Chatillon; well content, at the bidding of a youth, to renounce honour, wealth, and domestic affection. At length the time for departure drew nigh. "Nivard," said the saint to his youngest brother, who was playing with the children as he and his brothers were departing from their paternal home, "see, my brother, the whole of our inheritance will now devolve on thee." "What!" replied the boy, "will you take heaven for yourselves and leave me but earth?—this is no fair division." It was not long before Nivard joined his brothers, and Tecelin, grieved at the loss of his sons, took the vows at the new convent of Clairvaux, where he died in the arms of Bernard.

The poorly-endowed monastery of Citeaux, situated in a barren wilderness, in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Saône, was the convent selected by Bernard, whither he and his thirty companions retired, in the year 1113. Instead of founding a new order, like other eminent, pious men, Bernard preferred governing one of those already established; one where the rule of life was so strict as to be spoken of with pity and aversion even among monastics. Here he soon became conspicuous by his personal activity, his power of abstraction, his command over his bodily appetite; his labours in the field conduced to his spiritual instruction; prayer and meditation among the woods and in the fields, with none but the oaks and beeches for his teachers, were the sources of his Divine knowledge. "Take the testimony of mine own experience," he wrote, at a later period of his life, "and believe me thou wilt find more in woods than in books; and trees and stones shall teach thee that which thou canst not learn of men."

In the bishopric of Langres was a bright valley, formed by two equal hills on the north and south, extending towards a lower eminence at the west, and forming at that point two narrow gorges. On the east lies the fertile plain of the Aube. Thither, in less than three years after Bernard's arrival at Citeaux, so great was the crowd of applicants for admission to the monastery, a new brotherhood was sent, to erect, under Bernard's superintendence, the famous convent of Clair Vaux. Having received abbatical consecration, Bernard and his twelve brethren left the gates of Citeaux, in the year 1115, for their new residence: "All were involved in one common sorrow," writes the author of the Cistercian Chronicle, "till the procession reached that gate which was to open for some and to close for the rest." Though so emaciated as to resemble a corpse, the exertions of Bernard in raising his new convent and in fortifying the oft-failing resolution of his brethren, were ceaseless. Bitter, indeed, were their

Digitized by Google

sufferings, as they laboured incessantly at their monastic buildings. The ground granted to them, too late for sowing, produced no fruit; and their neighbours became, after a few months' admiration, too well acquainted with their sanctity and wants, to regard either.

"A coarse bread, made of barley and millet, and beech leaves cooked in salt and water, formed their only nourishment, and this, too, at the beginning of the winter season. At last their supply of salt was exhausted, and the hearts of some of the fraternity began to fail them; but Bernard, calling to him one of the brethren, desired him to take the ass and buy the salt at market. The man prepared to do the bidding of his superior, but before he set out he asked for money to pay for the commodity. 'Take faith,' replied Bernard, 'for as to money I know not when we shall have any; but He who holds my purse in His hands, and who is the depositary of my treasure, is above.' The monk smiled, and rejoined, 'It seemeth to me, my father, that if I go empty-handed, I shall return empty-handed.' 'Nevertheless go,' replied the abbot; 'and go in faith. I tell thee our great Treasurer will be with thee, and supply all thy necessities.' On this the poor friar, after receiving the benediction of his superior, set out with the ass on his journey. On his way, 'the God of all consolation was pleased to assist him,' says the chronicler; 'for, meeting a priest, who accosted him, and inquired his business, Guibert told his errand, and made known the penury of his convent; and the priest, touched with compassion, took him to his own home, and supplied him abundantly with all sorts of provisions. On Guibert's return with his replenished paniers, Bernard said to him, 'I tell you, my son, nothing is more necessary to a christian than faith: hold fast faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life.'"—*Life of St. Bernard*, pp. 15, 16.

By such influence and exertion, St. Bernard prevented the utter dissolution of his infant establishment; and, after eighteen months of privation and suffering, rich presents flowed into their treasury, and the ground yielded them her increase. The privations and severe discipline which Bernard had subjected himself to during the foundation of his monastery were evidently bringing him down to the grave. Apprehensive of this, one of his friends obtained from the chapter permission to superintend Bernard's health for one year. A hut was erected for him within the walls of the cloister, and every endeavour made to keep him apart from the cares and troubles of the monastery. For one year Bernard submitted: no sooner, however, was he released from this surveillance, than he resumed, with his office, his former austerities; and not only the convent but the entire neighbourhood was animated by his spirit and example. Men, great in the world's honours and riches, gave up rank, and houses, and brethren, to labour with the austere monks of Clairvaux, and, ere long, where the soil had once yielded a bare subsistence, costly offerings formed the nucleus of the great wealth for which, in after years, the convent was celebrated.

How common is the outcry against the wealth of the ancient church! how groundless! The wealth of convents was more advantageous to the state than the treasures of kings and of nobles: the one went to support the poor, the other to hire one bravo to murder another. When the famine was sore in the land of Burgundy, the poor peasants flocked in numbers to the gates of the convent of

Digitized by Google

Clairvaux. To find nourishment for all was beyond the means of St. Bernard. Two thousand were selected and distinguished by a badge; these he maintained entirely until the ensuing harvest; to the rest he distributed smaller alms. St. Bernard's almsgiving was not indiscriminate, without principle; "eleemosynas ea sagacitate disponere," was his advice to Count Theobald, "ut semper fructificantes redivivis et renascentibus accessionibus novas semper eleemosynas parturiunt." Bernard's return to his severe discipline was but temporary, at last it completely prostrated his bodily health, and again compelled him to relax somewhat of his austerity.

"'He was no longer able,' says Neander, 'to conform exactly to the precepts of the Benedictine rule, but was under the necessity of returning from the convent to a separate dwelling, where he remained, except when his presence was particularly required. Indeed he used, in after years, to lament the youthful enthusiasm which had led him to reduce his strength to such a degree, as almost to render himself useless to God and man. But this he need not have regretted, for the influence of his mind was far greater than any personal influence could have been; and the frailty of the body did but serve to strengthen the impression of the superiority of that spirit, which, from a tabernacle so unimposing, could triumph over the power of turbulent knights: and hence those who saw and heard Bernard on occasions of importance, were easily led to embrace the opinion that was current, even during his life, that, in virtue of the power committed to him by God, he could command the laws of Nature: an opinion confirmed by the ardent confidence of the man, who really believed that, in order to accomplish his purposes, miracles would be wrought, and that the things which were present to his mind would assuredly be brought to pass. He did not return again to his strict retirement; the universal veneration with which he was regarded, drew persons of all ranks to see him, and to ask his counsel, and to receive his instructions. Activity was necessary to him; and, since he could no longer fulfil the active duties of a monk, he strove to work upon the minds of those with whom he came in contact, by his discourses; he took a lively interest in all matters of importance, and made use of the penetration and eloquence that were natural to him, to adapt himself to the peculiar circumstances of every individual. Already we find Bernard, at this early period of his life, taking an active part in small as well as great matters; we see him in connexion with all that was most illustrious in church and state, both in and out of France; his counsel was universally solicited, and he took a deep interest in all ecclesiastical affairs. We hear him rebuking, with disinterested severity, the disorders and abuses, as well as the sins prevailing in the church; and, with impressive dignity, exhorting individuals to pursue a course more becoming their spiritual calling. We see him labouring for the dignity and extension of his order; interceding with the great with earnest solicitations for those who were suffering and oppressed through their injustice; defending the independence of the Church against monarchs, and daring to assert the interests of the Church against popes, when found to act in opposition thereto. But this external activity was not suffered to interfere with the inward life of his contemplative nature, and he was always striving to impart to others, both by his writings and his discourses, some portion of that spirit with which he was replenished. This great external activity prevented the development of that depth of freedom of contemplation, which we meet with in other mystics, whose internal life permitted it; but in him the practical and the sensitive were the prominent tendencies; and the latter, owing to the peculiar rhetoric of the times, often appears to degenerate into an exaggerated sensibility."—*Life of St. Bernard*, pp. 19—25.

Let us illustrate this comprehensive summary of the activity, the influence, and the principles of the abbot of Clairvaux. That was

Digitized by Google

the age when justice depended too often on the arbitrary will of the nobles, and equity was to be obtained from the interference of the priesthood alone. Thibault the Second, the count of Champagne, the nephew of the founder of Clairvaux, had banished, without hearing his defence, a vassal of the name of Hunibert, confiscated and divided his goods among his own followers, driven him out a houseless wanderer, and reduced his family to a wretched and helpless condition. The vassal applied to the abbot, who desired the two abbots of the province to remonstrate with the count; their interference was in vain, and Bernard thus addressed Thibault:

"Had I asked of thee gold or silver, or the like, I am fully persuaded that I should have obtained my request; yea, I have already received much from your liberality unasked. Wherefore, then, am I accounted unworthy to obtain from you the only thing I *have* asked, and that not in my own, but in God's name; not for my own sake, but far more for yours. Know ye not that with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again? Know ye not that it is as easy, ay, a thousand times easier, for God to cast you out of the heavenly inheritance, than for you to eject Hunibert from his patrimony? There are, indeed, cases, where the guilt is so manifest, that justice leaves no room for the exercise of mercy: but even then you must take vengeance in sorrow and trembling, compelled rather by necessity and judicial duty, than by any desire of avenging yourself."

The count yielded, and promised a reversal of his vassal's sentence; those to whom Hunibert's wealth had passed, interfered, and the count forgot his promise: again Bernard reminded him of his duty, and the count yielded. But the corruptions of the Church called for the exertions of Bernard.

In the early part of the middle ages, the cupidity of the temporal princes led them to covet the great revenues which the labour and self-denial of the original founders had given to the Church, whilst the unlimited nature of their power enabled them to bestow these gifts on their favourites, or sell them to the highest bidder. This corruption called into existence the mighty attempt of the Gregorian party to erect the Church into a state of independence from the state. How far they succeeded we all know; but we do not equally consider the practical effects of the contest. The pope might enact laws and ordinances enforcing strict canonical life, but he could not eradicate the causes which had led to these corruptions, and these causes either rendered the ordinances void, or perverted their intention. In too many instances time had rendered usurped rights hereditary, and many a prebend and other high office were the patrimony of a noble. Actuated by a love of money, and incapable of discharging their duties, they remitted the one to a hired priest and spent the other in luxury and riotous living. Such for many years was Henri, archbishop of Sens; at length he saw his errors, and sought to amend his ways. With joy St. Bernard contemplated his penitence, and set before him his duties, in contrast with the vices of the day.

St. Bernard's next contest was in defence of the Church. Ready as the Abbot of Clairvaux ever was to rebuke his brethren for squandering on costly apparel and delicate living that which belonged to

Digitized by Google

God and His poor, he was equally ready to come forward in their defence when they were persecuted. If he was willing to reprove the Suger for permitting Stephen de Garlande to be at the same time lord-marshal of the king and a prebend of St. Denis; if he feared not to represent in plain words the inconsistency of a deacon serving at the king's table and a knight at God's altar, he was equally willing and fearless in advocating the cause of the archbishop of Paris against the pope and the king of France.

Louis VI. had deprived the archbishop of Paris and his clergy of a portion of their possessions. Bernard espoused their cause, and openly remonstrated with the king, threatening an appeal to the pope, and offering his own mediation between the disputants at the same time. Louis refused to comply, and when many of his bishops besought him on their knees to yield he still remained inexorable. On the morrow, Bernard reproached the king face to face; warned him that he had despised the priests of the Most High, and prophesied the death of his first-born, Philip, as the punishment for his obstinacy. Finding all remonstrance unavailing, the clergy had recourse to spiritual punishments. The archbishop of Paris led the way by laying the terrors of an interdict on the kingdom. The cessation of all worship, the closing and dismantling of the churches, the refusal of the sacraments to the dying worked their effect on the princes and the people, Louis promised restitution, and the interdict was stayed by an order from Rome. Thus relieved from immediate trouble, the king's promise fell to the ground. Not only was all restitution refused, but further pillage commenced against the clergy. Bernard now complained to the pope, and suggested that he had been deceived by the king's friends, and that the brief thus obtained by lying and deceit was necessarily void. To this remonstrance the pope yielded, but with a bad grace. Bernard's reforming zeal, however useful when directed by those in power, now became a source of trouble to them, and it was hinted to him, "that he should no longer trouble himself with the affairs of the world, since this was unbecoming a monk." The monk's answer was severe, because true.

"I have, indeed, reason enough to regret my participation in these matters," he replied, "since it has been the means of showing me the tyranny of the world, armed with apostolical authority to oppress the Church, as if this were not of itself sufficiently formidable. It is irksome enough, and I was engaged in this controversy against my own inclination, and in conformity with the command of my diocesan, and those of the papal legate, which it was not for me to dispute. If, therefore, a reference to an higher authority would justify me, and that authority you could easily procure, then, at your pleasure the clamorous and troublesome frogs would hide themselves in their lurking places, and contentedly remain in their marshes; they would neither be heard in the consistory nor found in the palaces. But," he concluded, "even if we were to hide ourselves and hold our peace, the murmurs of the Church would still continue, while the court of Rome continues to give judgment according to the wishes of those who are present, rather than according to the rights of those who are absent."—*Neander*, p. 38.

St. Bernard heard little more of these movements; the papal court

Digitized by Google

were too well aware how useful he was to them, and that no other man could work such an effect on both princes and people as the abbot of Clairvaux.

Three years after the foundation of Clairvaux, nine men of high descent and great military prowess, separated themselves from the world as a small but faithful band of monastic knights sworn to keep the road to the Holy Sepulchre open for pilgrims. Living on the site of the Temple of Solomon, they assumed the denomination of its knights. For ten years they subsisted without any known fixed rule, and with little addition to their numbers. The time, however, was now come when the Order was to receive a more settled form and solemn consecration. Chiefly for this purpose the clergy were summoned to the Council at Trozes, in 1128, and St. Bernard specially required by the legate to attend and lend his counsel. At first he refused; he remembered the former murmurs against his conduct, and contrasted the retirement of his abbey with the troubles of the world. The legate, Matthew of Alba, insisted on his appearance, and St. Bernard yielded. Though it is more than probable, from internal evidence, that the statutes of the order, so generally attributed to St. Bernard, were actually of a much later date, and of a time when the order of the Temple was greatly increased in power, wealth, and numbers, yet there can be little doubt but that he had great influence in determining the form which the new order was to receive, and that his commendations and influence contributed greatly to the rapid extension of the fraternity; and in later years he composed his "Liber de laude de novæ militiæ, milites Templi," at the request of the first grand-master, Hugo de Paganis, in the hopes of exciting that spirit in the knights which Hugo's example had failed to effect.

It was about this time that the quarrel between the monastics of Clairvaux and Clugni—a quarrel, indeed, confined to the monks, and not extending to the abbots—called upon Bernard to reply to the charges of one of the Cluniac abbots, in which he so forcibly illustrates the awful state into which many of the monasteries had fallen at that day.

"How is it," he writes, "that we see such deplorable excess in diet, such luxury in dress, in the coverings of the beds, in the equipages, the horses, the structure of the buildings? The greater the excess, the more flourishing is said to be the state of religion. Economy now passes for avarice, sobriety for ill-breeding, and silence for melancholy; and, on the contrary, laxity goes for discretion, and profusion by the name of liberality; continual talking is considered a proof of civility, and laughter and mockery of gaiety of heart. Superfluity is called charity, and this supposititious charity saps the foundations of the true. Formerly visits were made for the purposes of mutual edification, and to break the bread of the soul. Now this celestial food is neither desired nor received. The Scriptures, the salvation of souls, are no longer thought of, and the time is passed in trifling, in laughter, and impertinent discourses. While these frivolities are under discussion, dish succeeds dish, and, to compensate for the absence of meat, the tables are covered with monstrous fishes in double rows, and when you have satisfied yourselves with the first, the second is presented to you, and you no longer remember that you have partaken of the former; for it is the art of the cook to season them in such manner by diversity

Digitized by Google

of sauces adapted to the divers kinds of fish, so that after having devoured five or six platefuls satiety leaves appetite undiminished. The variety of new ragouts seduces the palate, so that you are ever ready to begin again, as though you had been fasting. * * * * You who are about to buy a hood, look through the cities, go round the market-places, run through the shops, search the houses of private individuals, turn over all the household stuff of the traders, unfold huge heaps of cloths, rub them with your fingers, bring them up to your eyes, put them in the sun's rays, whatever is coarse, whatever is faded you reject; but if anything please you from its brightness, that you are forthwith eager to retain for yourself at any price."

But enough of the false charity, luxury, and petty vanity of these monasteries. The appeal of St. Bernard had its effect. Not only were the Clunians more attentive to their rules, but the abbot Suger, influenced by the words of St. Bernard, effected a radical reformation in the most luxurious of all abbeys, that of St. Denis. He had heard this apology of St. Bernard's much spoken of; much canvassed, he determined to read it, and it carried conviction to his mind. Forthwith the pleasant retreat of the kings and princes of France was restored to its original intention, and became the abode of penitence and piety.

What can be more impressive than the following appeal of St. Bernard?

"What would it avail us that our mode of life is austere, our dress simple, our personal labour painful and wearisome, our fastings and watchings continual, if at the same time we indulge a pharisaical vanity in despising others? Unless, indeed, we did our works to be seen of men. But the Saviour has declared of such, that they have their reward in the world; and oh, if in this life only *we* had hope in Christ, we should indeed be of all men most miserable; if, having taken such pains to be unlike the world, we had placed ourselves in a situation to receive a smaller recompense; or rather, a more severe punishment than the rest of the world, surely we might have found a pleasanter way to hell. *Woe, woe to the poor who are proud; to those who bear the cross of Christ, and yet refuse to follow Christ; who, while they participate in His sufferings, are not careful to imitate His humility; and they who calumniate their brethren lose sight of His humility; for they rise in their own esteem, and forget charity while they are intent only in abusing others.*"

The wise self-denial of the anti-pope Cardinal Bucapecu prevented the Church from being divided in its allegiance on the choice of Honorius the Second, as pope. On his death, however, the long smothered flames of party burst forth, the agreement about future elections was disregarded, one party raised the grandson of the converted Jew-usurer, Leonis, to the papal chair, whilst the faction of the Frangepani had been beforehand with their opponents, in hastily electing the Cardinal Gregory to the throne of St. Peter. Each pope elect seemed to refuse the proffered dignity which they had exerted all their power and influence to obtain at any hazards. The faction, however, of Anaclet the Second, the usurer's grandson, had numbers, and a greater appearance of canonicity on their side, and for a time overpowered the supporters of Innocent. Fearful of trusting to the security of the fortress of the Frangipani, and considering the importance of his presence among his priestly supporters, Innocent despatched an embassy to Louis, announcing his election, and soliciting his support, and followed on the heels of his messenger

Digitized by Google

to the land of France. The voice of St. Bernard, among the council of the French bishops at Etampes, to whom Louis had referred the rival claims of the popes, had the greatest influence in obtaining for Innocent the allegiance of the French prelates. Irregularity was so common in papal elections that personal fitness always turned the scale, and the morals of Innocent, when contrasted, in the powerful language of St. Bernard, with the grasping ambition of the usurer's descendant, won over the entire council to the cause of Innocent. Abbot Suger headed the royal embassy of congratulation that met the pope at Clugni, and Louis himself, followed by his own family, met him on the banks of the Loire, and, at the monastery of St. Bennet, fell on his knees before the pope's feet and vowed obedience to the holy Father. St. Bernard's work was not yet completed; he had been the mediate means of converting Louis to the side of Innocent, he was now personally to convince Henry of England to follow the conduct of the king of France. He went to Normandy and found Henry prejudiced against Innocent. The king withstood his arguments for a time, and pleaded the sin of recognizing one as pope so irregularly elected as the Cardinal Gregory. "You dread bringing guilt upon your soul by recognizing Innocent," said St. Bernard. "Well, then, I tell you to think only of how you may answer your other sins in the sight of God; I will be responsible for this." Henry yielded, accompanied Bernard to Chartres, and there tendered his allegiance to Innocent. The Emperor of Germany was next to be secured, and as both Anaclet and Innocent recognized Lothaire as emperor, in obedience to the bull of their predecessor, the former applied to him by letter, the latter set out for his dominions, accompanied by St. Bernard.

The examples of France and England, and the declaration of the most eminent prelates of Germany in favour of Innocent, rendered Bernard's eloquence unnecessary, in persuading Lothaire to recognize the pope. At Luttich he met the emperor, a brilliant company followed of nobles and bishops, as Lothaire rode down the main street of the city, and, alighting at the cathedral steps, made his way to the pope, seized with one hand the bridle of Innocent's horse, and, holding his staff of defender of the faith high in the other, led him into the sacred edifice. In return for his promised military aid, and the ready obedience he had paid to Innocent, Lothaire endeavoured to obtain some concessions from the holy see, especially on the subject of investitures. The Roman cardinals began to fear that they should pay dear for the emperor's support, when Bernard stepped between and convinced the emperor of the illegality of his demands. Lothaire yielded, and Innocent returned to France, having obtained a promise from the emperor, that, in the following year, he would escort him to Rome with an army.

Notwithstanding the accession of the three great princes to the cause of Innocent, still the party of his opponent were strong, not only in the holy city, but also in many dioceses both of France and

Digitized by Google

Germany, and many of Innocent's friends deemed him in error in refusing the proffer of Anaclet, to refer the decision to a general council. Bernard, however, saw through the design. "The party of Anaclet," he wrote, "offer to submit its cause to a judicial examination, either that his proposition may be rejected, and there may be thus an appearance of right on their side; or that, if acceded to, time may be thus gained, and in the interval something may happen to their advantage." The advice of St. Bernard was followed, and the proposition of Anaclet rejected.

In the year 1134, Innocent arrived at Rheims, and held his council there. Numbers of clergy and laity attended, and the consecration of the young Louis of France added to the solemnity of the meeting. The abbot of Clairvaux was the constant companion and adviser of the pope; every one sought his intercession with the holy father, and to him was committed by Innocent the task of laying open to the council the deficiencies and corruptions of their spiritual brethren. The record of the speech of Bernard that has come down to us, is unfortunately little to be depended on, and bears too many marks of subsequent concoction to warrant us in believing that we read in it aught but the heads of his fervent oration, tricked out by the arts of the subsequent composer. Two years after Lothaire carried Innocent into Rome, received the imperial crown from him in the holy city, and then, too weak either to dislodge Anaclet from his fortresses, or to support Innocent in the city, retired from Italy, whilst Innocent took refuge among the faithful Pisans. The coming of many eminent prelates from all parts to Pisa, prompted the pope to hold another council in the year 1134, in order to confirm his own authority and repress by synodal enactments the abuses and corruptions of the Church. Louis, displeased with Innocent, we know not for what, forbade his bishops to attend the council of Pisa. Bernard again used his influence. "Be not wrath," he said "with the Samuel of thy son"—alluding to the consecration at Rheims—"but if thou dost indeed consider thyself aggrieved in any matter, through the severity of the pope, I will faithfully employ my utmost diligence to obtain the revocation or remission of the sentence." Louis yielded, and the council met at Pisa, in full numbers.

It was at this time that the power of the Cistercians, and of their leader, was shown in the conversion of the city of Milan to the cause of Lothaire and Innocent. Since the accession of Honorius, and in despite of his sentence on Konrad, the Milanese had recognized him as emperor, and Anselm their archbishop had crowned him as such in Milan cathedral. For years had the Milanese been fighting against Lothaire, and in defence of their Ambrosian claim to independence of Rome, and against the claims of Innocent to the papacy. The time, however, had now arrived for their conversion to his cause.

"But," says Neander, "the unfavourable result of the war with the neighbouring states, the general dissatisfaction at the conduct of Anselm of Partesia (the archbishop) and the great and increasing influence of Bernard,

Digitized by Google

excited in the breast of the Milanese clergy and people the wish of reconciling themselves with Pope Innocent. Many among them, both of the upper and lower ranks, seized with a passion of veneration for Bernard, and for the ascetic lives of the Cistercians, at once assumed the habit of the order and, making their public appearance, attracted the esteem and reverence of the people, and had a powerful effect in disposing them in favour of Innocent." (The archbishop endeavoured to excite the people against the Cistercians as heretics.) "But their influence with the people was too powerful to be counteracted by Anselm; the Milanese refused any longer to acknowledge him as their metropolitan, and the duties of the primacy were for a while discharged by Riboald, a neighbouring bishop. Bernard, being then on his way to the council at Pisa, was requested to come to Milan, that, through his mediation, the citizens might reconcile themselves with the pope and the Emperor Lothaire, and restore peace to the surrounding districts. He wished them joy of their return to the bosom of the Church, but excused himself, by alleging the necessity of his attendance at the council. There, however, he undertook to mediate between them, the pope, and the emperor. Riboald and several of the dignified ecclesiastics of Milan appeared at Pisa, as representatives of the Church, and took the oaths to the pope in the archbishop's name; then, dreading the displeasure of the haughty Milanese, after having thus compromised the independence of their ancient Church, and knowing that there was no man more capable than Bernard of softening down animosities, they desired him to accompany them on their return, associating many eminent prelates with him as mediators, at the desire of the people of Milan. 'At his nod,' says Landulf the younger, an eye-witness, 'all the gold and silver ornaments were removed from the churches, and shut up in chests, as being offensive to the holy abbot. Men and women clothed themselves either in hair-cloth, or in the meanest woollen garments; wine was turned into water, demons were dispossessed, and sickness healed: the abbot delivered the prisoners of war from their fetters, and set them at liberty, and thus confirmed a vast multitude of persons in their allegiance to the Emperor Lothaire and their obedience to the pope, by the oath which they were obliged to take before him.' The fame of his wonderful doings spread into the adjacent countries, and from all parts came men to be healed of their diseases, or to see the saint of whom such wonders were related, so that he could by no means escape from the concourse of the people. Wherever he appeared the multitude thronged round his person, and plucked fragments, or single hairs, from his mantle, to preserve them as precious relics, by which God might be pleased to work miracles. The people of Milan earnestly desired to keep the holy man among them as their metropolitan, and, assembling in festal procession, they proceeded, singing hymns and psalms of jubilee, to the church where he resided, and entreated his acceptance of the archiepiscopal office. But Bernard had long since determined on refusing any elevated post in the Church, choosing rather as a simple monk to have the guidance of princes and prelates, than to become either bishop or pope himself. 'To-morrow,' was his answer, 'I will mount my horse, and if it carry me out of the city, I shall conclude that I may not accede to your request; but if, on the other hand, it should refuse to bear me beyond your walls, I will then consent to become your archbishop.' Thereupon he departed from Milan and travelled through the adjacent states of Pavia and Cremona, in order to mediate peace between them and Milan, and to negociate the liberty and exchange of the Milanese prisoners. His efforts were generally attended with success."—Pp. 98—101.

The reception of the pallium for the new archbishop of Milan was the only question that now remained to be settled, and it required all the persuasive eloquence of Bernard to prevent the Milanese from again breaking their fealty to the pope, and to induce Innocent to retain them by mildness, and not to risk the loss of their allegiance by violent measures against the new metropolitan, Riboald.

Digitized by Google

For twelve months Bernard laboured to restore peace and unity to the distracted Church in Italy, ere he set out for his return to Clairvaux. His progress through the north of Italy, Switzerland, and France was like a triumph. The bishop and clergy of Piacenza and Florence met him at their city gates, and conducted him in solemn procession within their walls. The shepherds of the Alps forsook their flocks and dwellings among the rocks to seek his blessing. From Besançon to Langres a solemn escort accompanied him until he met his brethren of the Clairvaux. "The monks," says their annalist, "fell on his neck, embraced his knees, spoke to him by turns, and, full of joyous exultation, accompanied him to the abbey." It was soon after their abbot's arrival, that the monks of Clairvaux, no longer able to lodge the members that hastened to join their brotherhood, and prevented by the position of the monastery from enlarging its buildings, besought Bernard's permission to raise anew the walls of the abbey. For a time he hesitated, the expense and labour deterred him. "You must either repulse those who are sent by God," said his brethren to him, "or build lodgings for them; and of a truth, we should be truly miserable, if, through fear of the expense, we were to oppose any obstacle to the development of God's work." The abbot yielded, offerings flowed in from all parts, and the work advanced with rapidity. At the spot where the stream from the western hill, after its subterranean passage, reappeared in the lower meadows, the new monastery was erected.

Bernard's stay was short at Clairvaux, the cause of Innocent soon summoned him to Aquitaine, where the Count William the Ninth, gained over to the cause of Anaclet, had taken advantage of the papal schism to drive many exemplary prelates from their sees. Godfrey, bishop of Chartres, was appointed legate for Aquitaine and Poitou, and, anxious to heal the schism, resolved to proceed to the court of Count William with the abbot of Clairvaux as his companion. The Count of Aquitaine cared little for either Innocent or Anaclet, and was easily persuaded to give up to the latter and swear allegiance to the former: one thing he would not do, be reconciled to his deprived prelates; he had sworn never to be at peace with them. Unable to overcome his obstinacy, Bernard repaired to the church to celebrate high mass.

"The count, who as an excommunicated schismatic, did not dare to assist at the ceremony, stood outside the door, and Bernard, having pronounced the words of consecration over the bread, and given the blessing to the people, made his way through them to the place where the count stood, bearing in his hand the paten with consecrated bread, and then, with a stern and menacing countenance, and eyes flashing with indignation, he addressed the prince with these words: 'Twice already have the servants of the Lord in ardent conference supplicated you, and you have despised them; lo! now, the blessed Son of the Virgin, He who is the head and Lord of the Church whom you persecute, appears to you! Behold your Judge, at whose voice every knee is bowed, both in heaven and in earth; the Judge to whom you must one day surrender your soul; and will you reject him as you have rejected his servants?' At this all the spectators wept, and remained in breathless expectation, waiting the result,

Digitized by Google

as though the denunciation would be followed by some sign from heaven, and it is probable that Bernard himself anticipated such a result. Count William, in the meantime, horror-stricken, and trembling in every limb, fell suddenly to the ground, as if attacked by epilepsy. His soldiers raised him; but he was unable to support himself, and fell prostrate a second time speechless and senseless. Bernard then drew near, and commanded the prince to rise and receive the commands of God from his mouth. 'Here in presence,' said he, 'is the Bishop of Poitiers, whom you have driven from his diocese; go and reconcile yourself to him, and confirm your peace by the holy kiss of Christian love, lead him to his episcopal throne, and exhort all the separatists in your dominions to return to the unity of the Church.' William, unable to reply, hastened to the bishop, bestowed on him the kiss of peace, and, to the joy of his subjects, reinstated him in his former diocese. Bernard now addressed the count in a friendly manner, and exhorted him to restrain his lawless will henceforth, lest he should again be guilty of disturbing the peace of the Church."—*Neander. St. Bernard*, Pp. 105, 106.

Bernard's appeal was successful; William repented him of his former conduct, and, in accordance to the spirit of the age, commenced a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Iago, at Compostella; sickness overtook him on the way, and he died on his journey thither. Once more Bernard returned to the seclusion of his monastery, and there, in a green arbour, which he had caused to be erected in a secluded spot in the valley, during the progress of the new buildings, he composed the greater part of his Sermons on the Canticles. After two years' retirement, or perhaps less, Innocent again summoned his friend to Italy. Through the mediation of Bernard, the competitors for the imperial crown had been reconciled to Lothaire, and that emperor was now enabled to pour his whole force on Italy, and to reinstate Innocent in the holy city in the year 1137, though unable entirely to expel Anaclet from his fortress in Rome. When the party of the antipope was at its height, the influence of Bernard had gone far to weaken its strength, and to induce many to conform to Innocent, now that Anaclet's great supporter, Roger of Sicily, was driven away for a time, and his party were evidently weakened, and, quarrelling among themselves, it was expected that the presence of St. Bernard at the court of Innocent would complete the ruin of his opponent. One by one the abbot overcame the fears and scruples of the followers of the antipope. To those who had received lucrative offices from Anaclet, he promised his good offices with Innocent; whilst the conscientious he overcame by the arguments of the invalidity of their oaths. Weakened and dispirited, they were too glad to deceive themselves to regard the fallacy of the arguments by which they relieved their consciences. Successful with the spiritual followers of Anaclet, Bernard now endeavoured to draw the king of Sicily from the antipapal party. Lothaire was advancing with his army, and the opposing hosts of Sicily and Germany lay encamped opposite one another. Bernard hastened to the tent of Roger, tried all his eloquence and failed. The battle followed his return from the enemy's camp; and, totally defeated in the engagement, the king of Sicily seemed willing to accede to terms. The cause of Innocent and Anaclet was to be argued before him: if convinced by the advocates

Digitized by Google

of the former, he promised to resign his support of the latter. The meeting was held at the king's palace at Salerno. Arrayed in his royal robes, sat Roger, surrounded by his court, the arbitrator between the disputants. On the one side was Bernard; on the other, the celebrated Cardinal Pietro, of Pisa. For a long time they disputed. At length Bernard advanced to his opponent, seized him by the hand, and held a long and earnest conference with him in private. We know not what were the arguments he used. Pietro may have been conscientiously convinced; but when we remember that one of the conditions of his adherence to Innocent was Bernard's promise that the pope should confirm him in his present rank and preferments, we can hardly help thinking that worldly interest had some share in the sudden conversion of the advocate of Anaclet. King Roger, not having been allowed to share in the wonderful arguments of the private conference, remained in his old opinions, until, in after times, having by accident secured the person of Innocent, convinced either by his prisoner's piety, or by his concessions, and caring little about the new antipope, Victor, whom a few of the old party had raised on the death of Anaclet in 1138, he saw it to be his interest to be once more an obedient son of the united Church. Pietro, however, accompanied his opponent to Rome, and reconciled himself with Innocent. The death of Anaclet virtually extinguished the schism. His successor, Victor, raised merely to obtain longer time for making terms, persuaded by St. Bernard of his error, came to him by night, laid his papal garments at his feet, and was conducted by Bernard into the presence of Innocent, at whose footstool he resigned his dignities. The schism thus healed, a council was called, and, among other things, every adherent of the antipope was deprived of his ecclesiastical dignities. Cardinal Pietro of Pisa was amongst the number. At the conference before the king of Sicily, Bernard had guaranteed his preferments; to him, therefore, the cardinal applied for assistance. Recognising the justice of his appeal, the abbot wrote letter after letter to Innocent on behalf of the cardinal, but without effect. Now that he was secure, Innocent was more inclined to find fault with the urgency of Bernard than to accede to his representations. Bernard was not to be denied; and, at the risk of the pope's displeasure, thus wrote to him:—

"Who shall execute judgment on yourself? If there were any judge before whom I could cite you, I would not fail to show you what treatment you have deserved at my hands. I know that there is the tribunal of Christ Jesus; but God forbid that I should accuse you before that tribunal, before which, I would it were in my power to defend you. It is for this cause that I apply to him who has received a commission to render justice to all men. I appeal from you to yourself."—*Translator's note*, p. 113.

According to the Cistercian annalist, St. Bernard's remonstrance had the desired effect, and Innocent restored the cardinal of Pisa to his dignities. Regarded by all as the peace-maker and healer of the schism, and lauded as the father of his country, wherever he went, Bernard was followed by admiring crowds, seeking the abbot's bless-

Digitized by Google

ing, and forming processions in his honour. Such public applause was not congenial to the mind of Bernard, and, as soon as peace was assured to the Church, he retired with joy to the quiet retreats of Clairvaux. Still his influence was felt, and, especially in his native land, where, though he could not restore perfect peace, so long as Innocent lived, he did much to soften the enmity between the pope and the young king, Louis, and to bring to a peaceable conclusion the quarrel with the Count of Vermandois. He feared no one, and he spared no one. His power was a constant check on usurped authority, lawless violence, and clerical corruption.

The venerable prior of St. Victor, at Paris, had incurred the displeasure of the archdeacon of the capital for assisting bishop Stephen in convicting him, among others, of great malversations. One Sunday, as he returned to Paris, accompanied by the bishop, the prior was attacked before the gates by the nephews of the man he assisted in condemning, and, after repeated wounds, died in Stephen's arms. Bernard learnt the occurrence, and forthwith represented to Innocent the necessity of immediate action. "One of two things," he wrote, "must perforce happen; either the nobility must henceforth be excluded from ecclesiastical dignities, or the clergy have unbounded license to prostitute the sacred offices." At last the pope ordered that henceforward clerical dignities should be the reward of merit only. He did not, however, trouble himself to take means for ensuring the fulfilment of his commands. Again Bernard interfered. He found that Innocent was abusing his power to the destruction of the Church, and permitting the rich and the noble to escape the punishment of the law. Bernard did not spare the pope himself.

"It is the common opinion," he wrote to Innocent, "of all who with faithful diligence watch over their congregations in this country, that all ecclesiastical justice is annihilated, and that the episcopal authority is now held in contempt; since no bishop has any longer the power of avenging offences committed against God, or even of punishing abuses occurring in his own diocese; and it is on you and on the court of Rome that the blame of this is laid, for men say that what they have religiously ordered, *you* have forbidden; and what *they* have with justice forbidden, *you* have commanded. You receive with open arms the disorderly and litigious of all congregations, even the unruly and expelled members of the monastic establishments, who, on their return from your court, publicly boast of having found protection where they should rather have found punishment."—*Life of St. Bernard*, pp. 123, 124.

Well was it for that age—yea, for every age—that such men were found, who dared to lift up their voices, and had power to penetrate through the idolized forms of worldly glory.

Much as we desire to enter on the subject, we shall not here notice the contest between Abelard and Bernard, or the part the latter took in driving out and silencing the enthusiast, Arnold of Brescia. The extraordinary contest commenced by Abelard, and continued by his disciple, Arnold, from the year 1130 to the murder of the latter in 1155, is far too important in every point of view to be slurred over in a short notice. We leave it, therefore, for a more favourable oppor-

Digitized by Google

tunity, and return to the other incidents in the life of the abbot of Clairvaux.

During the commotions at Rome, in the year 1144, when the capitol was seized by the rebellious citizens, and Innocent was unable either by menace or persuasion to restore peace, the cardinals were summoned by his sudden death to another election. Cardinal Guido, the friend of Abelard and Arnold, was unanimously raised to the papacy, under the title of Celestin the Second. In his short reign of five months, he restored peace and order; removed the interdict from France, and, at the solicitation of St. Bernard, commenced the negociations between Louis the Seventh, and the Count of Champagne. At his death Lucius the Second ascended the chair of the apostle, Arnold appeared again at Rome, again the capitol was seized, the papal authority rejected, and the emperor Konrad invited to fill the seat of his empire at Rome. The Pope, in endeavouring to seize upon the capitol, was repulsed and wounded by a stone, in the struggle, from the effects of which he died, within one year of his elevation. Once more summoned in conclave, the cardinals looked out of their own body for a successor to Pope Lucius, and raised the abbot of a Cistercian convent, by name Bernard, to the throne, under the title of Eugenius the Third. Driven from Rome by the factious people, Eugenius retired for a time to Viterbo, whence he launched the papal thunders against the citizens of the holy city. At last, in concert with the old enemies of Rome, the Tiburtines, the pope recovered his capitol, and restored the whole hierarchical constitution.

When St. Bernard first heard of the elevation of the "poor fellow covered with rags," *pannosum homuncionem*, "to be the master of bishops, and princes, and kingdoms, and empires," the anxiety and amazement he felt were expressed in his letter to the members of the sacred college. He knew not whether to regard it as an act of God, or an absurdity. Ere long he had reason to rejoice in the election, and felt convinced that, through the hands of his former pupil, "the son who had become the father," many of his desires for the benefit of the Church would be realised.

"If you," he wrote to Eugenius, "who have formerly learnt to renounce not only your own, but yourself, should now (which may God forbid!) be found seeking your own in that which belongeth to Christ, from whom shall the Church look for that freedom to which she is entitled? Oh that I might see, before I die, the Church as it was in the days of the apostles, who made it their business to win not silver and gold, but souls. How earnestly do I desire to hear from you, who occupy the apostle's place, the apostle's sentence—thy money perish with thee. O word of thunder, at which all the enemies of Zion shall arise and flee away. And this doth your mother Church require of you, that you should root out every plant that your Heavenly Father hath not planted; for you are set over nations to root out and to destroy, to build up and plant. Yet, in all your undertakings, remember that you are but a man; and let the fear of Him who taketh away the breath of princes, be ever before your eyes. How many popes have been removed by death even in your own time! Let these, your predecessors, be silent monitors of the shortness and uncertainty of your life; and, amid the flatteries of surrounding royalty, let your thoughts be ever on your latter end."—*Life of St. Bernard*, pp. 208, 280.

Digitized by Google

It was not long before our abbot had the opportunity of assisting Eugenius with more than such fatherly advice. Rome was again in commotion, and in 1146 the pope fled from the city, and took refuge in France, where the influence of St. Bernard obtained for him a welcome reception. It was in vain that Bernard wasted his eloquence on the turbulent citizens of Rome; appealing first to their ambition, and next to their fears. Equally useless was his epistle to the Emperor Konrad, the rumour of the crusades was now filling the land.

In the excitement that was now arising in Europe, the pope was to assume an authority as the leader of a great and holy undertaking, as the head of Christendom, and totally independent of his connexion with Rome. Well, therefore, could he permit his rebellious subjects to go on in their unruly course, assured that ere long their insolence would work out its own end.

It was now nearly two years since the Sultaun of Bagdad had taken the bulwark of the eastern Christian kingdom, and threatened the cities of Antioch and Jerusalem. When the ambassadors arrived in Europe to solicit the aid of their European brethren, they found Louis of France only too happy at the prospect of expiating his cruelties in the war against Count Thibault, by a pilgrimage in arms to the Holy Land. During the Christmas of the year 1145, Louis communicated his wishes to his nobles at the council at Bruges, and despatched an embassy to Eugenius, then at Viterbo, to obtain his aid in stirring up Europe as one man. Like the second Urban, Eugenius promised plenary absolution to all who would engage in the expedition; and, as the conduct of his people required his presence in the papal dominions, he appointed St. Bernard as his representative in encouraging and preaching up the crusade.

"At the council summoned at Vezelai, for the purpose, at Easter, 1146, the crusade was to be first publicly preached, and crosses distributed by Bernard. The assembly was so numerous, that the castle was incapable of containing the people, and they therefore adjourned to an open field without the city. Bernard then ascended a scaffolding erected for him, accompanied by the king, who had already assumed the cross. The effect of his eloquence was so inspiring, that the whole multitude rent the air with shouts of "The cross, the cross," and thronged round the scaffold to receive the sacred emblem from his hands, which, in the words of an eye witness, he might be said "to scatter rather than to distribute to them." The whole supply of crosses prepared for the occasion being exhausted, Bernard was obliged to tear up his own garments to supply the deficiency. Bernard brought all his fiery zeal to bear upon that which he had most at heart, and wrote to the pope to stimulate him to fresh exertions. "So weighty and all-important a matter," writes Bernard, "you must not approach with a lukewarm nor a fearful spirit. I have read what a certain wise man said, 'that he is no brave man whose courage does not wax greater under difficulties.' But I say that the man who has faith must needs find the increase of his confidence in the troubles which are sent him by God's appointment." Bernard, whose powerful mind was, according to the testimony of a contemporary, tabernacled by a delicate and already infirm body, now travelled into the adjacent countries, and his growing eloquence excited every where so great an enthusiasm, that he could write to the pope, "The cities and castles are emptied of their inhabitants, and hardly can seven women find one man; and, in the lifetime of their husbands, wives are turned into widows." In an assembly

Digitized by Google

held at Chartres, three weeks after Easter, Bernard was requested to head the expedition, but this he refused to do. "What am I," said he, "that I should place the battle in array, and set myself at the head of the warriors? What can be further from my vocation, even if my strength were equal to it, and if I were not totally unlearned in the art of war?"—*Neander's Life of St. Bernard*, pp. 215, 16.

His work completed, and success thus assured in France, St. Bernard travelled into Germany to summon her princes and people to the battle. In general the petty party warfare between the people rendered them indisposed towards the crusade, unwilling to sacrifice private interests to those of the world. Bernard, however, was not the first to preach the crusade to the Germans; a fanatic monk, of the name of Rudolph, had been before him, and had generated such confusion and disunions, as set all order at defiance, and prevented effectual union. Thousands from Cologne, Mentz, Strasburg, Worms, and Spires, had followed him through the country, making the ill-affected Jews their first victims, as the enemies of Christ nearest at home.

"*What!* (wrote St. Bernard to the Archbishop Henry, of Ments,) doth not the Church triumph in a more glorious manner over the Jews by daily refuting and converting them, than by taking up the sword to extirpate them? Shall that prayer which the Church puts up from sun-rise to sun-set for the conversion of the Jews be of no avail? Shall God in vain be entreated to take away the veil from their heart, that they may be brought out of their darkness into the light of life? for, without the hope that the unbelievers shall at last obtain faith, surely it would be superfluous to offer it. And how deem you those words—'When the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, then shall all Israel be saved?' and again—'The Lord will build up Jerusalem, and gather together the outcasts of Israel?' Art thou he that makest the prophets liars, and the whole treasures of Christ's loving kindness and mercy of none effect?" *Life of St. Bernard*, p. 218.

To repress these extravagant cruelties, and to endeavour to persuade the nobles of Germany to join the crusade, St. Bernard came to that country. Idolized as Rudolph was by the people, no man but of the credit and authority of St. Bernard, and possessed of his wondrous power of working on the minds of his hearers, could have successfully combated the factious demagogue. Crowds streamed out to meet the holy abbot from every city through which he passed, and happy did the sick man deem himself on whom St. Bernard bestowed even but a passing glance. Strong in their faith, many a one felt convinced that he was healed.

So disheartened was Bernard with his first interview with Konrad at Frankfort, that he ceased to press the emperor on the subject, and turned to the nobles and people of the land. Strengthened by the effect his public appeal had had on the Diet of Spires during the Christmas festival, St. Bernard once more addressed the emperor in private, and besought him not to lose the opportunity of so glorious a penance. The emperor was now aware of the change of opinion among his nobles and subjects, and replied that he would advise with his councillors.

"The next day Bernard officiated at mass, to which he unexpectedly added a sermon on the crusade. Towards the conclusion of his discourse, he

Digitized by Google

turned to the emperor and addressed him frankly, as though he had been a private man. He described the day of judgment, when the men who had such innumerable benefits from God, and yet had refused to minister to him to the utmost of their power, would be left without reply or excuse. He then spoke of the blessing which God had in such overflowing measure poured upon the head of Konrad; the highest worldly dominion, treasures of wealth, gifts of mind and body, till the emperor, moved even to tears, exclaimed, 'I acknowledge the gifts of Divine mercy, and I will no longer remain ungrateful for them. I am ready for the service to which He himself hath exhorted me.' At these words a universal shout of joy burst from the assembly. The emperor immediately received the cross, and several of the nobles followed his example. Bernard then took from the altar the consecrated banner, and delivering it to the emperor, by whom it was to be carried in person at the head of the crusaders, he proceeded with him from the Church to his lodgings."—*Neander, Life of St. Bernard*, p. 220.

His work thus accomplished, St. Bernard returned to France to aid his pupil, Eugenius, now a fugitive in that country, and to guide the French nobles in the election of their Regent during Louis's absence with the crusade. At the Easter feast of 1147, the solemn assembly met at St. Denis for the benediction of Louis and his reception of the consecrated banner. The pope came, accompanied by St. Bernard; and Louis besought on his knees their united blessing. Leading the king to the altar, Eugenius delivered to him the consecrated standard and the pilgrim's scrip, with the papal benediction, whilst the minds of the assembly were inflamed by the display of numerous golden crucifixes, which Bernard and the pope had brought with them to the meeting in a golden casket. In the course of that year the host marched for the East; we know with what success.

It was not only from such wild enthusiasts as the monk, Rudolph, that St. Bernard was hindered in preaching the crusade: the religious associations for building churches—the popular devotion of the time—was one great difficulty in his way. Regularly organized, and composed of persons of all classes and both sexes, every member was first reconciled to God by a devout confession of his sins, a vow of obedience to his superior, and an engagement to perform all offices of charity for the sick. Under the guidance of a priest, they marched over hill and dale to the scene of their joint labours, and devoted thus to the cause of religion in their own land, and daily cheered by the progress of their work, they were little willing to desert the sacred work, and renounce a present object for one of remote interest and dubious attainment. Haimo, abbot of St. Pierre, in Normandy, who had seen a magnificent cathedral rising in the place of his humble parish church, thus described the proceedings of these associations in 1145.

"Who has ever heard of such a thing?" exclaims Haimo; "who has ever before seen princes, mighty lords, men-at-arms, and delicate women bend their necks to the yoke, to which they suffer themselves to be attached like beasts of draught, so as to move heavy burdens? Sometimes thousands of them are to be seen fastened to one machine of great weight, loaded with wheat, wine, and oil; with lime, stone, and all the materials necessary for the workmen, which they drag from surprising distances. Nothing stops their progress; neither

Digitized by Google

hills, valleys, nor rivers, which they cross as did formerly the people of God. And what is still more wonderful, this innumerable company pursues its march without noise or confusion. Their voices are never heard except at a given signal, when they are raised to implore pardon for their sins, or to chaunt the praises of God."—*St. Bernard. Note by Translator*, p. 227.

His labours concluded in France, Bernard returned to Eugenius at Treves to lend his advice in the settlement of various disputes in the Church of Germany. There was yet another reason: there was a certain abbess, the superior of a convent on the Rupertzberg, who was venerated by some as a saint and a prophetess, whilst others regarded her wild and enigmatical discourses as the confusion of a disordered mind, if not the operations of the enemy of mankind. Bernard wished to prove the spirit of her who, from three years old, had possessed a mind replete with imagery, which the injudicious acts of her doting parents had fostered and encouraged, until, as years passed on, she could no longer conceal her long-cherished impressions, and saw, in the natural desire of relieving her overstored mind by a public revelation of her sentiments, a spiritual summons to the work of a teacher and a prophetess. The rising corruptions of the Church were the theme of her meditations, and when at length she gave utterance to her thoughts, regardless of consequences, she reproved the corruptions of the highest among the clergy, and drew on herself the hatred of a powerful body. Bernard had already expressed his sympathy with the abbess, and, now that he deemed her spirit proved to the quick, he sought to obtain from Eugenius a public recognition of her powers. Her name was mentioned at the Council of Treves, and her works brought from the convent on the Rupertzberg of the inspection of the pope. Publicly read and approved by him and Bernard, they were received with consideration and respect, and the testimony of the approbation of the Head of the Church was transmitted to the abbess in his own handwriting. This recognition by Eugenius and Bernard stamped the reputation of the abbess Hildegard. Her fame spread through the land: princes, popes, bishops, and emperors, referred their disputes to her arbitrement, vied with each other in paying her honour, and in personally soliciting her counsel.

In accordance with our previous determination, in the contests between Bernard, Abelard, and Arnold of Brescia, we must now pass over the part taken by St. Bernard in the condemnation of the heresy of Gilbert de Ponet, on the Godhead, and in the silencing of the preaching of Peter de Bruys, and his disciple, the Cluniac monk, Henri, and hasten on to the closing scenes of the life of the Abbot of Clairvaux.

The year 1149, was the beginning of troubles to St. Bernard; the crusade had failed, and few families did not mourn for some relation slain in the fruitless enterprise. He was now reviled as a false prophet; nay, he replied, it is your vices, your quarrels among yourselves rendered you unfit to be instruments of God's deliverance for his people. "Moses," he wrote in justification to Eugenius,

Digitized by Google

"promised to lead the people to the holy land; had he not promised they would not have followed him; they arrived not there, why? not from the rashness of their leader, not from the falsity of his promises. Were they not a stiffnecked people, rebels against their God, and his servant Moses? Yes, verily; and what are these men? ask themselves." Three years after, another affliction fell on him—a disgrace more deeply afflicting to him than the failure of the crusades. The treachery of his secretary, the monk, Nicholas, had brought his name into disrepute; forging his patron's seal, for years he had written letters in his name to the dignitaries of the Church, and to the court of Rome, in which he had used Bernard's great influence to recommend unfit persons for sacred offices of high trust and great emolument. His treachery at length discovered, the monk fled from Clairvaux, and sought to blast his patron's fame with the world. These slanders could not shake the peace of mind that was based on a good conscience, but sorely did it try the powers and influence of the abbot, to remedy the many grievous acts which his secretary had committed in his name.

The declining years of the abbot's life were chiefly devoted to the perfection of his "Book of Consideration," in which he drew the character of what the pope ought to be; his friend, Eugenius, could not profit from Bernard's labours, for he was summoned before him to the grave, and the holy abbot did not complete his labours until the last moments of his truly valuable life. Bernard was on his sick couch, sick as he felt unto death, when he heard that war had again broken out between the burghers of Metz and the neighbouring barons. Hillier, Archbishop of Treves, hastened to the bed of the departing abbot, and implored his mediation between the parties. Bernard, regardless of his bodily infirmities, rose from his couch, and hastened to the scene of strife; on the banks of the Moselle he met the ambassadors of the combatants. The burghers were willing to treat; the knights, elate with recent success, refused any terms, and left the meeting lest the eloquence of St. Bernard should cause them to recede from their determination. "Fear not," said the abbot, to his companions, "the desired peace is at hand, though many difficulties be in the way; last night, me dreamt that I was singing the mass, and then remembered, with shame, that I had omitted the angels' song. I then commenced it and sang it to the end." Ere the night had come on, the nobles, who had thought over the offers of their opponents, and the words of St. Bernard, advised him of their change of opinion. "Here," said the abbot, "is the beginning of the song, 'Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace;'" he was not wrong. Much trouble, many words, and much time were consumed, but at last the abbot returned to his convent the successful reconciliator of the contending parties.

This was his last active exertion; death was coming rapidly upon him; the sickness he had overcome by his mental powers came on with redoubled violence, and every day he sank weaker and weaker.

Digitized by Google

A short time before his death, he dictated these words to his friend, Arnold, abbot of Bonneval: "Pray to the Saviour, who willeth not the death of a sinner, that He delay not my departure, and yet that He will be pleased to guard it: support him, who hath no merits of his own, by your prayers, that the adversary of our salvation may not find any place to open his attacks." Around his bed stood his weeping brethren, whose demonstrations of sorrow could no longer be restrained; "I am in a strait," said he, as he looked on them, "in a strait between two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better. Nevertheless the love of my children urge me to remain here below." With these words he breathed his last, after forty years of sickness, closing a life of constant activity, and of universal influence over his contemporaries; his friend, Eugenius, had preceded him but a few months; the year 1153 witnessed the death of the pupil and the master.

Increased as was the accommodation which the rebuilding of the abbey afforded, it was not long after Bernard's death that the buildings were again found incapable of containing those who flocked to them for admission. By the side of the Bernardine buildings, preserved out of reverence for the abbot and his companions, a sumptuous palace arose, and every decoration that architecture and painting could contribute, adorned the dormitories, chapter-house, refectory, library, and chapel of the new monastery of Clairvaux. With episcopal honours, a country palace, a picture gallery, lord over eighteen abbeys, and twenty-eight nunneries, with forty-one abbeys commendatory, and a like number in foreign countries; with ninety thousand livres of revenue, besides, yearly, ten thousand bushels of wheat, and seven hundred hogsheads of wine; nothing could be more contrasted than the first abbot of Clairvaux, and his successors. When the pope resolved on a general reformation of the monastic orders, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Clairvaux's abbot resisted firmly, and though under Denys L'Argentier, somewhat of the ancient discipline was restored, the reign of his youthful and luxurious nephew brought back the previous excesses. Even Richelieu, disgusted with their conduct, at length gave them over to the papal commissioner, the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault. As a last resource, the Cistercians elected Richelieu as their abbot; he accepted the office, prepared great reforms, and died before his good intentions could be carried into effect. The old abuses revived, and increased to greater length. The rule had become a dead letter. "At last," said Helyot, "the vengeance of Heaven mowed down reformed and unreformed with one sickle; and when the French Revolution came like a whirlwind, overthrowing all that bore the semblance of religion, there were but five-and-forty monks to be expelled by its violence, from the once populous monastery of Clairvaux: and now the sounds of labour and punishment arise where once were pious orisons, and two thousand outcasts from society occupy the halls of the fraternity of St. Bernard!

Digitized by Google

1. *Lectures—Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical, on the Catechism of the Church of England. By* FRANCIS-RUSSELL NIXON, D.D. *Lord Bishop of Tasmania, &c.* 1 large vol. 8vo. London: Wix. 1843.

2. *The Weekly Offertory: its Obligations, Uses, Results. By the Rev.* WILLIAM PALIN, B.A. *Rector of Stifford, Essex.* London: Burns. 1843. Pp. 24.

THE Bishop of Tasmania's lectures we have named, not with a view of analysing their varied stores, which we would gladly do, but solely from the value of the book, which is very great, towards restoring the catechetical office of the Church. As a manual of instruction to the clergy, amounting almost to a system of divinity, we know of no modern work which equals it.

We prefix Mr. Palin's pamphlet to our remarks, not with a design of reviewing it, for it has been received after the following article was in type, but rather to announce it as a useful and comforting help towards the revival of a single neglected duty; upon which, perhaps, more than any other, depend our hopes. The appendix is very gratifying, as it details what has already been done, and is now doing, towards the restoration of the weekly offertory; and this has advanced further than we had anticipated. Catechising, and the weekly offertory, are but branches of a vast subject, upon which we desire to say something.

Unusual attention having been called for some time past to the question of conformity to the rubrics,—the subject having formed as well a prominent feature in several recent Charges of the Right Reverend Prelates of our Church,—as also a very general topic of discussion among the Clergy; some viewing the matter in one light, some in another; some arriving at one conclusion, others at one diametrically opposite,—it appears to us, that a statement of the mode in which the general subject has forced itself upon our own attention might, with God's blessing, afford to inquiring minds some assistance in forming a safe and correct judgment in a matter of so great weight and interest.

The advantages resulting from conformity will be most readily acknowledged, if it can be shown that an opposite course is the cause of many disadvantages under which our Church is at present suffering. However, inasmuch as those persons are, in general, the least well calculated to form a correct judgment of the moral consequences resulting from any disordered state of things, who are themselves living under it, and, it may be, more or less, unconsciously partakers in the evil, it may be well, before entertaining the question of the possible moral consequences of our own disorder, (losing sight of self for a time,) to cast our eyes back upon God's former dispensation, and take a cursory view of a somewhat similar state of

Digitized by Google

things presented to our notice in the historical books which contain the record of the events which befel the Jewish Church after the return from the Babylonian captivity. Thus we shall not only be enabled to form a more impartial judgment as to the moral effects of ritual neglect in general, but we shall have the further advantage of an inspired comment upon such neglect, preserved to us in the writings of those prophets who flourished at the same time, and thus, also, we shall come better prepared to the consideration of the subject proposed.

Let us, first of all, then, direct our attention to the accounts which we find in the book of Ezra, of neglect on the part of the Jewish priesthood of their ministerial duties; and then consider the various worse evils which, I will not say resulted from, but at least, went hand in hand with that neglect of their prescribed duties. In the eighth chapter it appears that the feast of tabernacles had been suffered to fall into neglect, and with it, doubtless, had gone the remembrance of former mercies; expressions again occur in the tenth chapter, which show that the several parts of divine service had been either wholly neglected, or at least very inadequately performed; among these are the daily morning and evening sacrifice, and the set feasts, and the sabbaths. In the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah, we are informed of the neglect of the Levites; their portions were refused them, and why? because they were fled every one to his own field: *i. e.* they were at home in their forty-eight cities, on their own possessions, when they ought to have been employing themselves in the public service of the sanctuary.

Now, connected with this *ritual* neglect on the part of God's ministers, were various other evils which it will be instructive to notice, for this reason, if for no other, that such evils may have a natural connexion with such ritual neglect; especially if it shall appear that similar evils, existing at the present day, are contemporaneous with similar neglect.

In the book of Nehemiah the priests are related to have mixed themselves up to a great degree in secular matters, and even to have joined with the rulers in usurious and covetous practices, and to have kept to their own use the produce of vineyards and olive-yards, contrary to the ordinance of the seventh year, and to have exacted debts instead of making a release at that time.

We learn further from Haggai and Malachi, who prophesied during this period, one or two other facts bearing upon the disregard shown by the priesthood to God's laws and their own ecclesiastical polity. Haggai speaks in terms of the bitterest reproach against the whole Jewish nation for neglecting to build the temple, God's house, in which he is pleased to place his name, and for their saying, in excuse, "The time is not yet come," although they themselves were living in their cieled and painted houses. It is but too evident that this backwardness of

Digitized by Google

the people was in no small degree owing to the lukewarmness of the priests; for we read that when the Lord stirred up the spirit of the governor, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people, that he also stirred up the spirit of Joshua, the son of Josedec, the high priest; whence we learn that he among the rest had been guilty of this melancholy disregard to the honour of God's house. The prophet Malachi, when he accuses the Jewish people of sacrilege, does not exempt the priests:*—"Will a man rob *God?* Yet ye have robbed me; but ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this *whole* nation." Prince, priests, and people, all seem to have consented to some national act by which God was robbed in the matter of tithes and offerings. A simple reference to the sacred writings will furnish additional matter for sad reflection: what has been adduced is, however, sufficient for our present purpose. The chapters of the prophet Malachi abound with passages which speak the mind of God with regard to these sad instances of neglect of duty, and the evils attendant thereupon. In the second chapter we find the following severe rebuke:—

"For the priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth: for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law; ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts. Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law."

Their disregard of the covenant called the covenant of Levi, into which they had entered, and by which they were bound, not only weakened *their* power for good, but likewise led the people into doing wrong, besides bringing upon themselves the contempt of their inferiors. In all this God was greatly dishonoured, and through *them.* We read again, in the first chapter,†—"My name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts. But ye have profaned it, in that ye say, The table of the Lord is polluted; and the fruit thereof, even his meat, is contemptible. Ye said also, Behold, what a weariness is it! and ye have snuffed at it, saith the Lord of hosts."

Now, in what has been brought forward from the records of the Jewish Church, we can scarcely fail to perceive, with whatever pain and anxiety, traces of a resemblance between their disorder and our own, both as regards negligence in the conduct of God's public worship, and those other evils apparently connected with it. The question, then, seeming to involve important results, which might not be so obvious at first sight, let us now address ourselves to its serious consideration, and inquire as to what may be the possible moral consequences of respec-

* Malachi iii. 8, 9. † Malachi i. 11, 12, 13.

Digitized by Google

tively obeying or of disobeying the rubrical direction of our Church; and whether some of the disadvantages under which we are at present confessedly suffering, if not produced, have been at least helped on, by a disregard of the rubric. It may be alleged, in order to depreciate the importance of the question, that there is a difference between the ritual of the Jewish Church and that of our own, inasmuch as the directions in the former case were actually a part of the Divine law, whereas the latter are of *man's* appointment. Yet, granting this distinction, and that many rubrical injunctions are, in themselves, indifferent, and might be altered by legitimate authority, all ministers of the English Church, it should be remembered, did, before their ordination, pledge themselves to use the prescript form of Divine service contained in the book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, as it now stands, set forth by lawful authority, and *none other*; and that this pledge has been renewed by many of them solemnly in God's house, and in the presence of the congregation whom they are called upon to serve.

Notwithstanding this solemn pledge, however, it so happens that many of the rules in this book are almost universally disregarded. It is a matter, concerning which, like those who were bidden to the marriage-feast, all, with one consent, have begun to make excuse; some excusing themselves on one ground, some on another. And yet can it, indeed, be seriously thought that promises, made on so solemn an occasion as that of entering on the ministry, and about a matter of such infinite moment as the mode of exercising the ministerial office, can be thus deliberately overlooked without any evil consequences thence resulting?

Many expedients are invented to evade the force of this question. Some avoid the difficulty by an unhesitating assumption that strict obedience to the rules in the Prayer-book is not a matter of conscience at all, or that the promise at ordination must not be understood to extend beyond conformity to such rules as, by common consent, are still observed. That the obligation of the promise is moral rather than literal; or that the head rulers of the Church are the arbiters as to the extent in regard to which conformity is an obligation. Others, again, affirm that the measure of obedience is to be determined by circumstances; and that persons, time, place, custom, convenience, must all be understood as limiting the obligation of the promise.

It is not meant here to insinuate that circumstances are to be wholly disregarded in this matter, or that where irregularities have prevailed for a long time, due caution is not to be used in the restoration of order; or that the counsel of those who rule in the Church is not to be sought for. But yet, no candid mind can fail to perceive that the above-stated expedients, which are usually resorted to to get rid of the very idea of an obligation, are unsatisfactory, and will scarcely bear the test of a pure conscience.

Digitized by Google

It is a matter of no little danger to tamper with the conscience in points of less moment than this before us. The keenness of its edge is dulled by the slightest breath of unfairness. As polished steel contracts a rust, whose mark is not easily effaced, by the touch of the hand, no matter how delicate the hand, how gentle the touch: just so with the conscience of a Christian, let it be practised upon in ever so small a degree by the delusive reasoning which self-love is but too ready to adopt, if not to invent, and it will have lost a portion of that which it will not easily recover—its quality of trueness, its faculty of illuminating the soul of man; and, like a faulty compass to the mariner, so far from leading him to the haven where he would be, it will rather guide him into difficulty and danger. For, in the majority of instances, it happens that the very slightest deviation from a straightforward course, only paves the way for wider deviations; and when we have once allowed ourselves in that which we condemn—whether the commission of sin or the omission of duty—we entertain towards it ever afterwards a very different feeling from that which we experienced when our conscience first lifted up its warning voice.

After all that can be said in extenuation of disobedience, a promise is a promise; and a disregard of promises is universally reprobated by mankind, and to avoid the evil consequences of an acknowledged disregard, expedients are resorted to; the meaning of words is altered or strained—an evil of scarcely less importance than deliberate disregard of promises; for when men have once accustomed themselves to shake off the plain, simple meaning of the words they use, substituting such as may suit their own ease or convenience, all hold of them seems to vanish. Only once enter into discussion with men who have accustomed themselves thus to use words at random, and the evil will appear; and one might as well write arguments in water and expect an impression to remain on its surface, as hope to convey truth to the minds of such as have learned to understand words in other than their one plain sense. How strongly is the perversion of the Romanist felt, who evades the plain meaning of his parliamentary oath! and yet, what great difference is there in the sight of God between his conduct and that of persons binding themselves to conform to a body of rules, holding at the same time that they are at liberty to interpret this promise according to their own fancy or convenience! The evil of putting various and contradictory meanings upon plain and simple words, is, apparently, an increasing evil in the present day; and, if it is permitted to gain ground; if the spirit and life is suffered to depart from speech—that blessed gift of God, that great instrument of unity; when we perceive language becoming confounded, how shall we ever hope to realize that glorious mark of the Christian Church, that acknowledged condition of her blessedness, viz. "that we be all of one mind and one soul;" that "unity" so much desired

Digitized by Google

and longed for; that "oneness" which the blessed Founder of the Church, who best knew her need, implored for it so earnestly the night before he suffered?

The Book of Genesis furnishes a most unequivocal lesson, that abuse of language is the forerunner not of unity but of dispersion—dispersion as much more fatal than that of the land of Shinar, as the respective objects for which unity were desirable differ in importance.

Here, then, are some of the evils which appear to be connected with the habit of disregarding the rubric of the Prayer-book, viz. That if such disregard does not involve the breach of a promise made at a very solemn time, and in regard to a very solemn subject, yet that it indicates an unfairness of mind, and a tendency to that abuse of language which has been shown to involve so serious consequences. The evils above-mentioned more particularly affect the moral condition of the ministers of the Church; but let us now consider the probable effect of ritual irregularities upon those who seek the law at the priest's lips—upon considerate and reflecting laymen.

Will not the teaching of God's ministers necessarily lose a degree of its power, to say the least, when those to whom they are sent are furnished with so obvious a means of retorting upon them the proverb, "Physician, heal thyself?" At the best, the ministers of God hold their treasure in earthen vessels—an accident which in itself too often operates as a hindrance to the reception of their ministry; and it is impossible to say to what extent this hindrance may be multiplied by the exhibition of such ritual irregularities as appear amongst us. A straightforward layman who has been accustomed to take men at their words, and if they promise a thing to expect the performance of it at their hands, can hardly fail to be startled at the utterly needless disregard, too often manifested by ministers, to the rubric which they have so solemnly promised to obey; and still more at the mode of reasoning by which such disregard is too often attempted to be vindicated. This way of looking upon the subject is no new, highly-strained notion. Archdeacon Sharpe, in one of his charges, has made it a question whether, "in point of conscience, we be not breakers of our word and trust, and evaders of our engagements to the Church." Such are the words of a very great man; and it is, unquestionably, of extreme importance in what light this apparent negligence of ministers appears in the eyes of their people; for, should it occur to them to adopt the view hinted at in the Archdeacon's charge, they would unquestionably avail themselves of it as an encouragement to go on in their own ways, feeling it in their power, when pressed hard to act up to their own duties, or to leave off their vices, to retort upon their reprovers—promises made light of, and random words about sacred obligations; and the only way to meet the objections of these straightforward men, is to follow

Digitized by Google

the example of the commination service, and lament the necessity, if such there be, which hinders strict conformity, and aim at restoration and strict obedience as soon as opportunity will permit.

To talk about propriety, and expediency, and change of times and circumstances, will only leave the objector master of the field; and, it may be, not without reflection crossing his mind not greatly to the advantage of his opponent.

Such are some of the general consequences which are more or less connected with a disregard to rules, by which, in the eyes of others, if not in their own, the ministers of religion appear to be bound; viz. 1. That it dulls their own sense of conscientiousness; 2. Paves the way for still greater deviations from a straightforward course; 3. Involves them in a habit of thinking less and less of the real meaning of words; 4. Affects their influence as teachers; 5. Leads others to disregard first words, then things; and 6. Places them oftentimes in a position out of which they only escape with an impression which ought not to be *made*, much less *left* upon people's minds. Such being the apparent more general evil consequences resulting from a disregard to the authority of the rubric: let us now consider a few of the particulars in which this disregard is more usually manifested; and this perhaps will serve to convince us that some of the calamities under which the Church is at present labouring, if not absolutely produced, have at least been helped on, by it.

1. The neglect of the daily morning and evening service: "All priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause.

"And the curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word, and to pray with him."

Now, if a man were given to understand, before he entered upon the ministry, that such a demand upon his time were expected of him—that, with such exceptions as the rubric may be fairly understood to contemplate, he is to be at his post morning and evening, not only on Sundays, but every day, would the life of a clergyman be sought, as in many instances it now is, as a life conferring ease and leisure and time at command, inverting the common lot of mortal man, giving him one day wherein to labour, and six wherein to rest from his work? Would not the office of the priesthood be less coveted by men of lukewarm devotion, if to "spend and be spent" in the ministry of the word, and in prayer, was not the exception but the rule?

One serious evil arising from this neglect is, that it leaves men time for employing themselves in secular matters, for hold-

Digitized by Google

ing situations at variance with the distinctive character of the priest's office. Thus, by interfering with their duties, the lay people are provoked to jealousy, and the ministers of religion forget their peculiar calling, which is to train men up to fulfil the duties of their responsible situations, and not step into those situations themselves, and add the function of another man's office to their own.

But, there are other things, in connexion with this matter, which it will be important to notice. For, if there is any reason to believe that prayer is answered, and that great and undeserved blessings flow to ourselves and others from faithful and fervent supplications, prayers, and intercessions, are not the Church, the State, and the several orders in both of them likely to be sufferers from a disregard of one of the first injunctions in the Common Prayer-book? Sodom could have been saved if only ten righteous persons had been found within its walls. What might this Church and nation have been, had the fervent prayers of not ten, but ten thousand faithful priests (to say nothing of those of their people who may have been inclined, had they been invited, to hear God's word and to pray with him) been daily offered up at the throne of grace in the consecrated temples of the Most High? Should we see all that indifference about error, those heresies, and schisms, and heartburnings, and hear all that fearful blasphemy which we of this day are doomed to hear and to see daily, if from the lips of holy men, each the representative of his own flock, had daily been poured forth the fervent prayer that we might "be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life?" If the cloud had been pierced with one never-failing stream of prayer, flowing as it were from one heart and one mouth, what might we not have been by this time? Why not the joy of the whole earth? Indeed, the remarkable position we still hold in regard to the kingdoms of the world, and the other branches of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, our nearness to something great, seem to intimate that a little more would have made us the glory and praise of the earth, and exalted us like Capernaum to heaven! God grant that our last end be not like that of this infatuated city, for our neglects that are past, and the opportunities which, it may be, we have let go by for ever!

There is yet one other consequence of this particular breach of rubrical authority, which we cannot suffer here to pass unnoticed. It cannot fail to be seen how much the neglect of public prayer, as such, has tended to exalt preaching above every other religious consideration (so as, indeed, materially to injure that blessed ordinance itself so unduly magnified). Had people been only in the way of knowing that prayer was going on without preaching, they would not have come to think, as is too fre-

Digitized by Google

quently now the case, the prayer a sort of tedious preface to a sermon. They would hardly have thought religion consisted in the mere hearing of sermons, or have fallen into the fatal and destructive snare of exalting the man, whilst they degrade the office of the priesthood, they would have been saved the misery and folly of worshipping at the shrine of an earthly idol, whose fall has but too frequently proclaimed its own worthlessness and their sin.

2. Let us now proceed to consider some consequences which appear to follow from a neglect of the rubrics, in regard to the holy Sacraments. Is it not evident, beyond dispute, that holy Baptism, from the prevalent custom of administering it otherwise than as enjoined in the rubric, and without any care whether the sponsors be communicants or not, has lost much of its *importance* in the eyes of men, and is thought by many to differ in a very small degree, if at all, from a mere emblematical ceremony, or Jewish ordinance hardly necessary to salvation, and certainly not *so* necessary as that the absence of it would imply that a man was not in the kingdom of heaven?

To convince ourselves of this, we need not ask the generality of persons in what light they consider a certain class of their unbaptized neighbours, and nine out of ten—(forgetting that, to be entitled to the name of Christian, it is necessary to be baptized, as well as to believe in the truths of Christianity)—would be shocked at the insinuation that they were not Christians.

When we put the door out of sight, it is not surprising to find men attempting to climb up into the fold some other way. Again, has not this disregard affected the *doctrine* of this sacrament? Had baptism been always administered in the face of the congregation, would those erroneous notions respecting regeneration been so prevalent among us? Could the true doctrine, standing out as it does in prominent relief throughout the solemn service, have been sounded in men's ears on Sundays and holy-days, without leaving an impression of the truth upon them?

There are some, indeed, who disbelieve in the doctrine that regeneration takes place in baptism, who are yet sufficiently candid to acknowledge that the formularies of our Church uniformly hold the opposite; and such persons would gladly see an alteration made in the forms themselves; whilst others, holding the same opinion, have, with less candour, vainly endeavoured to invest the words with a meaning which they were never intended to convey, and cannot be made to bear without the grossest perversion. By keeping the public office of baptism out of sight, contrary to the rubric, the system which darkens counsel by errors without knowledge is enabled the more quietly and surely to establish its own tradition: whereas, if the lay people were in the habit of hearing the simple language of the Prayer-

Digitized by Google

book, they would be furnished, at least, with a court of appeal from the new-fangled notions of modern times, of which advantage, however, the prevailing practice of baptizing, when the congregation are not present, in too many instances deprives them. Thus, the doctrine of the Church is liable to be misconceived, and God's truth is placed in jeopardy.

With regard to the other holy Sacrament, what consequences may have followed from the total indifference with which the preliminary rubric has been treated, it is impossible to determine, and the question is left for the consideration of the reader.

In one remarkable particular, the case in respect of this holy sacrament is somewhat reversed. The *letter* of the rubric is respected, but the *spirit* disregarded; it is made needful, by one of the later rubrics, for each parishioner to communicate "three times a year at the least," on pain, as we find by the canon, of being presented to the Bishop for negligence. Hence, in how many cases has countenance been assumed for the practice of celebrating the holy Communion just often enough to give the people a chance of escaping public censure; that is, three or four times in the year? Our children are taught that this sacrament is necessary to salvation, and that their souls are strengthened and refreshed by it: is it surprising that this teaching should be neutralized, when it is contradicted before the very eyes of men by the (till of very late day) prevailing disposition to administer this holy Sacrament the smallest possible number of times?

Can we wonder that half our people are non-communicants? Again, who can tell the consequences of the almost universal violation of the rubric, immediately preceding the prayer for the Church militant?

"Then shall the Priest return to the Lord's Table, and begin the Offertory, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient in his discretion."

"Whilst these sentences are in reading, the Deacons, Churchwardens, or other fit person appointed for that purpose, shall receive the Alms for the Poor, and other Devotions of the people, in a decent bason to be provided by the Parish for that purpose; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table."

"And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine, as he shall think sufficient. After which done, the Priest shall say"

Persons, forgetting that they are under an obligation to observe it, may please to call this a trifling ceremony. Yet, trifling as it may appear to those who look no deeper than the surface, the neglect of it may involve important consequences, not obvious at the first glance. When we celebrate the Lord's Supper we are fed from His hand; the oblation of

Digitized by Google

the bread and wine is the solemn act on our part of presenting to God of those good creatures which He has bestowed upon us, in order that we, by making them again His own in the form of an humble offering, may receive them once more at His merciful hand, conveying to us what they themselves symbolize—" the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

By neglecting to obey the rubric, which orders this oblation to be made, the whole of this idea is lost sight of; and here it may not be irrelevant to notice, that, since no possible inconvenience could result from conformity in this instance, the disregard of it is something like an indication that obedience to the rubrics, as *a principle*, has come to be lost sight of altogether. It is very common, in these days, to hear much declamation against manifesting any sort of regard to matters which men are pleased to call trifling. It is strange that it never occurs to them, that, in religion, trifling matters (if anything may safely be denominated trifling in religion) are sometimes so intimately connected with matters of the deepest moment, that the neglect of the former frequently involves the damage, not to say the loss, of the other. Great things are held together often by the slenderest ties; the highest results are suspended upon the most unlikely conditions. Indeed, God seems to make things to have apparently slight connexion; and supports, in order to teach men to walk circumspectly, carefully, thinking of others as well as themselves, to touch with a delicate hand, reverentially, like those who walk among old and endeared ruins where every stone is precious; and are we not, in point of fact, actually doing this—walking among ruins—among the ruins of a spiritual temple, the frail race of man—where a careless touch, a sound or jar, may cause to fall the stones which had been once built into the spiritual temple of God? And this is not the only violation of the rubric in the Communion-service, which involves consequences more serious than at first appear. The irregularity alluded to is the mode of administering the sacred elements to which is sometimes resorted—modes, one should rather say, for in a matter of less moment it would raise a smile to compare the various methods which have been invented by ingenious clergymen to administer the holy elements to the largest number of persons in the least possible space of time. It is to be lamented, that in these cases generally one method is left untried—the weekly administration of the sacrament; and is nothing lost by this? Yes, each several communicant loses the benefit of one of the distinctive features of this heavenly feast—the individual address of the priest, which all have felt to be one of the most solemn and impressive things that occur to man in the exercise of religion.

But, to pass on, no one can tell to how great an extent the

Digitized by Google

number of non-communicants (as they are called) has been multiplied by the omission of the solemn warning which the minister is ordered to read when he shall see a backwardness to attend the Lord's table. Nor can any one say how many might have been led to a deeper repentance and insight into their spiritual state before coming to the Communion, had the other ordinary address been obediently used.

The intention of those who drew up the service for the celebration of the holy Eucharist—was, evidently, that the sermon should occupy a portion, and that a subordinate portion of the service; the directions all imply as much—"then shall follow the sermon."

The usual practice of the clergy retiring to the vestry, changing their vestments, and the people in their absence singing a psalm, is quite inconsistent with order. Moreover, the minister is directed, as soon as the sermon is over, to return at once to the Lord's table, and commence reading one or more of the Offertory sentences; and on Sundays, when there is no communion, concluding the service with the blessing from the altar. Such is the order, and yet the usual practice is to conclude the service in the pulpit, and deliver the blessing from thence. But the most serious inconsistency of the practice of the present day in this respect with the intention of our ritual, is the mode of proceeding on days when the holy Communion *is* celebrated; and it is strange, that when the service is rightly concluded on other days, this inconsistency is still adhered to on Communion days. By the rubric, when the sermon is done, the minister ought immediately to return to the Lord's table, and commence the Offertory, and present the alms, and offer the oblations of bread and wine before the whole congregation, and before any one retire. *Then* the children, catechumens, penitents, and other non-communicants retire, and the communicants place themselves in convenient order, as directed before the address, " Ye that mind," &c.

Such is the order: what is the practice? The minister concludes the service in the middle of it, dismisses the non-communicants with an unauthorized blessing, retires into the vestry, and returns into church, as though a fresh service were about to commence, finds nine-tenths of his congregation gone, and one Samaritan, as it were, left behind to return thanks unto God; and he collects five pounds, when he ought to have had fifty.

The evils of all this irregularity are manifest. The sermon is made too distinct and prominent a portion of the Eucharistical service, eclipsing all the rest; and, whereas the authorized mode of proceeding exhibits a silent protest against those who unthankfully refuse to come to the Holy table, the unauthorized mode not only robs them of the privilege of giving their alms,

Digitized by Google

but sends them blessed and contented to their homes, just as if all their duty had been performed.

Will any one say, that it is not meant for those who do not partake of the communion to be present at the oblation? He surely forgets that the oblations are expressly the offering of the whole parish; and it is intended that they should be presented in the face of the whole congregation. It seems to be yet a question, whether the bidding prayer should be used before the sermon when it occurs in the service for the Eucharist; but, certainly, none other is authorized. In these cases, however, last mentioned, real doubts may have been entertained as to the intention of the Church. But it is gratifying and encouraging to see one spiritual Father, as in the case of the Bishop of London's charge, turning his serious attention to the matter.

3. And, now let our attention be turned to another part. The consequences of the wholesale neglect of keeping the Holy-days are by no means slight. The arrangements of the ecclesiastical year is itself fraught with religious teaching; there is a propriety and harmony throughout, which is mutilated by the neglect which has prevailed; and the worst of it is, that, in cutting off these Holy-days, ordinary discrimination has not been used. Ascension-day, the most sacred festival which Christian men can celebrate, has shared in the general ruin. This great festival is very rarely observed at all—scarcely anywhere as it ought to be; and does not doctrine suffer from this? Are not the blessed privileges immediately resulting from our Lord's ascension into heaven thrown into the shade, when they ought to be magnified and set forth as the very highest pursuits of a Christian faith? Surely, our national neglect of this great festival is scarcely short of the sin of Israel in neglecting to keep the feast of Tabernacles. Even when the service appointed for Holy-days is not used, and there is no Divine service, it would be something if ministers would comply with the rubric, that notice shall be given of all Holy-days and fasting-days on the Sunday and Holy-day immediately before. Persons might at least then be reminded of their private duties, however they were precluded the privilege of public worship. On Ash-Wednesday, the Commination office is appointed to be read; but it is frequently omitted, even in places where Ash-Wednesday is in other respects observed; and by this neglect, persons are great losers. The complaints of the Church as to her lost discipline are stifled. Hence, many have no conception of the godly discipline which existed in the primitive Church; nor do they imagine that the Church of England much wishes that it were restored. And what shall we say to the omission of the Athanasian Creed? It is very distressing to think of the number of churches where, for private reasons of the minister,

Digitized by Google

the regulations of the Prayer-book respecting this noble creed are violated. If rubrical directions are to be observed at all, one would suppose that those which disposed of the use of the creed would be the very last to be trifled with.

The moral effects resulting from this omission are not a few; the Church's solemn warning against heresy is never heard: rather the warning is tacitly slighted. Our holy mother is deemed uncharitably severe, and her wholesome scriptural admonition is entitled a damnatory clause; thus he that would be valiant for the truth is discouraged, while the sceptic and infidel are suffered to blaspheme unchecked, greatly to the dishonour of the faith once delivered to the saints, and to the scandal of orthodox believers.

4. Again, The evils arising from the omission of public catechising, which is enjoined upon every parochial minister, under severe penalties, by the canon of the Church, as well as ordered in the rubric, are too evident and too generally felt to need further notice here; and it is not needful more than to observe that the too common omission of the prayer to be used in the ember weeks, for the candidates for holy orders, tends to weaken the bonds which should hold together the clergy and laity; and is in many ways an hindrance to the due acknowledgment of the blessings resulting from the apostolical succession of the ministry.

5. With one more instance to the point proposed, the question shall be left to the judgment of the candid reader. Do we not owe many of our present evils to the very prevalent neglect of using the provision which the Church has made for almsgiving—the offertory? Of course it is not meant to be inferred that the omission of this part of Divine service is *the sole* cause of the low notions which prevail almost in every quarter upon that subject; but doubtless it has helped on and countenanced them. *The duty of giving*, and *the disposition* with which we should give, and, above all, *the Great Being to whom* we give, are in that solemn part of our public service distinctly kept in view; and had the Christian people of this country been rendered familiar with it; had it been countenanced by the clergy in general, as the treasury in which our oblations should be cast, we should have never witnessed the miserable expedients which the present age has devised to rouse the sluggish charity of a luxurious world. The proper channel for the alms of the Church having been dammed up, little miserable trickling rivulets have forced their way, pretending to the glorious name of charity; whilst, in point of fact, in too many cases, they do but contribute to feed the lusts of the flesh and the vanity and folly of a fallen world; and how should it be otherwise? Can it be expected that men thus deprived of the right mode of distributing their alms, should give *what* they ought and *as* they ought? Left thus to their

Digitized by Google

own devices, are they ever led to reflect that they are *unworthy* to make any sacrifice or oblation to the Most High; that it is "more blessed"—a higher privilege—to give than to receive? Too often the thought of men's hearts is not whether they are worthy to give, but whether Christ's poor people are worthy to receive. The humble spirit of the holy Baptist is scarce amongst us; so far from feeling themselves "unworthy," men will not even *condescend* to undo the latchet of their Saviour's shoes. Certainly things have come to that pass, that almsgiving has ceased to be connected with religion, and it is put upon a level with the payment of wages and debts; and, too often, the payment of these latter is attended with far more satisfaction, for principle of some kind is acknowledged, and most men find a pleasure in being just.

Now, if, after reading the offertory sentences, (as directed in the rubric,) wherein the duty and privilege of almsgiving is urged upon men in scripture language of the strongest and most powerful appeal, their contributions were received and humbly presented at the Lord's table, with the appointed prayer that God would "mercifully receive" them; if men are to learn anything through the medium of hearing and seeing, they could not avoid perceiving that their alms were presented to the Most High God; and that it would be something like presumption to make Him an offering without at the same time humbly beseeching Him mercifully to accept it at the hands of unworthy and miserable sinners. A certain delicacy is felt when we venture to make a present to our dearest friend, lest what we give should appear mean and unworthy of his friendship. And yet how comes it with regard to almsgiving, which involves the idea of a present made to God, to one whose goodness towards us we never can repay, "who though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich,"—that no respect is observed, that all reverential feeling seems to have vanished, that our greater gifts are made without prayer or humility, or any religious service whatever, in the midst of excitement and publicity, whereby men are taught to think they have rather conferred a favour than enjoyed a privilege? And perhaps the worst yet remains to be said. For, not only has this neglect stopped up the most appropriate avenues of giving, but it has actually damped the better purposes of those who, were the subject properly brought before them, would heartily and willingly have given.

A morbid fear and anxiety is not unfrequently entertained by pious and well-disposed persons, on the whole subject of almsgiving, as well as other good works, in which it becomes Christians to abound; an anxiety not as to whether God will be pleased to accept their offering, but lest they should be doing something which might appear like an attempt to purchase

Digitized by Google

heaven, and render ineffectual their Saviour's precious blood-shedding; false notions, which may have arisen from some partial conception of Christian truth, encouraged, it may be, by the doctrine of teachers who are not sufficiently careful rightly to divide the word of truth; or from the too prevalent habit of confounding the "*dead* works," deprecated by St. Paul, with the "good works," done after the inspiration of Christ's spirit, which are uniformly commended and diligently inculcated by him, and which, forasmuch as they spring from a lively faith in Christ, are pleasing and acceptable unto God. The customary use of the offertory would have afforded a protection against such partial and erroneous views, and would have supplied, on the head of almsgiving, at least a view of the case, which the preacher might have been tempted to omit.

Other particular omissions, not without their apparent evil consequences, might be adduced. But, if what has been advanced is insufficient to determine the question before us, viz. Whether some of the disadvantages under which as a Church we are now suffering, are not in some degree owing to a disregard of rubrical authority, doubtless what remains to be said would be equally ineffectual. The induction, however, of these particular cases of ritual neglect, demonstratively attended with serious moral inconvenience, will serve to confirm the general principles laid down with great perspicuity and force in the latter part of his primary charge, by the Archdeacon of Chichester, in which the correlative of the present question is maintained. He speaks of the moral force of uniformity and obedience. He lucidly points out that the only way to develop the system of the Church, and adapt its existing provisions to the condition of the people, is "by a uniform restoration of the rules to which we are already pledged." "That it is of the very first moment that our pastoral ministration should in its main points be alike—a body of men united by one common will, and guided by one common rule of practice, is morally irresistible." Again, he says, "By the uniform restoration of the rule and order of the Church, it is not to be told what would be gained to her in unity, consistency, strength, and moral dignity." And again, "Variations are a proof of indifference, and an ambiguous intimation of something worse."

They who heard them will not easily forget the impression made on them by the following sentiments as they fell from the lips of the Archdeacon:—"I am prepared to hear it said, that uniformity without unity is a hollow and lifeless thing, This is granted as soon as said. But will not a thoughtful, much more a philosophical mind, detect something trivial and unmeaning in this rhetorical way of opposing unity and uniformity, as if they were two ideas, almost two repugnant things, instead of the outward and inward, the visible and invisible, form of one

Digitized by Google

and the same reality? But, even though they were things separable, uniformity, even without unity, is at least better than discrepancy added to disunion. If we were, indeed, so shorn of the Spirit of grace as to lack inward unity among ourselves, still there is no reason why we should inflict the visible token of our disunion upon the flocks committed to our charge. But, after all, is it not certain that uniformity is the silent and symbolical language of unity? Is there any law in God's works which has not its own invariable form? What is the variety of nature but the uniform expression of a variety of laws; not a various expression of any one law? Do not laws of relation, and proportion, and symmetrical figure pervade all the works of God with unerring uniformity? It is absolutely certain that wherever there is unity in the idea, there will also be uniformity in the expression. And in all moral actions, uniformity of practice is not only a symbol, but a means to unity of will."

That these principles enunciated by the Archdeacon are founded in truth, we may further appeal to the deep hold they have ever taken of serious and great minds. Both King Charles the First, and Archbishop Laud, were more or less martyrs to it. The church of Rome, corrupt as she is, is a witness to it, and in the mere shadow of it (for hers is not the substance) her corruptions silently strike the deeper root. The "Act of Uniformity" is another witness to it; and the care with which our reformers guarded their direction how to resolve doubts that might arise as to the mode of understanding, doing, and executing the things contained in the book which they set forth, show how deeply it was impressed upon their minds. And when they ordered that the Bishop should by his discretion take order for the quieting and appeasing of any doubt, they added this caution: "so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this book."

And now to conclude. The course of this world is whirling along with a fearful rapidity; increasing years seem only to give it increased velocity. These are times of strife, and bustle, and running to and fro, and knowledge being increased (every kind, unhappily, but the right). We abound in all things, saving rest and quietness. Even the very works of God, those which he would have us accomplish, seem as if they must be caught at in haste, and done in haste—with our shoes on our feet, and our staff in our hands; and this, not because of any derangement of God's providential care, but because the Church has let slip blessed opportunities, and has now to make the best of difficult situations, brought about by the negligence of her own children.

If ever there was a time for doing good with all our might, snatching at opportunities, repairing the waste places, strengthening the things that remain, it is now. Nothing will wait but God, who still waits to be gracious. The day of visitation seems

Digitized by Google

shut up in the space of a single hour. However, as yet, by God's means, a glimmering ray from the Divine glory does still tremble upon our too much neglected altars. The glory is not yet departed from Israel—the ark is not in the enemy's hands—the door is not yet closed upon us—piety is not yet extinct among our people, and the sons of Levi have not yet *entirely* broken their solemn covenant; for, although it is to be feared that through their neglect some of the Lord's household may have stumbled at the law, still, they are not utterly base and contemptible among their people. May they more and more abound in love and charity, in unity and peace, for His dear sake who gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the work of the ministry, for the perfection of the saints, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man; unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ!

Introductory Letters on Modern History. By T. Arnold, D.D. *Regius Professor of Modern History.* Oxford: Parker. London: Fellowes.

Sermons on the Christian Life: its hopes, fears, and close; preached mostly in the Chapel of Rugby School. By the late T. Arnold, D.D. *Head Master.* London: Fellowes.

We do not think that any one to whom Dr. Arnold was known, either by his writings or by personal intercourse, will wonder that we should bring together, as the subject of the same notice, works by him between which it might seem from their titles that there can be little connexion. Amongst the many things which are remarkable in the different productions of his pen, not the least remarkable is the unity of mind which pervades them, however various their immediate objects may be. We find everywhere, whether in sermons, in history, or in pamphlets, not only the same style, and that a style peculiarly his own; but the same habits of thought and feeling indicated, the same purposes declared, and even the very same views and opinions propounded. We do not know of any writer whose hand more surely betrayed itself in everything which he touched, than Dr. Arnold. We will undertake to say that no one acquainted with him could have failed to recognise at once as his any single page written by him upon almost every subject.

This peculiar individuality of composition may have been in

Digitized by Google

part the effect of the very variety of the subjects upon which his mind was employed. It could never have been so completely given up for any length of time to explore any one region of thought, as to become, if we may so speak, naturalized there, and come home with new rays of thought and utterance, learnt during its sojourn in the strange country. It returned from its curious excursions, if we may carry on the metaphor, like a traveller from a rapid tour, bringing back much that was curious and valuable, gathered from each country visited, but inwardly unchanged. It was, therefore, like such a traveller, often better able to interest than to direct those to whom its gatherings were laid open. But the unity of which we speak arose, also, partly, we believe much more, from a better cause, and was closely connected with the very thing which gave their peculiar charm and value to his character and writings. It was the fruit of his singular earnestness, and what it has become lately the fashion, from an increasing sense of the value of the word, to call *reality*. He always wrote and thought alike, because he always thought and wrote earnestly, and felt deeply and abidingly. The singular vigour and decision of his whole mind and character made it impossible for him not merely to assume a style and bearing which did not belong to him, which of course no thoroughly sincere man can do; but even to vary in subordinate points that which did belong to him, according to the conventional proprieties of different times and situations; which many most sincere men do honestly, because instinctively. Whether in the theatre at Oxford, or in his school, or in the pulpit, addressing Rugby boys, or Westmoreland peasants, or in his study, or in society, he was still the same man uttering the same mind. We can scarcely imagine a better exemplification of Bishop Butler's meaning, when he spoke of "that uniformity of thought and design which will always be found in the writings of the same person, when he writes with simplicity and in earnest." *

Perhaps we may seem to wander from our proper business, when we begin a review of an author's writings with any notice of himself. In the case of Dr. Arnold, however, we really feel it to be impossible to speak of the one except in connexion with the other: so completely was what he thought and wrote a part of himself; and so constantly, though always undesignedly, do his writings set himself before us. This we felt when, a year ago, we called the attention of our readers to the Inaugural Lecture which is reprinted at the beginning of the present volume of Lectures on Modern History. And we cannot but feel the impossibility of abstracting the man from the writer still more strongly now, when his sudden death in the midst of

* Preface to Sermons.

Digitized by Google

his labours, has given so much of deep and mournful interest to everything connected with his name. We trust that, even then, when we spoke of him as one still alive and able to reply, we did not speak otherwise than with the respect which all good men must have long felt for him. And still more now would we desire to speak of him with the reverence due from christian men to one who lived and died in faith, and has left in many respects a most bright example for their instruction. But we have said enough by way of preface to the remarks which we have to make on the writings, which form the immediate subject of our present article; and, first, on the Historical Lectures.

The volume begins, as we have said, with a reprint of the Inaugural Lecture, which was noticed in our number for March in last year. To the Lecture itself is added an Appendix, designed to complete the refutation attempted by Dr. Arnold of Warburton's theory, and to maintain against objections the theory which he proposes to substitute for it. Since we have formerly expressed our opinions upon this subject, and do not yet see reason to modify them; since, as we then said, we should be disposed to agree with Dr. Arnold in his condemnation of Warburton, though not in all the reasoning by which he supports it, and to prefer his own theory, if we could see the necessity of adopting either;—we should have felt little disposed, in any case, to renew the discussion, and shall certainly decline to do so now, when we are more anxious to find points of agreement than of difference with him. We will only add, that Dr. Arnold's Appendix is directed chiefly against the Archbishop of Dublin's defence of the Warburtonian Theory; and scarcely seems cognizant of the possibility of any theory of Church and State, which should assign to each a divinely-appointed work, necessarily distinct, yet necessarily tending in perfect harmony to the accomplishment of the same great ulterior end. We must repeat, therefore, our opinion, that even if he was completely successful in demolishing his antagonist's theory, he has failed to establish his own upon its ruins.

Indeed we think that what Dr. Arnold has written upon this subject illustrates rather remarkably the structure of his own mind, and is valuable chiefly as it does this, and points out wherein lay both its strength and its weakness. We believe his natural turn to have been altogether for practice rather than speculation. His mind was political, not philosophical. He had, indeed, a certain love of speculation, and by it was often, we think, led astray; but he followed it not for its own sake, but always, if we have observed rightly, with a view to some practical use to be made of it. The theory and the application of it always went together in his mind, and we cannot help suspecting that the latter, for the most part, suggested the former; or at least that, without his being at all conscious of the process, prac-

Digitized by Google

tice influenced speculation rather than speculation guided practice. Some difficulty to be solved, or some advantage to be gained, in the pursuit of some practical object which his mind instinctively pronounced worthy to be sought, beguiled him into the investigation of the speculative question, and secretly suggested or modified the theory which seemed to himself the result of calm analysis, confirmed by rigid demonstration. If this were so it must manifestly lessen extremely the value of his attempts at the discussion of any deeper questions of moral science: and, indeed, we are accordingly disposed to think that the least valuable portions of his writings are those in which he has grappled with abstruse investigation: such, for instance,—(let it be observed that we are speaking without reference to any sentiment of our own regarding the truth or falsehood of the conclusions to which he comes, but simply of the conduct of the investigation;)—his essay on Scripture Difficulties, in vol. ii. of his Sermons; that on the doctrine of a Christian Priesthood, and on Atheism, in vol. iii., and on the System developed in the Tracts for the Times, in vol. iv. In all these cases, we think, that he first felt a certain conclusion to be right, and then laboured out the tenor of reasoning necessary for its support,—an order of proceeding, this, which, however the reverse of what reason discerns to be ideally the true one, is, nevertheless, that which nearly all minds consciously or unconsciously follow. As one indication of this naturally practical, rather than contemplative, turn of mind, we may mention the preferenee which Dr. Arnold has everywhere betrayed, and has avowed, of Aristotle to Plato. Another is, his warm and deep admiration of the great writers of modern France; whereas we do not remember anywhere in his writings any direct reference to any one of the great German writers on science; nor do we trace the influence of the latter anywhere, while that of the former is as manifest as it is extreme.

This being the bent of Dr. Arnold's mind, it is not strange that it should have been his delight to read and write history, nor that he should have become distinguished amongst writers of history. The path which he had chosen early led him away from the busy world of public action. He could not be what we imagine would have been naturally his first wish, himself a statesman. But he could still read and think of statesmen, and record the fortunes of states. This accordingly became his chosen employment. He was a scholar by education and profession:—familiar, therefore, with the ancient world, and better fitted than almost any man knowing it as well to give life to it from his own keen practical interest in the events of his own time. Thus he was led to begin his course as a writer of *ancient* history, and has gained a very high place amongst the historians of ancient times by uniting two qualifications, which

Digitized by Google

cannot very often be found together—accurate and extensive knowledge of the past, with considerable power of presenting it as a reality both to himself and to his readers. We have heard that he thought himself deficient in the latter power; and it may be true that he had not any great measure of what may be called historical imagination. He could not, as Scott could, set before his reader's mind, as well as his own, the men of past times clothed, as it were, again in flesh and blood, and instinct with life, and make their hopes and fears so present that the men of the nineteenth century should share them whether they would or not. This almost, if not quite, *poetical* gift he perhaps had not. But comparing him with most men who have written ancient histories, he was eminently a realizing and actualizing historian. He has certainly given their full weight to his own disadvantages, and claimed the very least for his performance, in the words which we must be content to refer to, without quoting them, from the Preface to his second volume of the History of Rome. We should, if we may venture to judge, pronounce that he had himself exemplified in that history (so far as the imperfection of our knowledge will allow,) the distinction, a very just and important one, which he draws in the first of the present volume of Lectures between the mere antiquarian and the real historian. We must be allowed to extract the passage as our first specimen of the volume.

"But is our work now done? Is this full and distinct impression of the events, characters, institutions, manners, and ways of thinking of any period, that true historical knowledge which we require? The answer at once is 'No.' What we have attained to is no more than antiquarianism, an indispensable element in history, but not history itself. Antiquarianism is no teacher of wisdom; on the contrary, few things seem more to contract and enfeeble the mind, few things differ more widely from that comprehensive view which becomes the true historian. And this is a point so important that I must venture to dwell upon it a little more particularly.

"What is it that the mere antiquarian wants, and which the mere scholar wants also; so that satire, sagacious enough in detecting the weak points of every character, has often held them both up to ridicule? They have wanted what is the essential accompaniment to all our knowledge of the past, a lively and extensive knowledge of the present; they wanted the habit of continually viewing the two in combination with each other; they wanted that master power, which enables us to take a point from which to contemplate both at a distance, and so to judge of each and of both as if we belonged to neither. For it is from the views so obtained, from the conclusions so acquired, that the wisdom is formed which may really assist in shaping and preparing the course of the future.

"Antiquarianism, then, is the knowledge of the past enjoyed by one who has no lively knowledge of the present. Thence it is, when concerned with great matters, a dull knowledge. It may be lively in little things, it may conceive vividly the shape and colour of a dress, or the style of a building, because no man can be so ignorant as not to have a distinct notion of these in his own times; he must have a full conception of the coat he wears and the house he lives in. But the past is reflected to us by the present; so far as we see and understand the present, so far we can see and understand the past: so far, but no farther. And this is the reason why scholars and

Digitized by Google

antiquarians, nay, and men calling themselves historians, also, have written so uninstructively of the ancient world: they could do no otherwise, for they did not understand the world around them. How can he comprehend the parties of other days, who has no clear notion of those of his own? What sense can he have of the progress of the great contest of human affairs in its earlier stages, when it rages around him at this actual moment unnoticed, or felt to be no more than a mere indistinct hubbub of sounds and confusion of weapons?—what cause is at issue in the combat he knows not. Whereas, on the other hand, he who feels his own times keenly, to whom they are a positive reality, with a good and evil distinctly perceived in them, such a man will write a lively and impressive account of past times, even though his knowledge be insufficient, and his prejudices strong. This I think is the merit of Mitford, and it is a great one. His very anti-jacobin partialities, much as they have interfered with the fairness of his history, have yet completely saved it from being dull. He took an interest in the parties of Greece because he was alive to the parties of his own time: he described the popular party in Athens just as he would have described the whigs of England; he was unjust to Demosthenes because he would have been unjust to Mr. Fox. His knowledge of the Greek language was limited, and so was his learning altogether; but because he was an English gentleman who felt and understood the state of things around him, and entered warmly into its parties, therefore he was able to write a history of Greece, which has the great charm of reality; and which, if I may judge by my own experience, is read at first with interest and retains its hold firmly on the memory."—*Lectures on Modern History*, pp. 83—86.

The lecture from which we have extracted this passage, is upon the best way of beginning the study of modern history. The plan recommended, though it may seem obvious enough, is very different indeed from that which has been usually taken. It is simply, after reading any one of the common "popular compendiums" of general modern history, to choose some one period of moderate length, and some one country, and to study carefully some one or two of the original, and as nearly as possible, contemporary historians (*e. g.* for France in the fifteenth century, Philip De Comines); and then to fill up the general picture of the facts and ways of thinking of the time, by reading with more or less care, according to their greater or less influence on their contemporaries, as many as possible of the native writers on all subjects. Thus we are, in the first place, to gain a correct picture of the time, such as it was in itself, putting ourselves as it were, amongst those who lived then, and trying to learn how they actually did, thought, and felt. We are next to compare the time which we have been studying with our own and with other times, and with the standard of truth and right, in order both to form a manly judgment upon it, and to understand how it has influenced subsequent times. When we have thus learnt to know any one time, both in itself and in its relation to other times, we "understand history," and have gained "the power of knowing any portion of history which we wish to know, at a less cost of labour, and with far greater certainty of success than belong to other men;" which is all that we can hope to gain, since, "to know all history actually is impossible."—P. 114.

Digitized by Google

Now we are anxious to apply the method indicated here in other cases than those of modern and secular history. Dr. Arnold, no doubt, meant it to be applied generally. Taking first its application to ancient profane history. When we all spend so large a part of so many years of our life in reading the great writers of Greece and Rome, we surely ought to be anxious to turn our Greek and Latin to the very best account. Not that the time has been spent in vain, if we have gained nothing from it but the knowledge of the languages themselves. It cannot be too distinctly understood, nor too often repeated, that the habits of mind formed and exercised in the process of knowing Greek and Latin, as we learn them; the patient application of mind, the habitual accuracy of thought, and the familiar mastery of language, and the cultivated security of taste, which any man who has received and profited by a good classical education must possess; are even alone worth infinitely more than the trouble and pain which it costs to gain them. These are, and ought to be, the primary and indispensable elements in our English intellectual discipline: nothing else must be supposed to interfere with them. But if, *without impairing this previous discipline of mind*, it be possible to secure the attainment of another object also, then it is plainly our duty to combine the two. We believe that there is one which might be attained almost without any addition to our usual system, and by merely persuading those who direct our classical training, to keep their own minds on the watch for opportunities which would arise unsought. It is thus our Greek and Latin reading at school and college might easily be so arranged, as to give us a full and correct historical picture of ancient times. Take, for instance, the age of the Peloponnesian war; nearly all the Greek writers whom we read at college, either lived and wrote then, or were being read and sung, and were moulding men's minds then. Why not, incidentally, while we are reading Herodotus and Thucydides, for the sake of learning their language, accustom ourselves to look at them also as the great contemporary records of what the men of that time did and believed their ancestors to have done? Homer, and the Tragœdians, and Pindar, as the food by which the imagination was supported, and the discipline by which their taste was formed? Aristophanes, as the mirror of common life, and political feeling? Plato and Xenophon, as the teachers and records of the philosophy and the common sense of the time? It would be easy to complete the plan; and in like manner to sketch one for Rome, in the days of Julius and Augustus Cæsar. At Oxford, no doubt, much is already done in this way; we hope, without injury to the critical scholarship of the university. At Cambridge, perhaps, where criticism is paramount, the hint is still as it formerly was, less unnecessary. Let us also venture to suggest

Digitized by Google

the desirableness of a plan like Dr. Arnold's, in reading the history of the church. Surely if there is any history, the study of which should be equally full of interest and instruction, it is this. Yet, in the way in which it is, or has been, usually read for the last century and a half, none can be more repulsive and unprofitable; for history, we have been directed either to a repository of unconnected facts in ecclesiastical antiquity, or, at best, to a series of most imperfect sketches of the lives and minds of a few good men. Very different, and far better, ways of gaining some of this most necessary knowledge have been recommended to us within the last few years; amongst others, by Mr. Evans, in his valuable directions for clerical study. Yet even his plan scarcely satisfies us, if it be taken, (which we are sure the author did not intend) as pointing out anything more than an introductory course of reading. Alas, that even this course should be, as we fear it is, more than many amongst us can find time to get through, so pressing are the demands of other ministerial work. But for those who are not yet too busy to find time for study, and have gone through some course like Mr. Evans's, we will venture to recommend, at least to the consideration of those qualified to advise with authority, a plan of reading like that which Dr. Arnold prescribes to his student of modern history. Let them take, for instance, the period of Church history which extends from the Council of Nice to that of Constantinople, or any manageable portion of this whole period. Let them first read carefully the narrative of Sozomen, Socrates, or Theodoret, comparing the three if possible with each other, and reading also the Ammianus Marcellinus, for the contemporary civil history. Let them then read carefully through the writings of as many as possible of the great Fathers of the Church who lived then, or even of any *one* or *two* of the most important, (an eastern and a western father;) trying continually to realize to themselves the institutions and order of the Church as then constituted,—the doctrine taught in it,—the relation in which it stood to the civil government, and to the heathenism which still struggled with it,—the spirit which prevailed in it, and in the different heretical bodies around it, and that which actuated the great and good men who were then raised up to influence their own and succeeding generations. Having done this, then let them endeavour to trace the stream of Church history upwards, learning how the Church, in the fourth century, was brought to be what they have found it to have been; and again downwards, learning what influence that age was made to exert on those which followed. Are we describing what is impossible? Or can it be doubted that such a course of historical reading would be equally full of stirring interest, and of solemn instruction?

But we must pass on from the first lecture, to some of those

Digitized by Google

which remain. The second lecture, which is on the difficulties which occur in reading history, contains little which we can wish to notice, except an incidental discussion of the question, How far the narratives of wonders and miracles with which we meet so frequently in the history (especially the Church history) of the early and middle ages, are to be believed. We are glad, but not surprised, to find Dr. Arnold writing upon this subject, both as to the question of fact, and as to the inference to be drawn from the facts if believed, with the sobriety and reverence which however manifestly required by its nature, have seldom been found in recent writers upon it. We can only recommend what he has written to the careful consideration of all who may be disposed to settle the question by a summary decision, either in favour of indiscriminate belief, or universal unbelief.

The fourth lecture, though its subject may seem unpromising, is extremely interesting. It is on the military part of modern history, which seems to have had peculiar interest in Dr. Arnold's sight; as we suppose it is likely to have with all men who came to manhood in the years of Leipzig and Waterloo. The whole lecture is peculiarly well worth reading, but especially the latter half, which relates to some points in what we may call the ethics of war, the lawfulness of guerilla warfare (as to which we may question, whether Dr. Arnold does not push his condemnation somewhat too far), of sacking towns taken by storm, and of blockading a town defended by a garrison, independent of the inhabitants. We must extract a passage, in all ways characteristic of the writer, from his discussion of the last point. It is a description of the long blockade, in 1799, by an Austrian army and British fleet, of Genoa, then held by Massena and a French garrison:—

"And here let us try to realize to ourselves what such a blockade is. We need not, unhappily, draw a fancied picture; history, and no remote history either, will supply us with the facts. Some of you, I doubt not, remember Genoa; you have seen that queenly city with its streets of palaces, rising tier above tier from the water, girdling with the long lines of its bright white houses the vast sweep of its harbour, the mouth of which is marked by a huge natural mole of rock, crowned by its magnificent lighthouse tower. You remember how its white houses rose out of a mass of fig and olive and orange trees, the glory of its old patrician luxury; you may have observed the mountains behind the town spotted at intervals by small circular low towers, one of which is distinctly conspicuous where the ridge of the hills rises to its summit, and hides from view all the country behind it. Those towers are the forts of the famous lines, which, curiously resembling in shape the later Syracusan walls enclosing Epipolæ, converge inland from the eastern and western extremities of the city, looking down, the western line on the valley of the Polcevera, the eastern on that of the Bisagno, till they meet, as I have said, on the summit of the mountains, where the hills cease to rise from the sea, and become more or less of a table land running off towards the interior, at the distance, as well as I remember, of between two and three miles from the outside of the city. Thus a very large open space is enclosed within the lines, and Genoa is capable, therefore, of becoming a vast entrenched camp, holding not so much a

Digitized by Google

garrison as an army. In the autumn of 1799 the Austrians had driven the French out of Lombardy and Piedmont; their last victory of Fossano or Genola had won the fortress of Coni or Cuneo, close under the Alps, and at the very extremity of the plain of the Po; the French clung to Italy only by their hold of the Riviera of Genoa, the narrow strip of coast between the Apennines and the sea, which extends from the frontiers of France almost to the mouth of the Arno. Hither the remains of the French force were collected, commanded by general Massena, and the point of chief importance to his defence was the city of Genoa. Napoleon had just returned from Egypt, and was become First Consul; but he could not be expected to take the field till the following spring, and till then Massena was hopeless of relief from without, everything was to depend on his own pertinacity. The strength of his army made it impossible to force it in such a position as Genoa; but its very numbers, added to the population of a great city, held out to the enemy a hope of reducing it by famine; and as Genoa derives most of its supplies by sea, Lord Keith, the British naval commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, lent the assistance of his naval force to the Austrians, and, by the vigilance of his cruisers, the whole coasting-trade right and left along the Riviera was effectually cut off. It is not at once that the inhabitants of a great city, accustomed to the daily sight of well-stored shops and an abundant market, begin to realize the idea of scarcity; or that the wealthy classes of society, who have never known any other state than one of abundance and luxury, begin seriously to conceive of famine. But the shops were emptied, and the storehouses began to be drawn upon; and no fresh supply or hope of supply appeared. Winter passed away, and spring returned, so early and so beautiful on that garden-like coast, sheltered as it is from the north winds by its belt of mountains, and open to the full rays of the southern sun. Spring returned, and clothed the hill sides within the lines with its fresh verdure. But that verdure was no longer the mere delight of the careless eye of luxury, refreshing the citizens by its liveliness and softness, when they rode or walked up thither from the city to enjoy the surpassing beauty of the prospect. The green hill sides were now visited for a very different object; ladies of the highest rank might be seen cutting up every plant which it was possible to turn to food, and bearing home the common weeds of our roadsides as a most precious treasure. The French general pitied the distress of the people, but the lives and strength of his garrison seemed to him more important than the lives of the Genoese, and such provisions as remained were reserved in the first place for the French army. Scarcity became utter want, and want became famine. In the most gorgeous palaces of that gorgeous city, no less than in the humblest tenements of its humblest poor, death was busy; not the momentary death of battle or massacre, nor the speedy death of pestilence, but the lingering and most miserable death of famine. Infants died before their parents' eyes, husbands and wives lay down to expire together. A man whom I saw at Genoa in 1825, told me that his father and two of his brothers had been starved to death in this fatal siege. So it went on, till, in the month of June, when Napoleon had already descended from the Alps into the plain of Lombardy, the misery became unendurable, and Massena surrendered. But before he did so, twenty thousand innocent persons, old and young, women and children, had died by the most horrible of deaths which humanity can endure. Other horrors which occurred besides during this blockade I pass over; the agonizing death of twenty thousand innocent and helpless persons requires nothing to be added to it.

"Now, is it right that such a tragedy as this should take place, and that the laws of war should be supposed to justify the authors of it? Conceive having been a naval officer in Lord Keith's squadron at that time, and being employed in stopping the food which was being brought for the relief of such misery. For the thing was done deliberately; the helplessness of

Digitized by Google

the Genoese was known; it was known that they could not force Massena to surrender; it was known that they were dying daily by hundreds; yet week after week, and month after month, did the British ships of war keep their iron-watch along all the coast: no vessel nor boat laden with any article of provision could escape their vigilance. Oh, we cannot but be thankful that Nelson was spared at commanding at this horrible blockade of Genoa."—*Lectures*, pp. 167—171.

We cannot hesitate to agree with Dr. Arnold, in his condemnation of a law of war which sanctions horrors like those which he has here described so feelingly and eloquently. Let us, by the way, observe, how favourably he stands distinguished, in one respect, from many other, even clerical, historians. Men, of whom one would not willingly believe that they were without the sense of right and wrong, or never gave it utterance, seem often to have stifled it when they entered the precincts of history. Dr. Robertson, we have no doubt, whatever else he did or did not preach, preached at least tolerably sound morality from his pulpit in Edinburgh, and practised it at home. The same might be said of Archdeacon Coxe. Yet, if we remember, Mr. Wilberforce has noticed (and our own impressions of the former agree with the judgment which he expresses) that the standard of right which either historian apparently recognises *in history* is considerably below that which even the common voice of worldly society imposes upon its members. No such charge can be brought against Dr. Arnold. The reality of his whole character forbade him, either to vary his measure of duty, or to suppress in one place a judgment which he would have uttered in another. Whether in sermon or in history he knew no other rule than what he believed to be the mind of Christ, and condemned accordingly, without respect of persons; sometimes perhaps with a severity scarcely as charitable as it was intrepid. But, even if the justice of his sentence, in particular instances, may be questioned, he has nevertheless, in the main, given an example of the spirit in which a Christian should write and read of the actions of men, which we trust will not be lost upon his contemporaries, as we are persuaded it will not be upon posterity. Verily there was need of such an example; for our masters in history have, for almost a century past, been men who have judged and written, not only not upon Christian principles, but upon the very lowest principles allowed by the common feeling of the most careless and lax part of mankind, if not upon those of avowed irreligion. For instance, even the very mention of any providential system of Divine government, as visible in the course of human affairs, has been so entirely banished, that good men have come to acquiesce in and comply with the fashion. Compare almost any modern history of the defeat of the Armada, or Napoleon's Russian expedition, with old Herodotus's simple narrative of Salamis, or the storm on the Sepiad shore. The heathen's

Digitized by Google

readiness to acknowledge the hand of "the unknown God" may well shame the Christian's unbelief, or suppression of his faith.

We must be content to pass by the last four lectures with a briefer notice; not because they are less interesting than the former ones, quite the contrary; but because we find in them a greater mixture of what is wise and sound, with what is questionable or erroneous, and because as we have said we are unwilling now to enter into controversy with Dr. Arnold, upon questions which we have already, in some measure, discussed with him, and are continually discussing in various forms with others. The general purpose of the first, then, of the four, is to give a survey of the progress of events in England, from the Reformation to the present time. Of course such a subject would not be treated by Dr. Arnold, except under the influence of his own peculiar opinions, political and ecclesiastical. We do not think that this circumstance at all diminishes the interest and value of his review, to those who can read without either accepting or rejecting blindly what they read. Rather we think that it increases both. For surely it should be both a useful and an interesting employment to compare our own judgment of such matters as those chiefly discussed in these lectures, with that formed by a good and able man, who gives us, with calm and manly freedom, a view taken from another position, even though it be a less advantageous one than that which we trust that we have been enabled to occupy. Just to satisfy our readers that if they find many things in these latter lectures with which they must disagree, and some which they must condemn, they will also find much to admire, and much to sympathize with, we will extract two passages, before we close our notice of them.

The first is from the account of the elements of which the royalist party was composed at the opening of the civil war. It is in fact meant, as the last words show, for a description of the character of Lord Falkland:—

"Now taking the best specimens of this party in its best state, we can scarcely admire them too highly. A man who leaves the popular cause when it is triumphant, and joins the party opposed to it, without really changing his principles and becoming a renegade, is one of the noblest characters in history. He may not have the clearest judgment, or the firmest wisdom; he may have been mistaken, but, as far as he is concerned personally, we cannot but admire him. But such a man changes his party not to conquer but to die. He does not allow the caresses of his new friends to make him forget that he is a sojourner with them and not a citizen: his old friends may have used him ill, they may be dealing unjustly and cruelly: still their faults, though they may have driven him into exile, cannot banish from his mind the consciousness that with them is his true home: that their cause is habitually just and habitually the weaker, although now bewildered and led astray by an unwonted gleam of success. He protests so strongly against their evil that he chooses to die by their hands rather than in their company; but die he must, for there is no place left on earth where his sympathies can breathe freely; he is obliged to leave the country of his affections, and life elsewhere is intolerable. This man is no

Digitized by Google

renegade, no apostate, but the purest of martyrs: for what testimony to truth can be so pure as that which is given uncheered by any sympathy; given not against enemies amidst applauding friends; but against friends, amidst unpitying or half-rejoicing enemies? And such a martyr was Falkland!"—*Lectures*, pp. 238, 239.

The other passage is of a higher order. We think it as true as it is eloquent. We shall therefore make no apology for its length:—

"But one great question still remains; if history has its laws, as I entirely believe: if theoretically considered it is not a mere aggregation of particular actions or characters, like the anecdotes of natural history, but is besides this the witness to general moral and political truths, and capable, when rightly used, of bringing to our notice fresh truths which we might not have gained by *à priori* reasoning only; still, it may be asked, is this theoretical knowledge available? Can the truths which it teaches us to value be really carried into effect practically, or are we rather cursed with that bitter thing, a powerless knowledge, seeing an evil from which we cannot escape, and a good to which we cannot attain; being in fact embarked upon the rapids of fate, which hurry us along to the top of the fall, and then dash us down below; while all the while, there are the banks on the right and left close in sight, an assured and visible safety if we could but reach it, but we try to steer and to pull our boat thither in vain; and, with eyes open, and amidst unavailing struggles, we are swept away to destruction? This is the belief of some of no mean name or ability; who hold that the destiny of the present and future was fixed irrevocably by the past, and that the greatest efforts of individuals can do nothing against it, nay, that they are rather disposed by an overruling power to be apparently the instruments in bringing it to pass. While others hold that great men can control Fate itself, that there is an energy in the human will which can as it were restore life to the dead; and snap asunder the links of the chain of destiny, even when they have been multiplied around us by the toil of centuries.

"Now practically there is an end of this question altogether, if the power of this supposed fate goes so far as to make us its willing instruments: I mean, if the influences of our time determined themselves by the influence of a past time, do in their turn determine our characters: if we admire, abhor, hope, fear, desire, or flee from the very objects and no others which an irresistible law of our condition sets before us. For to ask whether a slave who loves his chains can break them, is but an idle question; because it is certain that he will not. And if we in like manner think according to a fixed law, viewing things in our generation as beings born in such a generation must view them, then it is evident that our deliverance must proceed wholly from a higher power; before the outward bondage can be broken, we must be set at liberty within. The only question which can be of importance to us is this, whether, if our minds be free, our actions can compass what we desire; whether, perceiving the influence of our times, and struggling against it, we can resist it with success; whether the natural consequences of the misdoings of past generations can be averted now, or whether such late repentance be unavailing?

"And here surely the answer is such as we should most desire to be the true one; an answer encouraging exertion, yet making the responsibility of every generation exceedingly great, and forbidding us to think that in us or in our actions is placed the turning power of the fortunes of the world. I do not suppose that any state of things can be conceived so bad as that the efforts of good men, working in the faith of God, can do nothing to amend it; yet, on the other hand, the evil may be far too deeply rooted to be altogether removed; nor would it be possible for the greatest individual

Digitized by Google

efforts to undo the effect of past errors or crimes, so that it should be the same thing whether they had ever been committed or no. It has been said, Conceive Frederick the Great in the place of Louis the Sixteenth on the morning of the 10th of August, 1792, and would not the future history of the Revolution have been altogether different? But the more reasonable case to conceive would be rather, that Louis the Sixteenth had been endowed, not on that one day of the 10th of August, but from his early youth, with the virtue and firmness of Louis the Ninth, together with the genius of Frederick or of Napoleon. What would have been the difference in the history of France then? That there would have been a great difference I doubt not, yet were the evils such as no human virtue and wisdom could have altogether undone. No living man could have removed that deep suspicion and abhorrence entertained for the existing church and clergy which made the people incredulous of all virtue in an individual priest, because they were so fully possessed with the impression of the falsehood and evil of the system. Nor, in like manner, could any one have reconciled the peasants throughout France to the landed proprietors; the feeling of hatred was become too strong to be appeased, because here too it was mixed with intense suspicion, the result inevitably of suffering and ignorance, and nothing but the overthrow of those against whom it was directed could have satisfied it. Yet high virtue and ability in the king would have in all probability both softened the violence of the convulsion, and shortened its duration; and by saving himself from becoming its victim, there would have been one at hand with acknowledged authority and power to reconstruct the frame of society not only sooner but better than it was reconstructed actually; and the monarchy, at least, among the old institutions of France, would have retained the love of the people, and would have been one precious link to connect the present with the past, instead of all links being severed together, and old France being separated by an impassable gulf from the new.

"A greater accuracy as to the determining of this question does not seem to be attainable. We know that evil committed is, in certain cases, and beyond a certain degree, irremediable: I do not say, not to be palliated or softened as to its consequences, but not to be wholly removed. And we know also that the blessing of individual goodness has been felt in very evil times, not only by itself, but by others. What, or what amount of, evil is incurable, or how widely or deeply individual good may become a blessing amidst prevailing evil, we are not allowed to determine or to know. God's national judgments are spoken of in Scripture both as reversible and irreversible; for Ahab's repentance the threatened evil was delayed, yet afterwards the cup of Judah's sin was so full, that the reward of Josiah's goodness was his own being early taken away from the evil to come, not the reversal nor even the postponement of the sentence against his country. Surely it is enough to know that our sin now may render unavailing the greatest goodness of our posterity; our efforts for good may be permitted to remove, or at any rate to mitigate the curse of our father's sin."—*Lectures*, pp. 307—311.

It is with something of a melancholy feeling that we lay down this first volume of Dr. Arnold's labours, as professor of modern history, and recollect that there can be no more. What might have been the result, had his life been spared, we cannot know; whether the succeeding courses would have had more of the excellences, or more of the defects of his mind. We believe the former. For he was one over whom no year passed in vain: no one could fail to mark the ripening of his mind and character. Taking shorter periods, he might sometimes seem to go

Digitized by Google

backwards; to be this month more vehement and crude than the last. But view him at longer intervals, after the lapse of many months, or of a year or two, and there could be no doubt which way the change had been. He had become, since we last looked, more gentle, patient, forbearing,—more ready to examine both sides of the question,—more able to sympathize with, and respect his opponents,—possessed, unconsciously, often with the truth which he had once anathematized, and perhaps would still have disclaimed in words. Perhaps it was natural that the fruit of so strong a soil should at first be harsh; but seldom has it been so quickly mellowed. Such a man could ill be spared, even from the post to which he had come most lately, and from which he was removed almost before he had become established there.

Still more grievously must he be missed, where he had been longer known and more extensively useful than at Oxford. It must be long indeed before any other man can fill up the place which his death has left vacant at Rugby. Above all, it must be long indeed before any man is found, whose fitness for the difficult task of preaching to boys can be compared with his. When every abatement is made, on the score of imperfect, perhaps, sometimes (especially in his earlier days,) erroneous, doctrinal statements, nay, even of overt opposition to certain parts of the full truth of God, still we must maintain, as we have asserted already, that his preaching was singularly calculated to have a salutary effect on a congregation of boys. We know that many who heard, and some who read, his sermons at the time of life when, perhaps, sermons are least likely (humanly speaking) to impress the mind effectually, have given, and still give thanks for his teaching, as having been made to them a blessing beyond price. Such was the simplicity and earnestness of his sermons, and so closely did they come home to the minds and feelings of the young. We say this even of his earlier volumes of school sermons, and still more decidedly do we believe it of the latter ones. For here, more, perhaps, than in any other part of his work, was the ripening effect of time, let us rather say, was the growth of his Christian character, made conspicuous. The last volume, published since his death, and containing chiefly the sermons preached during the last year and a half of his life, shows, if we may venture to judge, (along with the same peculiar *reality* of thought and naturalness of expression which characterised his preaching from the first) a much greater fulness of Christian knowledge, and ripeness of Christian wisdom, than any of the preceding. This surely is not strange. If the promises of God are true, it could not be but that one so earnest and honest in the pursuit of truth, and so strictly conscientious in doing the known will of God, should be led gradually more and more to receive the substance of truth for himself and for those whose appointed guide he

Digitized by Google

was. He sought truth by the path of obedience, in which the humble (and such we believe him to have been, increasingly as he grew in years) are, through mercy, sure to find the truth which is needful for them.

We cannot, of course, attempt to support our judgment of the Sermons contained in this volume by extracts. We trust that they will be generally read, as we are sure that few can read them without profit. But we will quote one passage, not as being by any means the most striking and beautiful which the volume contains, but because it will illustrate the meaning of a remark which we have presently to make, and with which we must bring the present article to a close. It is from a Sermon on St. Mark, vi. 34, entitled, "The teaching of Christ."

"I think if we can in any degree realize to ourselves what I have been saying, it will show us with what feelings we ought to receive His teaching, which we possess actually in the Holy Scriptures. If we can conceive Christ present amongst us, His eye resting upon us, would any of the fond excuses or encouragements with which we now so often deceive ourselves, be able to deceive us any more? Would not conscience then speak out with a voice that would be heard, and say, 'I have sinned?' He to whom all hearts are open looking upon us; He, the expression of whose countenance is the image of truth itself, would it not be our happiness if that look were one of compassion? Can we dare to fancy that it would be one of approbation and love? But indeed He is looking upon us, though not to us visible; indeed His eye is upon each of us; He regards every one of us with a look of compassion, or of love, or of judgment. Do we not pray, may we not believe, that it is still with a look of compassion?

"But would He so look upon us if we were saved; if forgetting the things which are behind, and reaching forward to those which are before, we were pressing on to the mark, to the prize of our high calling? Would His look be one of compassion? He did appear to St. Paul more than once after his conversion; but His language was that of encouragement and assurance: 'Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace; for I am with thee. Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast testified of me, in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome. My grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness.' When He had looked upon St. Paul with compassion, it was when He had said to him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' And so if He looks on us with compassion, it is only because we are still going away from Him, because we are still as sheep without a shepherd.

"This cannot be hard to put into that distinctly practical shape which immediately concerns us all. It is, that we should consider what it is to be looked on by Christ our most merciful Saviour with compassion. How many things are then contained in it! Why should He look upon us with compassion, but because He knows to what end we are hastening? We are not sick, we are not hungry, we are not friendless, not in distress; yet still Christ looks on us with compassion; we are very cheerful, very lively, very happy; our looks are bright, our step is quick, all seems well amongst us; yet He, to whom all things are known, looks on us with pity. There is an evil about us, then, which we dream not of; a danger which we do not at all suspect. If Christ looks on us with compassion, ought we not to be afraid? Again, Christ looks on us with pity; we have been very ungrateful to Him, very unheeding: He has called, but we would not answer; yet His look is still one of pity. It might well be a look of anger, of judgment, but it is a look of compassion. That is, He still cares for us, He would

Digitized by Google

that we should not perish,—He would still be our Saviour. What a thing is it, that when Christ is looking upon us with pity, we should feel neither fear nor love!

"It is a real truth, that Christ's eye, the eye of the Son of Man, at the right hand of God exalted, is ever upon each of us; here, and when we go out; when we are abroad, and when we are within doors; when we are awake, or when we are asleep; when we are alone, or when we are with others, Christ is ever regarding us. Think of Him when we will, and also at all times when we do not think of Him, still there is the fixed look of compassion, because we are gone away as sheep without a shepherd. Let any one consider what it is to be so regarded by his Saviour, and then can he help turning to Him? Can he help running to Him with St. Paul's words, 'Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' And then He is ready to teach us many things; even the whole counsel of God."—*Sermon* xv. Pp. 246—249.

The passage which we have just extracted exemplifies what we think one of the most admirable characteristics of Dr. Arnold's preaching. Its effect is, to set before us, not so much dogmas, nor principles, nor ideas, but a living person. In this respect it is unlike most of the preaching of modern times. Let us explain our meaning somewhat more fully. The Scriptures and the voice of the Church teach us plainly that the knowledge by which our souls are to live is an actual acquaintance with the Three Persons in the One Godhead, based upon the revelation of the acts of each done on our behalf in Christ. It is a knowledge not of doctrines, nor of facts, (though the reception of certain doctrines and facts is the necessary condition of its attainment), but strictly *analogous* to that which we have of *a person,—a friend,*—on earth; though transcending it infinitely. Accordingly the Creed, as the directory of Christian teaching, presents to our contemplation simply *Persons manifesting themselves by their actions.* And the essential business of the preacher must be neither to state dogmas, nor to inculcate principles, (as an ultimate end, we mean,) nor to excite feelings, but to set before his people their Heavenly Father, their Redeemer, their Comforter, as Living Persons, having done, and now doing, certain things for them. To teach this faith is, we say, the preacher's office; to receive it with the heart for himself, and not in the realizing belief of it, is the part of every Christian. Now our own sad experience teaches us how hard it is to learn this lesson:—hard even for those who are earnestly seeking the knowledge and love of God, at least if they have minds accustomed to abstract and reflect; for, in this respect, as in so many others, the simple-minded poor man has an easier task than his more intellectual neighbour, since he is less tempted to rest in abstractions. Many of us have also learnt that it is as hard to teach the lesson as to learn it: nay, that it is no easy matter to prevent our teaching from being a hindrance instead of a help to the learner. We scarcely know which of the many recognized styles of preaching, the doctrinal, the experimental, the practical,

Digitized by Google

or the sentimental is oftenest in danger of leading away the minds of Christian people from the attainment of simple affiance in a living Lord and Head. Still, of course, we believe that every truly good and single-minded clergyman does, at some time, and in some measure, exemplify what we have been endeavouring to describe as the right method of preaching as a Christian to Christians. But we know very few modern published Sermons which, so constantly as Dr. Arnold's (whatever else they do or fail of doing), present to us, in affecting reality, our Saviour as one knowing, caring for, and succouring us. It seems to us that Dr. Arnold, if less clear and correct than many in his statement of particular doctrines, does, nevertheless, almost at all times hold forth to us with earnest simplicity Him whom to know is everlasting life. This is in our eyes the great value of his Sermons;—the salt which gives savour to what is sound in them, and keeps even the unsound parts from any deadly taint.

We scarcely know whether we have made ourselves understood, and feel that we have been trespassing on matters almost too sacred for discussion in the pages of a Review. We should not have done so, did we not believe that the need of such an admonition, as to the nature and objects of Christian teaching, is urgent. In particular, we believe that those who are much engaged in bringing forward and combating for some long-neglected parts of Christian doctrine, are in great danger (we need not say whether in greater than their adversaries,) of being drawn on rather to present dogmas than persons to their scholars, and thus of depriving even truth itself of life when they impart it to others, however it may be a living reality to themselves. Those scholars, again, are in still greater danger. We trust that neither we nor they are averse to learn from the remarkable man whom we have been reviewing, both this and whatsoever other lesson he was enabled to teach, by his words or his example.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS RELATING TO ARCHBISHOP BECKET.

II.

It will be remembered that, at the close of our first article, we mentioned the use that had been made of a disputed letter by a modern imitator of Lord Lyttelton—Mr. G. P. R. James. A few remarks on this latest life of the archbishop will be necessary before we open our second budget of letters. Mr. James is more extensively known to the world by a family of semi-annual novels of various

Digitized by Google

dimensions, in which honour, chivalry, and devotion to the ladies are recommended, and villany of all kinds discountenanced, in a flowing, pleasant, and gentlemanly style, than as the historiographer of her majesty, and in which position he is the author of certain lives of such sovereigns and princes as have been more renowned on the field of battle than in the council-chamber. The times of Charlemagne, Louis XIV., Edward the Black Prince, and now our Crusading Richard, have already been illustrated by his prolific pen. To the first volume of his Richard we are naturally directed, as it assumes, under the character of a prefatory volume, the character of the historiographer's history of the reign of Henry II. during the contest between the king and the archbishop.

The writers of novels, especially those called historical, seldom or ever make good historians; and this is natural. The temptation of making a good point, an attractive scene, unfits them for the severity of historic writing; whilst the full power they have possessed, in their historic novels, over the motives of the great men they have caused to walk on their stage, renders them the more open to the temptation of laying down a sketch beforehand in their minds, and then of assigning such motives to the great characters as coincide with the preconceived ground plan. They cannot forget their historic novel. This has shown itself in the historiographer's account of the contest between Henry and Becket, under the form of an unhealthy readiness in believing everything that makes against the pope, the primate, and the Church, and in favour of the king or the state.

As the few prefatory remarks we shall offer will be mainly confined to the subject of the much-disputed letter, on which, with Lord Lyttelton, Mr. James founds his account of the meeting at Clarendon, we shall confine our extracts to one or two parts which seem to require especial notice, and to a protest against the general tenor of the history, in which every bad motive is attributed to the primate, and where, amid the drawn swords and flashing battleaxes of the king's guards, he is charged with—"affecting to believe his life in danger,"—"affecting to believe he was going to martyrdom;" and this when he was about to oppose himself face to face with the most passionate of kings.

As a specimen of the style of composition and general spirit of the observations on the archbishop, we commence with the historiographer's remarks on that remarkable change of conduct, which we cannot but admit did take place, on the elevation of the chancellor to the primacy; and which in our eyes appears as a proof of neither his sanctity nor his hypocrisy, but the not unnatural result of the stings of a naturally enthusiastic mind.*

* "As another specimen of the general spirit of the historiographer's work, take the following: "Resolved to imitate with blasphemous minuteness the supper of the king described in a parable of our Saviour, he sent out and filled his table with all the poor and the beggars that could be found in the neighbourhood of Northampton, judging shrewdly, that the only shield which could guard his head from the indignation he called on himself was an affectation of superior sanctity."—P. 286.

Digitized by Google

"In order to see what the embarrassments were which thus shackled the active powers of Henry's mind, it may be necessary now to give some account of the dissensions which had arisen between the king and Becket, since the elevation of the latter to the see of Canterbury. Scarcely had the primate taken possession of his new dignity, than a change came over his whole demeanour. It might be that he was seized with remorse for his former course of life; or it might be, that, with the same skilful adaptation of means to an end which he had displayed throughout his whole career, he now made use of every appearance of profound devotion and sanctity, seeing that the elevation which he had so suddenly attained required that ambition should change its path, and put on the flowing robes of zeal and enthusiasm. If we reject the one or the other of these suppositions, we cannot but conclude that the archbishop was one of those protean characters, the whole form and feature of whose mind suddenly yield under the pressure of circumstances; and that he who was the general in the field, the knight in the saddle, the courtier in the hall, the minister in the council, the diplomatist in the cabinet, merely from an honest and straightforward intention of doing well and skilfully in the situation in which he was placed, became also, in one moment, from the change of circumstances, the zealous and devoted churchman, and, cameleon-like, received from the shades of his dim cathedral the grey hue of monastic enthusiasm and religious fervour.

"We would fain receive the best view of the prelate's character; *and, did we not perceive that every change of direction which his vast and versatile powers assumed tended to his own immediate interest*, even to the subversion of principles which he had at other times professed, we might conceive those changes to have proceeded from the simple impulses of an honest heart, employing a subtle and powerful mind; or, did we find that humility of conduct succeeded reformation of manners,—that the hard bed and the frugal meal excluded pride, haughtiness, subtlety, and love of power,—we might imagine that his last alteration of demeanour took place from penitence, not ambition, and that the object was changed rather than the means."—Vol. I. p. 199.

We will not comment on the many words of the first paragraph of this extract, partly because no argument will prevent writers from looking at admitted facts through coloured glasses, and also because we pity a portion of those sentences, so unnaturally torn from their place in some embryo novel, considering that the "flowing robes of zeal and enthusiasm," "the shades of the dim cathedral," and "the grey hue of monastic enthusiasm and religious fervour," must be too well aware of their likeness to fish out of water, to require any prompting on our part. When, however, the historiographer descends from his wordy chair and proceeds to mistake facts, and then to draw conclusions from such mistatements, we may not pass over such. In the part of the extract which we have placed in italics, the queen's historiographer assumes that every one must perceive that every change of direction which Becket's powers assumed was to his own immediate interest; hence it follows that he was a dishonest man. Now, how do the facts stand? Not to enumerate more than are absolutely necessary, take his change of conduct in the rejection of the chancellorship, his opposition at Clarendon, his constant appeal to the pope for an immediate decision on his case. Was it for his *immediate* interest, that he resigned the powers, the emoluments, the glories of the chancellorship, and at the same time

Digitized by Google

the goodwill of the king? Was it for his *immediate* interest, that at Clarendon he refused to attest by his seal the constitutions that he had promised to observe, and on the public recognition of which the king had set his heart, and therefore regarded all who refused to acquiesce as bitter enemies? Did his conduct then bring to him *immediate* advantage? Nay, rather did it not bring the persecution at Northampton, where he would never have heard of his chancellor's accounts, had he acquiesced in the constitutions of Clarendon? Lastly, to whom was it, as a judge, that Becket so constantly appealed for an immediate decision of his cause, during the first few years of the exile? To the pope, who, at that time, from the success of his enemies and the lukewarmness of his friends, added to the emergency of his situation and the venality of his counsellors, would have sided with the king, who could afford wealth to bribe and armies to support his cause, rather than with the exile of the monastery of Pontigni. When, however, after the success of Alexander's cause, it would have been for the *immediate* advantage of Becket to have pressed for a decision, because the pope was powerful enough to brave his royal friends,—then did Becket cease from importuning for that decision, which must, undoubtedly, have been for his *immediate* interest.

A few pages after this extract, we are favoured in a note with another specimen of the historiographer's deductions: we cite the passage in full.

"Much curious matter is to be found in a letter (No. 85) from Ernulphus of Lisieux, which affords proof—although a modern writer has asserted, that by his cotemporaries Becket's *change of conduct on his elevation* was universally attributed to a conscientious sense of duty—'that there were not wanting many persons to assert, that his ambition was more fully gratified to hold the power independently, and from reverence of his ecclesiastical dignity, which he had formerly possessed from the favour and at the will of another; that, being once raised, he could not be content to sit at the foot of the throne, or even by its side, but menaced the crown itself, intending to bring it so far into subservience to his authority, that the power to bestow and support it should principally rest with the Church; and that he began with opposing the king's commands, in order that everything might seem to be absolutely under his rule, as no hope of resistance could be entertained by others, when the royal authority itself was forced to submit.' This was the man *whose conduct* was attributed universally to a conscientious sense of duty."—Note to p. 210.

Our readers will observe the change of expression from the first to the last paragraph of this note. The modern writer whom the historiographer is to put down by Ernulph of Lisieux's means, speaks of that change of conduct which took place on the elevation of Becket to the primacy—the change from elaborate pomp and luxurious elegance to rigorous and penitential discipline—when, as Grime says, "Ex integro, etsi non habitum, ilico animum mutavit; onere et jugo, carnis insolentiam enervare diversis pœnitentiæ laboribus elegit." Ernulph of Lisieux is speaking of his conduct in opposing the proposed alterations in the ecclesiastical

Digitized by Google

discipline—the constitutions of Clarendon. The historiographer draws the conclusion as to his *conduct in general.*

It would have been but honest in our novelist to have stated, that Gervase gives it as a mere report that above a hundred homicides were committed by the clergy during Henry's reign, and not to have stated it as a proved fact; and also to have admitted that, though the state of the clergy was awful enough in those days in England to have satisfied the hatred of the historiographer, yet no authority warranted his assertion that Henry acted as he did in the matter of Clarendon "discovering that the clergy were in the custom of committing robbery, rape, and homicide with impunity;" (Note p. 209.) and that, though Becket, in conjunction with the bishops, did refuse to permit clerics to be tried by lay judges, previous to the recognition of the constitutions by the bishops at Westminster and his promise at Woodstock,—and would not allow the murderer and seducer Philip of Brois to be punished by the state, but handed him over to the prison of his diocesan,—he so acted in accordance to the customary law of the land, as it then stood; and that his right and duty so to do was recognised by the king's soliciting the bishops at Westminster to remit their power over clerics; and that in this way alone did the primate use "*all* his authority to screen clerical offenders, and in one instance (not some instances, as Mr. James writes it) to protect a person (not persons) who had committed the most dark and terrible crimes." We are quite willing to admit that Becket did make a clear and explicit promise to the king at Woodstock *to observe* the customs of the realm, and that in our eyes it was but an equivocation to plead that he had not promised to attest them, when reduced into writing, by his seal. It should not, however, be concealed, and no historian of any honesty ought to omit to notice that a great difference of opinion on that point existed among the primate's contemporaries. An extract from a letter of Nicolas of Rouen, describing his visit to the empress Matilda, and his recital to her of the constitutions, and her view of them, will illustrate our meaning on this point.

"With the far greater number of the constitutions Matilda found fault; and what offended her above all was their being reduced to writing, as well as the attempt to exact from the bishops a promise of their observance; 'for this,' she said, 'was without precedent.' In conclusion, when I pressed her earnestly to mention some expedient to bring about peace, we suggested this to her, and she assented. If the king applies to her for advice, she will recommend a compromise on these conditions,—that the ancient customs of the kingdom shall be still observed, but without being reduced to writing, or enforced by a promise."

We now proceed to the chief point of difference between us and her majesty's historiographer — the much-contested letter in the Cotton MS., by which Becket's conduct at the council at Clarendon is placed in the light in which it was seen by Lord Lyttelton. The letter, as perhaps is well known, is one from Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of London, to Becket, in which he purports to give his

Digitized by Google

account of the contest, and to defend himself in the eyes of the world, and set his character right with posterity.

"This letter," says Mr. James, "has been declared spurious on the most unreasonable grounds, having been suppressed by the librarians of the Vatican. It seems to me that no dispassionate inquirer can for a moment doubt that the letter is genuine, *especially as it is completely borne out in all its statements by those other historians of the time whose account is not marked with suspicion of their being professed eulogists of the refractory prelate.*"

In a note on this passage, our author gets into a discussion with Mr. Berington on minute points of inconsistencies and falsehoods in the letter, and, after a great deal of close firing on small grounds, the historiographer and the Romanist may each claim a victory. But to return to the text: the reason for the authenticity of this letter there assigned, is its coincidence in all its *statements with those historians of the time whose account is not marked with the suspicion of eulogy of Becket.* These being in the historiographer's idea in number *two*, and *two only*, namely, Radulphus de Diceto and Roger Hovenden, (and their impartiality is secured by their situations as the chaplains of Henry II.,) let us see how this assertion is borne out by facts. The three columns give the substance of the accounts of the letter and the two historians.

*Radulphus de Diceto.**	*Gilbert Foliot's letter.*†	*Roger Hovenden.*‡
This writer is very concise: he says, "the nobles and bishops having met at Claren-	After stating the threats which he declares were uttered against him for his opposition	According to this writer, Henry, in 1164, assembled a great council with the arch-

* Imagines Historiarum sub Ann. 1164; in the Capitula Imaginum Hist. of the same writer we find the following concise sentences:—

"1163. Rex consuetudines quas avitas appellant, a domino papâ petiit confirmari, sed non obtinuit archiepiscopo resistente.

"1164. Apud Clarendunam ad regni consuetudines observandas coaeti sunt episcopi, Thomas archiepiscopus ab obligatione quam super hoc inierat absolutus est a domino papâ."

† Respecting his danger in resisting Becket's election, he says, "Quod loquimur experto novimus, attendentes ecclesiam Dei suffocari graviter, ob quo din ejus libertatem quodammodo proclamavimus, verbum ilico proscriptionis audivimus, et exilio crudeliter addicti sumus: nec solum persona nostra, sed et domus patris mei, et conjuncta nobis affinitas, et cognatio tota. Hoc quidem calice et aliis propinatum est."—Respecting the concord of the bishops, he uses these phrases: "Stetimus quidem immobiles, stetimus imperterriti, stetimus in fortunarum dispendium, in cruciatum corporum, in subeundum exilium, in subeundum quoque, si sic Dominus permisisset, et gladium. Quis unquam pater in suâ plus habuit confessione concordes? Quis unquam plus unanimes?"—As to Becket's change, he says, "Quis fugit? quis terga dedit? terga dedit dux militiæ, ipse campi ductor aufugit; a fratrum suorum consilio simul et collegio Dominus Cantuariensis abscessit, et, tractatu seorsim habito, ex intervallo reversus ad nos, in hæc verba prorupit: 'Est domini mei voluntas ut perjerem, et ad presens subeo, et incurro perjurium, ut potero pœnitentiam acturus in posterum.'"

‡ After stating the king's order to have the constitutions reduced into writing, Hovenden says, "Quod cum factum fuisset, præcipit rex archiepiscopis et episcopis, ut sigilla sua opponerent scripto illi, et cum cæteri proni essent ad id faciendum, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis juravit, quod nunquam scripto illi sigillum suum opponeret, nec leges illas confirmaret. Cumque vidisset rex, quod tali modo non potest procedere, fecit leges illas in chirographo poni, et mediatatem illius tradidit Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, quam, ipse contra prohibitionem totius cleri, recepit de manu regis, et conversus ad clerum dixit, 'Sustinete, fratres; per hoc scriptum scire poterimus malitiam regis, et a quibus debemus cavere nos;' et sic recessit archiepiscopus a curiâ: sed in nullo gratiam regis assequi potuit."

Digitized by Google

don on the eighth of the calends of February, after considerable discussion, the king bent the minds of the prelates to this, that the constitutions of the land should be confirmed by the authority of the archbishops and bishops; Thomas of Canterbury, as soon as he could inform the pope of this, sought from him and obtained absolution for his conduct."

to Becket's election to the primacy, (which, with many hard accusations against Becket, especially concerning the tax for the war against Toulouse, and a mere hint at the meeting in London and the promise at Woodstock, fill some folios,) the writer proceeds to his account of the council at Clarendon. At this council, he says, Becket and the bishops unanimously refused to ratify their promise of observing the customs, by their hands and seals. In which opposition they were defending with their primate the rights of the Church, and the fidelity they owed to their lord the pope. For three days they debated on the king's demand, but still remained immovable; on that day, their private conclave was invaded by armed men, who brandished their weapons over their heads, and warned them of their danger in resisting the king's commands. Yet, in spite of the menaces, the bishops remained firm.

Becket, however, withdrew for a short time, and then returning to them, said, "*It is my master's will, that I forswear myself, and at present I submit to it, and do resolve to incur a perjury, and repent it after as I may;*" on this the bishops, deserted by their leader, returned to the council and gave in their adhesion to the constitutions.

bishops and bishops, and besought them by their affection and obedience, and for the stability of the realm, to observe and keep faithfully the statutes of his grandfather Henry; to whom Thomas of Canterbury for himself and the rest replied, that they would receive those laws, and observe them in good faith, saving the rights of their order, and the honour of God and the Holy Church. The king, displeased at this, endeavoured to persuade the prelates to yield, but failed. Hovenden then speaks of the mission of Ernulph, of Lisieux, and his ineffectual attempt to make peace between the king and the bishops,—his counsel to the king, by which Roger of York and the bishops of Hereford and Lincoln were separated from the primate and his party,—the arrival of the vir religiosus dictus Philippus de Eleemosyna, as a legate from the Pope,—the submission of the primate on his solicitations,—the journey of Becket to Woodstock, and his bonâ fide promise there given,—the meeting at Clarendon,—Becket's repentance of his promise given at Woodstock,—his determination of retracting it, and his commanding the bishops not to observe the constitutions,—the interposition of the nobles, and Becket's second retractation, and open promise with his clergy to observe the laws bonâ fide,—the king's command for reducing them into writing, and his demand of the confirmation of the roll by the prelates, which Becket refused to permit. On this, continues Roger, the king commanded the archbishops and bishops to attach their seals to the roll; and, *when the rest were ready to do so*, the archbishop of Canterbury swore that he would never attach his seal or confirm those laws. When the king found that he could not prevail in this way, he caused the laws to be written on a roll, and gave it to the primate; who, in opposition to the remonstrances of the whole clergy, took it from the king's hand, and turning round, said, "Stay, my brethren; by this writing we shall be able to know the malice of the king, and of what we must beware." With these words he departed from the council.

Our friends will now perceive, that facts and quotations do not bear out the historiographer's assertion of the coincidence of Foliot's account even with those of the chaplains of the king. For while the very concise account given by Diceto coincides with that of Foliot, as much as it would with any other long or short account in

Digitized by Google

which the fact of the reception of the constitutions is not admitted, that of Hovenden is diametrically opposed to the letter of the bishop of London. In the one, that of Foliot's, the bishops are represented as eager and willing to agree with their primate in refusing their seals to the constitutions when reduced to writing, and immovable amid all menaces, until their own leader, their own primate, announced his intention of perjuring himself, and of repenting at leisure; when, of course, they yielded, and followed his example in great distress at his conduct. In the other historian, we find Becket first holding out against the prelates at Westminster, then submitting after much solicitation; again repenting at Clarendon before the constitutions were reduced to writing, and then, when the rest were eager—proni essent—to sign and seal, refusing with an oath to attach his seal to the roll, and then taking the document from Henry, and leaving the meeting, after his biting speech to his clergy. Bad as Becket's conduct at this council always must be accounted, (and bad enough it appears from the writings of his greatest admirers,) we now see that there is no reason for the most *dispassionate inquirer* believing in the assertions contained in Foliot's letter. That it in any way coincided with the writings of the other contemporaries of the primate, Mr. James never believed; how far a coincidence can be traced between it and the writings of Diceto and Hovenden, has now been shown.

It is very easy for the historiographer to accuse the librarians of the Vatican of suppressing this wonderful letter, merely because its title appears in the index to one of the MSS. of the Becket letters in that collection; it is but repeating the charges of Lord Lyttelton; but would it not have been fairer to have let us know whether the most careful examination of the MS. in the Vatican can discover even the slightest trace of elision, or suppression, or any sign by which it may be concluded that the work had been tampered with? It is also very easy for her majesty's historiographer to talk of this letter being found in the most ancient MS. of the Becket letters, that in the Cottonian library, and which he is enabled to inform us by actual inspection is anterior to the Reformation; wondrous information! but would it not have been more honest to have told us that this letter is not to be found in any one MS. of the letters now in England, and that among the MSS. at Lambeth, Corpus Christi Cambridge, the Bodleian, and the British Museum, in the Lumley, the Parker, the Oxford, the Arundel, and the Royal collections, which *may* claim equal consideration on the score of age and authority? We could have wished that Mr. James had given us some specimens of the expressions in this marvellous letter which are so similar to if not the same with those in other letters of the bishop; though, when we consider the frequent occurence of set phrases in the epistles of those days, we should hardly have attached sufficient credit to them to have admitted the letter on this authority. For it should be borne in mind by every writer of events in those times that, valuable

Digitized by Google

as are the epistles,—and valuable and interesting they are in the highest degree,—yet they ought always to be compared with the contemporary biographies and chronicles, and the party-feeling of the writers, taken into consideration. Any one who would now sit down to write the life of Becket would have no need of searching for new facts, but should confine his attention to a careful weighing of contemporary authorities on which the mass of received facts depends, and to the consideration of how far the authority of one historian or writer of a letter may be admitted in opposition to the silence of the rest, or be preferred before the assertions of another. With respect to particular letters, whenever he may have occasion to refer to any one not in the printed edition, but extant in any one of the many MSS. of the Divi Thomæ Epistolæ, if it does but carry out the facts and assertions of contemporaries, he may admit it without further research; but, where it goes in direct opposition to the authority of contemporary writers, he must receive it with much caution, even should he find it in all or a majority of the MSS.; and when he can trace it but in one MS., he must reject it, as far as historical authority is considered. On these principles, we need not entirely reject the letter of Foliot, though we must regard it as an unpublished pamphlet, the bishop's ex parte statement of his case. Any facts, therefore, in that letter very much in favour of Foliot and against the primate, if either unsupported by contemporary testimony or contradictory to it, must not be received on the authority of the letter. Such is his account of the council at Clarendon. When, however, we find Foliot asserting that his opposition to the election of Becket to the primacy entailed on him and his relations the threats of exile and death, we may use the assertion with proportionable discount, and admit that the election of Becket was mainly due, as the Lambeth MS. says, to the "regis instantia," and that Becket was justified in asserting "that he had not ascended into the fold of Christ by the true way of canonical election, but had been obtruded into it by the terror of the secular power." Reserving our reasons for disagreeing with Mr. James in his rejection of the papal bull about the coronation of the young prince, until our own labours bring us to that book of the Cottonian MS. in which the letter is, we take our leave of the historiographer's account of the contest between Henry and the archbishop, and return to our own task of enabling our readers to judge for themselves of the value and interest of those half-hundred of letters, which are to be found in the Cotton collection, and not in the printed edition of the letters. In our former paper we completed the first book; we now proceed in our extracts from the second.

One of the concessions which John of Oxford had obtained from the pope, was the permission to any bishop not under the ban of the primate to absolve the excommunicated prelates if in peril of death, on the condition that they swore to abide by the pope's mandate if they recovered. None of the English prelates, it would seem, were prepared to go the length of the king's wishes in giving this absolu-

Digitized by Google

tion under false pretences of being in peril of death. The bishop of St. Asaph, partly from his ignorance of law, and partly through the promise of the rich monastery of Abingdon in exchange for his bishopric if molested, agreed to obey the king's command. The excommunicates, therefore, crossed the water into Wales, and obtained the required absolution from Godefrey, bishop of St. Asaph; "on this," says John of Salisbury, "to prevent all doubt as to the meaning of the pope's instructions, the archbishop sent the legates letters apostolic, strictly charging them to replace under their former sentence all persons so absolved, unless they forthwith restored to the archbishop and his all the goods that had been seized by them whole and entire; nor was any appeal to serve as an impediment to this mandate." Besides this, Becket sent to the bishop of St. Asaph the following letter respecting his conduct in the absolution, and in other ecclesiastical matters in which he had offended against the received discipline of the time.*

"Thomas Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, Godefrido Laneluensi Episcopo.

"Vestra fraternitas ignorare non debet quod privilegium meretur amicitiæ, qui concessâ sibi abutitur potestate. Vos autem sic accepimus in alienis episcopatibus ecclesiarum vacantium alienas oves solvere presumitis et ligare, et petitione laicorum aut aliorum quibus Sacramentorum dispensatio non incumbit ecclesias dedicatis; et exercetis alia quorum non accepistis ab apostolicâ sede vel matre vestrâ Cantuarensi Ecclesiâ potestatem. Quod tanto credibilius videtur quanto certius constat vos sine speciali mandato Romani pontificis dudum, quod minime licebat, quantum in vobis fuit absolvisse excommunicatos nostros, non observato tenore literarum domini papæ. An hæc recte feceritis vestra discretio providebit; qua oportebit super his reddere rationem. Nam persistentes in scelere et voluntate peccandi, qui ecclesiarum bona diripiunt, et eis incubant violenter, nec ipse Petrus coram Deo posset absolvere. Ne ergo cujuscunque instinctu de cætero similia presumatis, prohibemus, in virtute obedientiæ, in periculo dignitatis et ordinis, ne curam pastoralem et episcopale officium extra proprium episcopatum ulterius exerceatis, sed eâ sitis potestate contenti quam vobis Ecclesia contulit in ordinatione vestrâ. Hoc autem nondum interdicimus quin ad preces co-episcoporum tuorum quibus communicare licuerit vices eorum, cum necessitas exegerit, in rebus licitis impleatis; sed vos ad ecclesiarum vacantium et episcoporum qui excommunicati sunt officio precipimus abstinere, et curam pastoralem exercere, quatenus facultas affuerit in proprio episcopatu."†

On the receipt of this letter, it would seem that Godefrey deserted his bishopric and retired to his monastery of Abingdon, yet without making any actual resignation of his former dignity. In the following letter, the primate, apprized of his conduct, commands him either to return to his diocese and resume his functions, or resign the episcopate, so that his place may be supplied:—

* Mr. Froude, in his translation of the letter of John of Salisbury, quoted above, (Divi Thomæ Ep. ii. 26,) speaks of the absolver as bishop of Landaff, confounding the word Lanelvensis, St. Asaph, with Landavensis, Landaff; and in ignorance of that passage in Radulphus de Diceto, in which the dean of St. Paul's says, "Thomas Cantuar. Episcopus.... excommunicavit Ricardum de Luci.... et plures alios... Qui post modum mandato Cardinalium Joh. Neapolitani et W. Papiensis absoluti sunt a Godefrido Episcopo Sancti Asaphi." Imagines Historiarum sub Anno 1166.

† Cotton MS. Claud. B. ii. lib. 2 ep. 39.

Digitized by Google

"Thomas Cantuarius Archiepiscopus Godefrido Laneluensi Episcopo.

"Apostolicis sine contradictione et morâ parendum est institutis, et cum omni celeritate et diligentiâ convenit languoribus et periculis animarum. Inde est quod mandatum apostolicum exequentes, fraternitati vestræ mandamus quatinus juxta preceptum domini papæ redeatis ad ecclesiam cui vos prefecit Deus aut ipsam resignando curam ejus cedatis alteri qui auctore Domino præesse valeat et prodesse. Alioquin ecclesiam illam non sustinebimus ulterius pastore proprio viduari, sed ordinationi illius juxta quod in mandatis accepimus intendemus. Valeas."*

The variety of events which so soon followed, doubtless prevented Becket from proceeding to punish this refractory prelate; however, the bishop was not permitted to retain both his bishopric and his abbey, as we find that in 1175, on the option being given him, he preferred to retain his abbey, and a successor was appointed to Saint Asaph.†

It is perhaps known to some of our readers, that, about the year 1168, or 1169, Henry put forth a royal ordinance of the following import: "If any Welshman, either cleric or layman, shall enter England unless he have letters of passage from the king, he is to be seized, and kept in prison; and all the Welsh shall be expelled from the schools in England." The learned author of "The Norman Conquest" discovers in this proclamation an indisputable proof of the assistance which he considers the Welsh rendered to Becket during the contest with Henry, and of the intensity of bitterness with which Henry regarded all who dared to side with the primate. Looking on this contest, as Thierry does, as a struggle of races and not of principles, it was natural for him to have made the use he has of this fact, and to have referred his readers to the state of the Welsh, in order to the clear understanding of the motives of this ordinance.

"The country of Wales," says that author, "encroached on by various invasions on various points, presented at that time the same scenes of oppression and national strife that England had exhibited in the first fifty years of the conquest. There were daily insurrections against the conquerors, especially against the priests, who came in the train of the soldiery, and who, being in a manner soldiers themselves under the garb of peace, devoured, together with their kinsmen settled around them, whatever war had spared. Forcibly imposing themselves on the native Welsh as their spiritual pastors, they came, by virtue of their commission from a foreign king, to seat themselves in the churches of the ancient prelates formerly elected by the clergy and people of the country. To receive the sacrament of the Church from the hands of a stranger and a foe was intolerable to the Welsh, and formed the most cruel of the grievances imposed by the conquest. From the moment, therefore, that the *English archbishop*, Becket, opposed himself to the views and policy of the king of England, the national opinion of the Welsh declared itself strongly for the archbishop; first for the popular reason, that the enemy of our own enemy is our friend; and next, because a *prelate of English race*, struggling against the power of the grandson of the Conqueror, seemed in some sort the representation of the religious rights of all men forcibly subjected to the Norman rule."

* Cotton MS. Claud. B. ii. lib. 2. ep. 95.

† Bishop Kennet's Diptycha Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Ep. Asaph, 1171. Lansdowne MSS.; Brit. Museum; Hist. of Cath. St. Asaph, Browne Willis.

Digitized by Google

The words of Fitzstephen, where he calls Becket "natu Normannus," added to the form of the primate's family name, might induce us to consider this theory as unsupported, at least as to one of its members, and that no unimportant one,—the assumed English descent of Becket. And though it undoubtedly receives some accession of support from the well-known resistance of the Welsh chapters to elect any but a pure Welshman to the episcopal seat,* yet it loses quite as much by the ready explanation which the continued wars of Henry with the Welsh, and especially with Owen Gwynneth, the prince of North Wales, afford. Nor, indeed, can any greater weight be attached to the fact of a Welshman, named Cuelui, having been one of those who suffered banishment with Becket, than to the opposing fact of the primate's enemies having sought and obtained absolution from the bishop of St. Asaph, whose prior name of Arthur makes it probable he was more than half a Briton.†

Augustin Thierry is supported by the contemporary authority of Giraldus Cambrensis in his account of the resistance of the chapters in the election of bishops, but he could not obtain from the same source the fact that this resistance was more against the commands of Becket and his friend Alexander than against the king,—a fact rather against his Cambrian theory, and fully disclosed by the following letters from the second book of the Cottonian MSS. of the Becket letters.

In the year of Becket's consecration, the bishopric of Bangor became vacant; and Owen, the prince of Wales, most probably with little difficulty, persuaded the clergy and canons of the diocese to refuse to elect any one not of the prince's own family. The conduct of the clergy seems, after about two years, to have reached the ears of Alexander, and to have been so strongly represented to him, that on the 30th December, 1164, he wrote the following letter to the chapter, in which, after many remonstrances, he commands them forthwith to proceed to the election of a bishop, in the place of the deceased prior of St. Austins, and at the same time annuls as informal the election of the archdeacon:

"Alexander Papa Clericis Bangorensis Ecclesiæ.

"Alexander Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei dilectis filiis universis clericis in Episcopatu Bangorensi constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Si quanta detrimenta et incommoda in ecclesiis ex destitutione pastoris soleant provenire, consideratione sollicitâ pensaretis ecclesia vestra tanto tempore prelato nullatenus caruisset, quanto ipsam audivimus destitutam fuisse. Unde quum nostrum est de universis ecclesiis curam et sollicitudinem gerere, et earum destitutioni paternæ considerationis oculo providere universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta percipiendo mandamus, et in virtute obedientiæ injungimus, quatenus juxta mandatum

* "Dici poterit quod ubicunque Walenses liberas ad eligendum habenas habuerint, nunquam quempiam præter Walensem sibi præficient, et illum gentibus aliis neque naturâ, nec nutriturâ, nec natione, nec educatione permixtum." Giraldus Cambr.: Anglia Sacra, ii. 522.

† "Galfridus cognomento Arturus fit Episcopus Asaphensis 1151." Diptycha Eccl. Anglicanæ, Bp. Kennet. Lansdowne MSS. B.M.

Digitized by Google

et consilium venerabilis fratris nostri Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi aliquam personam idoneam vobis in pastorem et episcopum infra duos menses post harum susceptionem pari voto eligere studeatis, sub cujus regimine ecclesia vestra tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus cooperante Domino proficiat incrementis. Electum vero jam dicto archiepiscopo presentetis, ut ipse si expedire cognoverit electionem ejus confirmet et eandem congruo tempore studeat promovere. Alioquin eum quem memoratus archiepiscopus vobis assignaverit, omni excusatione et appellatione cessante in magistrum et episcopum recipiatis, et ei reverentiam et obedientiam debitam studeatis humiliter exhibere. Preterea quum in archidiaconatu memoratæ ecclesiæ vestræ filium priorem quasi hæreditario jure successisse audivimus, et eundem archidiaconatum sine prænominati archiepiscopi auctoritate vel conscientiâ obtinere, nos quod taliter exinde factum est irritum esse decernimus, et hoc auctoritate apostolicâ omnino cassamus. Data Laterani iii. Idus Decembris."*

To this mandate the clergy seem to have given no attention. The pope, therefore, in all probability at the request of Becket, having given them six weeks for compliance, sent another and more peremptory mandate to the chapter, commanding them immediately to proceed to the election, and to present the person so elected to the primate for confirmation, at the same time confirming any election they might have come to before the arrival of this letter, and promising to ratify the decision of Becket. The letter bears date the 9th of February, 1165.

"Alexander Papa Canonicis et Clero Bangorensis Ecclesiæ.

"Alexander Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei dilectis filiis canonicis et universo clero et populo Bangorensi salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quia ex defectu pastoris gravia consueverint animarum pericula provenire, et ex hoc sacris Dei ecclesiis plurima incommoda et detrimenta contingere; universitatem vestram sicce per alia scripta monuimus, ita nunc per iterata scripta monemus atque mandamus, quatenus si nondum convenistis in aliquem personam honestam, idoneam, et literatam pariter conveniatis, et eum in episcopum vestrem communiter eligatis. Electum quoque venerabili fratri nostro Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo primato vestro consecrandum representare curetis. Nos enim, si de personâ idoneâ canonicam jam electionem fecistis, eam ratam habemus, et quicquid inde predictus archiepiscopus statuerit ratum curabimus et firmum habere. Data Laterani, Idus Februarii."

About three weeks after, (26th February, 1165,) he granted letters to Becket, by which he was authorised to compel the clergy to proceed to an election of a fit person, and giving the primate the power of punishing them, in case of their remaining in their refractory course for three months after the receipt of the letter.

"Alexander Papa Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo.

"Alexander Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Venerabili Fratri Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Si quanta detrimenta et incommoda ecclesiis ex destitutione pastoris solent provenire, Bangorensis Ecclesiæ clerici sollicitâ consideratione pensarent, ecclesia illa tanto tempore prelato nullatenus caruisset, quanto ipsam audivimus pastore viduatam fuisse. Unde quum nostrum est de universis ecclesiis curam et sollicitudinem gerere, et earum destitutioni paternæ considerationis oculo providere, fraternitati tuæ per apostolica

* Cotton MS. Claudius B. ii. lib. 2. ep. 87.

Digitized by Google

scripta percipiendo mandamus, quatenus memoratos clericos diligenter convenias, et instantius studeas commonere, ut in aliquam personam idoneam et honestam cum consilio tuo pari modo conveniant, et eam sibi in pastorem et episcopum infra duos menses postquam literas nostras susceperint eligere non postponant. Quod si ad mandatum nostrum et commonitionem tuam non fecerint, tu eis aliquem qui pontificali officio idoneus reputetur, infra tres menses post harum susceptionem provideas, quem in patrem et pastorem recipiant et cui reverentiam et obedientiam debitam sine omni contradictione tanquam prelato suo impendant. Data Laterani, iv Kalend. Februarii."

About this time, in all probability, Becket endeavoured, by the following epistle, to persuade Owen, the prince of North Wales, to permit the clergy to elect a bishop such as the primate could confirm; whilst at the same time he advised the prince to separate himself from his cousin, with whom he had allied himself in disregard of the injunctions of the canon law, and thus at one time to remove from the church the odium of the scandals by which she was affected.

"Thomas Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus Oeno Walensium Principi.

"Novit Inspector cordium et Judex animarum, quod honorem tuum et salutem sicce filii in Christo carissimi, cujus cura nobis a Domino injuncta est, sincerâ in Domino caritate diligimus, et tibi desideramus et oramus summum bonum evenire sicut et nobis. Et quanto nobis ad te dilectio major est, tanto tibi quæ ad salutem tuam et honorem pertinent studiosius intimamus. Recole ergo, fili, quanta bona fecerit tibi Dominus, et ei de honore de successibus quos tibi contulit, condignas ipsius præeunte clementiâ gratias age, ut qui juventutem tuam et virilem ætatem consolatus est in adversis, et erexit et direxit ad prospera; maturitatem tuam beato fine et exitu gratioso consummet, et labores tuos quiete remuneret, et gloriâ sempiternâ. Dominus enim est qui se glorificantes glorificat, et contemptores suos reddit ignobiles. Scimus te jurum esse discretum, et qui boni et mali, æqui et iniqui, præmia rationis libramine novis ponderare, et qui te crebrâ meditatione memineris moriturum. Et quidem ut rerum experientia docet, juvenes cito moriuntur et facile, sed impossibile est ut qui senes sunt diu vivant. Ponamus autem ut senum contra morem vita diutius protendatur, certe vivendo deficiunt, et mors, non intellecta, sensim per universa membra corporis et sensus hebetatiores obrepit. Nam singula nobi sanni prædantur euntes, et ipsas quibus ante gaudebamus voluptates eripiunt. Sed cum omnium tam justorum quam peccatorum finis unus sit et communis interitus, horum tamen et illorum gravis in ipsâ morte differentia est. Siquidem pretiosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus qui de miseriâ exeuntes ad æternam traducit gloriam; mors autem peccatorum pessima quæ prevaricatores legis impenitentes trajicit in gehennam. Ubi subter eos sternetur tinea, operimentum eruint vermes, et vermes quidem qui non moriuntur, sicce ignis non extinguetur in sæcula. Quid ergo prodest, fili, si mundum quis intretur universum quem vix ad momentum poterit retinere, et hos cruciatur et præmia laborum animæ suæ adquiratur. Quia vero super omnes cœtaneos tuos in gente tuâ extulit et honoravit misericors Dominus, in multâ patientiâ te expectans et multis tam beneficiis quam periculis provocari ad pœnitentiam, nobilitatem tuam rogamus, monemus, et exhortamus in Domino, et in remissionem peccatorum tibi injungimus quatenus apostolicum mandatum de relinquendâ cognatâ tuâ et ordinatione Bangorensis Ecclesiæ benignus audias et diligenter exequaris, ut fructum obedientiæ quem salubriter exoptas tibi et semini tuo cumulet et multiplicet Dominus et temporaliter et in eternâ retributione justorum. Alioquin dimittere non poterimus quin illud prout nobis injunctum est impleamus. Si cognatam tuam diligis, abundas

Digitized by Google

operibus quibus ei poteris utiliter et honeste providere, diligas ut cognatam non ut uxorem, quia satis esse debet quod te Dominus hactenus et ecclesia ejus in tam manifestâ culpâ, et multo scandalo et pernicioso exemplo, sustinuit delinquenter. A modo enim tantum scandalum non poterit sustineri, et necesse est ut ecclesia suo diutius viduata pastore proprium episcopum recipiat, qui auctore Domino salutem procuret animarum. Valeas."

The two next letters disclose the further progress, or rather non-progress, of the affair. In the one, the pope tells Becket that Owen has despised the commands of the holy see, and still remains with his unlawful wife, whilst the clergy and canons of Bangor, either really, or pretending to be, compelled by their prince, remain as contumacious as ever. Again the pope commands Becket to launch against them the thunders of ecclesiastical censure. The letter is dated from Benevento the 27th of March, probably in the same year, 1166.

"Alexander Papa Thomæ Cantuarensis Archiepiscopo.

"Alexander Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Venerabili Fratri Thomæ Cantuarensis Archiepiscopo salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad aures nostras pervenisse cognoscas, quod Oenus princeps Walliæ literas quas ei de consobrinâ suâ, quam sicut uxorem tenere dicitur, destinavimus recipere noluit, nec eandem consobrinam suam secundum commonituram nostram dimisit. Archidiaconus etiam Bangorensis scripta nostra contempsit, nec eis voluit aliquatenus obedire. Unde quum ad tuum spectat officium, illorum in hâc parte presumptionem ecclesiasticâ severitate punire, maxime cum eorum facta magis tibi quam nobis nota et manifesta existant; quid inde duxeris statuendum arbitrio tuæ discretionis relinquimus. Nos enim sententiam quam in eos pro excessibus suis canonice dederis ratam et firmam habebimus, et eam usque ad dignam satisfactionem mandamus irrefragabiliter observari. Data Benevent. vi Kal. Martii."

In the second letter, Becket again endeavoured to persuade the prince of North Wales to yield to the commands of the holy see, at the same time commanding him to deliver the pope's letters to the clergy and canons which he seems to have seized, in transitu, and absolving the messenger, by whom he had sent his own letters, from the oath which Owen had exacted from him of not returning to Becket.

"Thomas Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus Oeno Walesium Principi.

"Thomas Dei gratiâ Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus, et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, Oeno Walensium Principi salutem, et ei devotum exhibere obsequium cui servire regnare est. Cui plura committuntur a Domino, ei tenetur de pluribus reddere rationem qui sicce fideliter obsequentes felici remuneratione glorificat, sic in devotos potentes horrendam nimis ultionem percellit, ut cum auferatur deficienti solatium, tamen in miseriis non subsistant. Sed inter omnia quæ illi exhibentur obsequia nihil gratiosius acceptat, quam si spirito se pro quâ sanguinem fudit debitus a fidelibus reddatur honor, et e contra nihil gravius punit quam si illa in conspectu ejus contumeliosis afficiatur injuriis. Hoc ex te ipso, dilecte fili, potes agnoscere, sciens quantâ acerbitate mariti vindicent contumelias, si forte sub eorum aspectu conjugibus inferuntur. At Christi Domini tui, quem fidelis es, sponsa est Ecclesia Bangorensis, quæ sicce nosti jam fere decennio proprio viduata pastore,

Digitized by Google

machinationibus eorum qui ei compati et providere debuerant, super desolatione suâ ante Sponsi oculos lacrimabiliter ingemiscit. Unde quia te sincerâ caritate diligimus, et honorem tuum Domino cupimus promoveri, dilectioni tuæ rogando, consulendo, et in remissionem peccatorum injungendo suademus quatenus juxta mandatum domini papæ præfatam ecclesiam benigna patiaris debita pastoris provisione a tantis miseriis relevari, nec contra hoc cujuscunque admittas consilium ubi tantum periculum vertitur animarum. Si vero te cujuscunque clerici, sive laici, sive viri, sive mulieris consilio quod ecclesiam secundum canones ordinari impediat obligasti, nos te ab illâ seu permissione seu obligatione apostolicâ et nostrâ auctoritate absolvimus, prohibentes in periculo animæ tuæ ne illi, quicunque sit, contra salutem tuam de cætero adquiescas. Præterea mandamus quatenus literas domini papæ quas supprimi fecisti ecclesiæ cui mittuntur et nobis restituas, et clericum qui eas deferebat quem nos ab obligatione quâ ipsum ne rediret arcasti absolvimus, ad nos ut debuit sine omni impedimento venire patiaris. Detulimus hactenus et deferimus tibi et tanquam dilecto filio ubi secundum Dominum poterimus deferre disponimus. Sed nisi apostolicis et nostris mandatis præsertim in his quæ ad salutem tuam pertinere noscuntur adquieveris, ulterius tibi deferre vel parcere non poterimus quin quod Dominus præcepit, et apostolica sedes instanter injungit, sollicitius exequamur."

About the same time the primate wrote the following letter to David, the archdeacon of Bangor, commanding him most peremptorily to obey the pope's commands, and threatening deprivation and excommunication in the event of his compliance being delayed more than four months from the receipt of the letter.

"Thomas Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus David Bangorensis Archidiacono.

"Thomas Dei gratiâ Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus David Bangorensis Ecclesiæ Archidiacono salutem et cardis oculos salubriter aperire. Mater tua Bangorensis Ecclesia ab annis multis luget Christo viduata pastore, et qui eam consolare debuerant, acerbiores inimici facti sunt inter angustias. Quorum tu perambulus et signifer esse diceris ab his qui et matris ecclesiæ miserias ingemiscunt et bona illius in abusus filiorum et filiarum tuarum queruntur esse conversa, et quod intolerabilius est, ordinationem ecclesiæ tuis machinationibus lacrimabiliter assertur impediri. Unde quia tantæ præsumptionis excessus ulterius dissimulare nec possumus nec debemus, tibi in virtute obedientiæ præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus ad nos omni excusatione cessante juxta mandatum apostolicum infra quatuor menses post harum susceptionem literarum accedas nostris monitis et præceptis Domino pariturus, aut exinde si neglexeris officio et beneficio ecclesiastico irreparabiliter privandus, et si nec sic resipueris Sathanæ tradendus in interitum carnis. Siquidem nos apostolicum oportet implere mandatum et naufragantis ecclesiæ periculis maturius subvenire. Te monitis obtemperantem in beneplacito suo gratia Dei custodiat."

Neither the archdeacon nor the prince were to be frightened out of their determination. The latter forthwith renewed the oath never to sanction the election of any but one of his own kinsmen, and defied Becket and his master the pope. The former sent a kind of apology, if it can be so called, to the archbishop, (a portion of which we give from the Cotton MS.,) and then sat down to watch for events.

"Thomæ Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo Bangorensis Archidiaconus.

"Quantâ mentis exultatione, quantâ animi jucunditate, nostra privetur ecclesia tam pii prioris orbata presentiâ. nec stylo notare nec verbis imprimere valemus. Sic quippe cuncta in vobis relaxabat misericordia quod

Digitized by Google

nihil involvi omitteret justitia. Et licet omnes de vestro damnum patiantur exilio, nos tamen majori super omnes affligimur incommodo. Presentes quippe nos pro mentis affectu venerabamini, et inimicorum insidias in absentes illatas frustrabamini. Dominus autem pro his nos abunde remuneret, cum nostra imbecillitate digna retribuendi sit ablata acultas. Quod nisi locorum distantia nos a jucunditate vestræ presentiæ sejungeret nostri erga vos animi affectum clarius sentiretis, tum nostri copiam vobis exhibendo, tum nostram vobis ut domino substantiam offerendo. De hoc autem quod nobis indignis ecclesiarum regimen dignati estis committere, dum super hoc trahimus in testimonium, nos omnem quam potuimus adhibuisse diligentiam, et vestris in omnibus obedisse preceptis, quod et de cætero faciemus, et quod vestræ de ecclesiâ regendâ sollicitudini visum fuerit, nobis literis vestris remandate."

Neither was Becket to be stopped. Having been made aware of the exaction, or more probably the renewal of the oath to the prince, he sent a letter, in which, by the command of Alexander, he absolved the chapter from its force, and demanded in return immediate compliance with the commands of the pope, under pain of excommunication and the terrors of an interdict.

"Thomas Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus David Bangorensi Archidiaco.

"Quia ecclesiam Dei liberam esse decet, et præsertim in electionibus celebrandis debet obtinere unanimitas fratrum non violentia potestatis, vos a juramento quod contra bonos mores et sacrorum canonum disciplinam Oenus Walensium Princeps dicitur extorsisse, ut nullum scilicet vobis in episcopum idsi de ipsius eligeretis arbitrio, dominus papa clementer absolvit, præcipiens et quem vobis assignaverimus sine omni appellatione et contradictione propositâ pontificem recipiatis. Inde est quod universitati vestræ in virtute obedientiæ precipiendo mandamus quatenus juxta quod vobis nuntii nostri intimaverint, mandatum apostolicum cum omni diligentiâ exequamini, sciturí quod si neglexeritis in personas vestras anathematis et in ecclesiam ut loca quæ inhabitabitis interdicti sententiam auctore Domino præferemus. Valeas."

The letters in the Cotton MS. here fail us, and our information respecting this dispute becomes proportionably narrowed. We are, however, enabled to discover that, instead of being interrupted by the disturbances of the time, it went on so far, as to entail on Alexander, who succeeded to the archdeaconry of Bangor in 1166, the punishment of excommunication; whilst from the term "unus clericorum" excommunicated by Becket, we must suppose his brethren of the chapter received the punishment so long threatened for their refractory conduct. This, however, did not conclude the contest; and though we know not what intermediate steps were taken, yet we are assured that it was not until 1171, or, according, to another authority 1177, that Guido Rufus resigned his deanery of Holy Cross, Waltham, prior to his election to the long vacant bishopric of Bangor.

As the weight of these facts, against the Welsh theory of the French historian, has some considerable dependence on the dates assigned to the letters, it will not be amiss to assign as a reason for placing the above letters not earlier than 1165, the fact of those written by Alexander being dated at the Lateran, whither he did not return until late in this

Digitized by Google

year, and whence he had been driven by Frederic in 1161. Neither can we assign to them a later date than 1166, as David was succeeded in his archdeaconry in that year by Alexander.*

We must here close this second portion of our extracts from the Cottonian MS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Waverley Novels, Abbotsford Edition. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1843. Second Volume, royal 8vo. Pp. 676.

We have so lately announced the first volume of this sumptuous edition, that it might be deemed superfluous to say more than that it quite equals its predecessor. To remark, as has been done, that the illustrations are unequal, would for the most part be but to say that there are degrees in excellence, which is only couching a truism under the form of criticism: however, to some of the illustrations, wood-cuts which bring out large figures, we object strongly: in the first cut for example, "The Antiquary scolding Mrs. Macleuchlar," there is a figure, Lovel, which is perfectly libellous, the counterpart of a vulgar "bagman," and not the chosen of Miss Wardour; though Miss Wardour herself, at p. 54, fares no better. We would recommend our readers to contrast these, and there are other unfavourable specimens of xylography in the volume, with Wilkie's noble sketch of a "Deerstalker," p. 300, or "View on the Sands," Montrose, p. 205, which are artistically beautiful; and if we were to select an especial topic of eulogy, it would be the smaller landscapes—the heaths and broomy moors of Scotland, in which the idea of space and distance conveyed is very fine. The Abbotsford Edition will be a noble monument to Scott's fame, and as such we recommend it gladly.

We are glad also to see that the present edition recurs to the true chronological order of the Waverley Novels. It is remarkable enough that all the common editions improperly place Rob Roy immediately after the Antiquary: the fact is, that the First Series of the Tales of My Landlord was published before Rob Roy, but without the usual authentication of "By the Author of Waverley," and by Murray and Blackwood; and this for the double purpose of receiving more money out of Constable, by showing him that he was not, *without paying for it*, to expect a monoply of Scott's genius, and also of displaying the

* "Guido Rufus, decanus Sancti Crucis Walthamiensis, decanatum resignavit in concilio Northampton habito post festum Sancti Hilarii 1177, eo consilio ut monachi loco Gulielmi induxerent episcopum.

"Alexander Bangorensis Archidiaconus fuit unus clericorum Thomâ Becket excommunicatorum." Giraldus de Hist. Princp. Wal. Diptycha Eccl. Anglic. Bp. Kennet. Lansdowne MSS. B M.

Digitized by Google

author's strange but usual love of mystification, induced by a nervous apprehension of failure in a field which, like the Black Dwarf and Old Mortality, was to some extent untried. As a matter of literary history, it is most important to know the process of Scott's mind, and gradual development of his genius; though we think that a note pointing out the falsity of the common arrangement would have been very needful in the Abbotsford Edition, for so accustomed were we ourselves to the incorrect order of Rob Roy following the Antiquary, that we were, without recalling the circumstances which are familiar to the readers of Lockhart's Life, on the very point of charging as an error in the present edition, that which is its high recommendation, viz. strict correctness in all the literary details. And now that Scott is fairly before us, a word or two on the Antiquary:—

We have long thought this tale to be nearly the perfection of Scott's writings; as a work of art it has merits of an order all but the very highest; the skill with which the intrigue of the plot is worked up—the awful destiny which hangs over the house of Glenallan—the narrative put into the mouth of Elspeth of all that belongs to the unravelment—the short space of time over which the incidents of the tale itself range—the severe character of suffering under the ordeal of which all the characters are to pass, these things invest it with a dignity almost Grecian: it is, in outline, a λόγος rather than a novel. And in the whole range of literature, we know nothing which exceeds in power either the rescue of the Wardours from the Halket head, or the fearful narrative of Elspeth of the Craigburnfoot; and the solemn grandeur with which the events of years are made to sweep together, and the technical skill with which all the characters are found to assist in the catastrophe, is extremely dramatic; there is a massive, even tragic, power in the whole story. To compare this with the clumsy and lagging fiction of Old Mortality, with its breaks of years, will at once make our meaning intelligible. Nor is the Antiquary less noticeable on another and a higher ground: there is a fine religious feeling running through it: the unearthly dignity of the miserable Lord Glenallan trying to atone by the ascetic penance of years for his supposed tremendous, though involuntary sin, and the solemn grandeur with which that house of sorrow is painted, are true to the highest feelings of our common humanity, and of consequence to Christian truth. Here Scott's nobler nature asserted its powers; there are no sneers at personal mortification, or if put into the mouth of such as Oldbuck himself, are instantly repressed, not by sermonizing, but by the innate dignity of suffering. In a word, not only do the sorrows of the husband of Eveline, but the difficulties of the weak-headed, though good-hearted, knight of Knockwinnock, unconsciously bear truth to the purifying virtue of unmerited sorrows, and a life of disappointment and trial. Scott took too real a view of human life not to be aware—and to dare to paint it—that mysterious trials happen to the godly; though he might have been prevented by sad circumstances, from grounding any sound personal religion upon this subduing truth: however, he saw the world as it is. We know not a more remarkable instance of reserve, we had almost said religious feeling, in suppressing all notice of Lord Glenallan after the discovery

Digitized by Google

of his long-lost heir. Common writers would have talked of his restoration to society—living in the bosom of his family—long-flown peace returning, and such conventional nonsense: not so Scott; he knew that with Lord Glenallan, the world and the world's ways must have been at an end; he had so long lived in solemn communion with personal austerities, and in the strait and narrow path, if it might in the end be well with him, that nature as such was over; the consciousness of sin forgiven, or, as in this case, the proof that it had not been committed, might and would result in peace: but a long course of repentance cannot place a penitent where he was at the beginning; he has become another creature, with a new and unearthly set of feelings; therefore to restore such an one to the world's common life, were as unreal as to believe that Genoveva, after her dwelling in the wilderness, would return to common household duties. Such characters, if true to religious truth, must fade away silently—holily, melt into the grave with all calm, yet with all heavenly solemnity. And it is the very triumph of Scott's genius that we are left to conjecture Lord Glenallan's future life, whether he lived in a cloister, or whether the strong excitement of repentance as such being over, the stimulant of suffering being at an end, his long hours of suffering being closed, when

> '— too plain the work appears
> Of those cruel wasting years,
> Every day his pale, pale face,
> Wears a more unearthly grace,'

he did not die soon after the end of the tale. There is no false sentiment, but great moral dignity in this remarkable silence. The character of Oldbuck, too, is peculiarly interesting, being drawn, as there seems little doubt, much from the author's view of his own mind; the strange eccentricity of character, the reckless desire to hide real feeling by assumed heartlessness, the failure of such attempts when any strong excitement breaks through the assumed mask, as at the funeral of Mucklebackit's son; these touches are not only pathetic in themselves, but doubly interesting when we know them to have been the counterparts of perplexing traits of Scott's own character; and the same may be said of attributing all these angularities and waywardness to early sorrows and blighted affections, which was also Scott's own case. How true to nature is this passage in the life of the crabbed cynic and misogynist:—

"So saying, Mr. Oldbuck opened a drawer of the cabinet of his ancestor, Aldobrand, and produced a bundle of papers, tied with a black ribband, and labelled, Examinations, &c., taken by Jonathan Oldbuck, J. P., upon the 18th of February, 17—; a little under, was written in a small hand, Eheu Evelina!"—P. 221.

Also,

"'I am seldom in this apartment,' he said, 'and never without yielding to a melancholy feeling, not of course on account of the childish nonsense that Grizel was telling you, but owing to circumstances of an early and unhappy attachment. It is at such moments as these, Mr. Lovel, that we feel the changes of time. The same objects are before us, those inanimate things which we have gazed on in wayward infancy and impetuous youth, in anxious and scheming manhood, they are permanent and the same; but when we look upon them in cold unfeeling old age, can we, changed in our temper, our pursuits, our feelings—changed in our form, our limbs, and our strength—can we be ourselves called the same? or do we not rather look back with a sort of wonder upon our former selves, as beings separate and distinct

Digitized by Google

from what we now are? The philosopher who appealed from Philip inflamed with wine to Philip in his hours of sobriety, did not choose a judge so different, as if he had appealed from Philip in his youth to Philip in his old age. I cannot but be touched with the feeling so beautifully expressed in a poem which I have heard repeated:

'My eyes are dim with childish tears,
My heart is idly stirred,
For the same sound is in my ears
Which in those days I heard.

Thus fares it still in our decay;
And yet the wiser mind
Mourns less for what time takes away,
Than what it leaves behind.'

Well, time cures every wound, and though the scar may remain and occasionally ache, yet the earliest agony of its recent infliction is felt no more."—Pp. 63, 64.

Indeed, to make Oldbuck engrossed in the pursuit of antiquarian lore, in its *minutiæ*, is a very deep thought; men, after unutterable sorrows such as his, often have recourse to what the world calls childish pursuits, tulip-fancying, butterfly-hunting, the science of coins and lachrymatories, to dispel darker and deeper thoughts; the heart would often break, were its energies not dissipated by some pursuit; and the more worthless the subject in itself, and the greater the need of infixing its mere technicalities in the memory, the more welcome its relief to the overburthened soul; and if the adopted study be superficial, it is prized more for the surface which it covers than for its depth; it is needful for the mind to have something to fill it up, and in a diseased state, graver studies would be insupportable.

Having said thus much of the Antiquary, we can but remark that, the Black Dwarf and Old Mortality are far below it, both in moral purpose and in literary power. To illustrate a point which we urged in January, that Scott, though nominally a member of the Church, must have fallen in with miserable specimens of the Catholic Church, what can be more distressing than the following, which we know to have been Scott's own view of Divine service:—

"The Antiquary looked with great regard on the said Blattergowl, though I own he could seldom, even by his sense of decency and the remonstrances of his woman kind, be *hounded out*, as he called it, to hear him preach; though he took shame to himself by asking the clergyman to dinner every Sunday."—P. 299.

The following, from the Jacobite meeting, in the Black Dwarf, is pure malignity; or still worse ignorance:—

"'Our religion is cut up, root and branch,' said the *pimple-nosed pastor of the Episcopal meeting-house at Kirkwhistle.*"—P. 361.

To say nothing of that silly literary fault, unworthy of Scott's genius, which, in representing a class, pictures each individual by certain *trade* resemblances. To make all lawyers rogues, all Frenchmen cowards, all physicians gossips, is the very bathos of art. This did not Shakspere, this does not the genuine *maker*, which Scott was, though he wrote too much, and too greedily, for the very highest fame, which he might have achieved, and did all but win.

While we are on this subject, we may as well adduce a remarkable instance of Scott's complete ignorance of the history, as well as of the principles, of the Church of Scotland.

"'But what ken I if the cause is gude or no, mither,' rejoined Cuddie, 'for a' ye bleaze out sae muckle doctrine about it? It's clean beyond my comprehension a'thegither. I see nae sae muckle difference atween the twa ways o't as a' the folk pretend. It's very true the curates read aye the same words ower again; and if they be right

Digitized by Google

words, what for no? A gude tale's no the waur o' being twice tauld, I trow; and a body has aye the better chance to understand it. Every body's no sae gleg at the uptake as ye are yourself, mither.'"—*Old Mortality*, p. 441.

Of course implying that the objections at the Restoration on the part of the people were, that a preconceived *form* of prayer was forced upon them contrary to their wishes. Now we learn from Lawson's History, noticed elsewhere, that so far was this from the case, that "from the Restoration to the Revolution there was *scarcely an outward distinction between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians in faith, worship or* discipline. The Liturgy of the Church of England was used in the chapel-royal, and in a few churches; some of the incumbents compiled forms of prayer; but *Prayers were generally extempore, or said in the same manner as those who reject a liturgy or set forms of prayer.*" Pp. 50, 51. In point of fact, at this period, the Church of Scotland was reduced to the most attenuated outline; it preserved just barely the succession and no more, and it was to this that the Balfours and Kettledrummles objected, not to the ritual; not to the doctrine, not to the discipline of the church, for they were extinct: it is quite certain, therefore, that the controversy between Mause and her worthy son Cuddie, on the value of the Liturgy, is entirely out of place, for neither of them could ever have heard it used.

Specimens of Ancient Church Plate, Sepulchral Crosses, &c. No. 2. London: Burns, and Rivingtons.

We have great pleasure in repeating the favourable opinion we passed on this work at the appearance of its first number, in January last; and are glad to find that the recommendation we then offered, has met with attention. In order to ensure the accurate imitation of the Specimens of Church Plate, when considered desirable, sections, both vertical and horizontal, as well as a view of each subject in perspective, are now given. It is in this that the practical value of the publication before us consists. The exceeding reasonableness in price of this series, is a further point for consideration, when we remember that the Clergy, whom it is particularly important to interest and instruct, have not the means at present of ascertaining the true ancient form of church plate, except from expensive works, which they can ill afford to purchase, and which are difficult of access in the country.

We hope that an extra plate may, hereafter, be given of the Guernsey chalice and cruet, with perfect sections.

It is, indeed, quite time that something should be done to compensate for the bad taste which, from obvious causes, began to prevail from the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign. We have seen chalices of a very early post-reformation date, which are as clumsy, ill-proportioned, and as little resembling the ancient models as anything which has been subsequently produced.

The Church has left the preparation of these things to be followed

Digitized by Google

as a common trade, by men with whom the world is the best customer, and the world's fashions are now their only guides, when any attempt is made to produce something better than usual in sacred plate. The art can only be revived by the Church taking it, as much as possible, into her own hands, and training workmen; for, not only the form, but, the ancient mode of using metals has been quite abandoned. And, therefore, much as we recommend this very timely publication, especially to Clergymen, as likely to create a dissatisfaction with modern plate, and a laudable desire for better, we are very far from wishing them to go, book in hand, to any and every goldsmith; as we trust that arrangements will soon be made in the proper quarter, for supplying these things, when desired. Indeed, we have reason to know that such is the case.

As the search after old plate continues, sufficient will be, doubtless, found to prevent the necessity of giving specimens such as the chalice stem from Bath, already published in this series, which is not exactly of the right date for such a work as the present.

We owe considerable thanks to the gentlemen who have undertaken this publication, and who must have been at some pains to collect these materials; and we trust, that, considering the difficulty of procuring them, and their great value in consequence, information may be given of the existence of very early specimens with which our readers may be acquainted. We observe that communications are invited, addressed to Mr. Holloway, Bath.

We must not omit to mention that this series of lithographs contains also sepulchral crosses (which we would recommend to the notice of such of the Clergy as may wish to improve the style of monuments in their churches and church-yards), and we are promised two examples of fonts in the Third Number, which will appear May 1st,—drawn, we presume, in the same style as that which has already been given, which, however, as a geometrical drawing, it may disappoint those who look only to the picturesque, is of far greater practical utility than the mere sketches we commonly meet with.

We return to the plate. And if our readers are surprised at the paucity of the ancient sacred vessels and vestments of our Church, the following may suggest some thoughts which will tend to decrease their wonder, especially bearing in mind the plunder of the Rebellion, which followed, within a century, the sacrilege which disfigured the Reformation:—

"In Tewksbury Abbey alone, plate reserved to *the use of the king's majesty* [Henry VIII.]: silver gilt, 329 oz.; silver parrel [parcel] gilt, 605 oz.; silver white, 497 oz. = 1431 ounces; and of ornaments reserved to the said use; one cope of silver tissue, with one clesible [chasuble] and one tunicle of the same; one cope of gold tissue with one cles. and two tunicles of the same;" to say nothing of "miters, rugged pearls," &c.*

Nor did his protestant successor fail to follow so profitable an example. In the journal of his own reign, King Edward, soon after he had discovered that his debts amounted to the moderate sum of 1,200,000 notes,—"It was agreed that commissioners should go out for to take

* Burnet, i. Coll. of Records, B. iii. p. 240.

Digitized by Google

certificate of the superfluous church plate '*to mine use.*'"* And the next month he coolly adds, "Commission was given to —— to sell some part of the *chauntry lands* and of the houses, for the *paiment of my debts*," &c.† And, by-and-by, another "commission to enquire whether I were justly answered of the plate, lead, bells, &c., that belonged to abbeys?"‡—the anxiety being not about the title to these holy things, but that they were all confiscated "*to mine use.*"

Nor can we omit Collier's account of this scandalous sacrilege:—

"Sir Roger Cholmely, lord chief justice, and Sir Robert Bowes, master of the rolls, the king's commissioners for gathering ecclesiastical goods, held their session at Westminster, called the dean and chapter before them, and ordered 'them to bring in a true inventory of all the plate, cups, vestments, and other ecclesiastical goods, which belonged to their church.' The piety of former ages, the solemnities of coronations, the funerals of princes and noblemen, had ornamented this church with plate and religious decorations, and furnished it with officiating habits, to an immense value: but there was nobody so hardy [so honest?] as to lock the church doors, to conceal the treasure, and address the council. No, the order was obeyed, the holy furniture delivered, and a very slender share of it returned back for divine service. This Westminster precedent was followed at St. Paul's, and throughout the kingdom. The commissioners' business was to make seizure of all goods in cathedral or parish churches: and thus all jewels and gold, all silver crosses, candlesticks, chalices, and ready money, were within their instructions. They were likewise empowered to carry off all copes of gold or silver tissue, and all their officiating habits and ornamental furniture of value. They were bound to leave no more than one chalice for the communion service; [!] and, as for other conveniences and embellishments, they were certainly left to the commissioners' discretion.

"This order for undressing the churches was, it seems, represented to the king 'as an inoffensive expedient, and only calling for the superfluous plate, and other goods, that lay in churches more for pomp than use.'

"But those who called these things superfluous, and showed so slender a regard for the honour of religion, were none of the best reformers. Had these people governed in the minority of Josiah, they would, in all likelihood, have retrenched the expense of the Mosaic institution, and served God at a more frugal rate. They would have disfurnished the Temple of most of the gold plate, carried off the unnecessary magnificence, and left but little plunder for Nebuchadnezzar."—P. 336.

How clean this sweeping was, we have no means of ascertaining; but the Puritans were not slow, as we have said, to avail themselves of this godly precedent: "that which the palmer-worm, and the locust had left, hath the canker-worm and the caterpillar" of the Rebellion "eaten."

---

1. *The Christian Altar. A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, on Sunday Morning, Oct.* 23, 1842. *By the Rev.* James Scholefield, A.M., *Regius Professor of Greek.* Cambridge: Deighton. London: Parker, & Seeley. 1842. 8vo. Pp. 30.
2. *Appendix to Professor Scholefield's Sermon on the Christian Altar: containing Remarks on some Objections.* Cambridge: Deighton. London: Parker, & Seeley. 1842. 8vo. Pp. 15.
3. *Remarks on a Sermon by Professor Scholefield, entitled the Christian Altar: being a Vindication of the Catholic Doctrines*

---

* Burnet, ii. Coll. of Records, p. 74. † Ibid. p. 76. ‡ Ibid. p. 97.

Digitized by Google

therein impugned. By F. W. Collison, M.A., *Fellow of St. John's College.* Cambridge: Stevenson. London: Rivington. 1842. 8vo. Pp. 22.

4. *The Lord's Table the Christian Altar, in some Remarks upon Professor Scholefield's late Sermon. By the Rev.* Charles Warren, M.A. *Vicar of Over.* Cambridge: Deighton. London: Rivington. 1843. 8vo. Pp. 50.

These pamphlets are the records of a controversy which is no new one to our readers, and on which they well know our opinion. Two things strike us concerning the mode of its conduct in the present instance. First, that there is, perhaps, far more substantial agreement between the parties than they imagine; and, secondly, that wherever carried on, it should not, under the circumstances, have been introduced into the pulpit; indeed, his having done so, in our judgment, has involved Professor Scholefield in a breach of the canons.

Both in his sermon and supplementary pamphlet, the learned Professor seems to eschew those large antecedent questions, on which depend the subordinate one, to which he has almost entirely given his attention. He has two leading fallacies,—one that the Church of England condemns an ordinance, phrase, or opinion, whenever she has herself omitted it: although such a consideration hardly applies to the present question, for we cannot but think the Coronation Service, being an act, must needs be to some extent a manifestation, of our Church. Another is, that the name *table* excludes the name *altar*. Wherever he finds a writer using the former, he seems to think it certain that he would have condemned the latter, and even applies this strange and most untenable principle of interpretation to the documents issued by the Church Building Society. He seems also to overlook the fact that terms may be what is called *improper*, yet practically just; and that, consequently, while we exclude the notion of a proper sacrifice from the eucharist, in those respects at least wherein the rite is in the highest sense sacrificial, we do not think it dangerous or wrong, or deceptive, to think and speak of it as a sacrifice.

Mr. Collison seems a young man of spirit and ingenuity; but as he is a young man, we may venture on the hope that his style will lose a little of its acerbity as years roll on. He must see that we agree far more with him than with his antagonist; but considering that antagonist's seniority, position, and known accomplishments, he ought to have been answered in a different strain. Some allowance, too, should be made for the fact, that Professor Scholefield seems to admit our Lord's spiritual presence in the eucharist, and therefore the combat is not a mortal one—much indication is afforded, that, as we have said, the parties might come to a better understanding if they would but try.

Mr. Warren's pamphlet is very admirable, both in matter and in style. In the former respect we cordially recommend it. In reference to a point connected with the latter, we must express our regret that Mr. Warren should have adopted a mode of spelling, which the example of Archdeacon Hare has failed to recommend, and of which the advantages, such as they are, cannot counterpoise the evil involved in differing from general practice in such a matter.

Digitized by Google

"A Letter to the Bishop of London on the state of the Anglican Congregations in Germany:" by Mr. Hamilton Gray, Vicar of Bolsover, &c., will come under notice when, as we shortly trust to do, we redeem our promise of long standing (or, shall we say, when we put our threat into execution?) of giving our readers some specimens of the Service-books, *put forth by the King's supremacy*, in Prussia.

In connexion with which subject we may mention a far more valuable pamphlet of the deepest interest, and most searching character, "The Examination of an Announcement made in the Prussian State Gazette concerning 'the Relations of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem' with 'the German Congregations of the Evangelical Religion (?) in Palestine,'" (Oxford, Parker.) Whatever opinion on this momentous subject a churchman may form, his researches are very imperfect without it.

A controversy has been going on at Didsbury between Mr. W. J. Kidd, the incumbent, and the heads of some Wesleyan so-called college, in which all sorts of questions have been discussed, and all sorts of parties have engaged. We are bound to say that Mr. Kidd would not have come out of the arena halting, which, to some extent, he does, had he taken higher and more intelligible and consistent ground: however, as it is, on their own showing he makes out a good case against these intrusive schismatics; but we could have made out a much stronger. We quote from Mr. Kidd's "Christian Unity Stated and Enforced," &c. (London, Burns, and Manchester, Ambery), an extract from a letter which he thought proper to write to Dr. Hannah, the head, we believe, of this new Didsbury academy:—

"Henceforth *you*, as well as myself, will occupy a position in the village different from that of the inhabitants generally. It may be permitted me, therefore, to add my hope and prayer, that if we cannot agree to worship together in the same sanctuary, we may at least agree to live as christian neighbours, (especially those who believe themselves to be entrusted with the care of souls,) ought to live. With this view, and with this desire, I purpose paying my respects to you personally, at an early opportunity."—Pp 24, 25.

Upon which we desire to remark that Dr. Hannah either is, or is not, a true minister of the gospel; if he be, or if he be so even in Mr. Kidd's estimation, then Mr. Kidd must have wasted a vast deal of time and type in protesting against him and his doings in the parish of Didsbury: but if he be not entrusted by the great Head of the Church with any spiritual authority, which Mr. Kidd most fully holds to be the case, (or else why write "Church handbills," and pamphlets of warning?) then this Dr. Hannah is a schismatic; and how Mr. Kidd can volunteer "this paying of respects," (which offer was treated, as it seems, with cool contempt on the part of the "Rev. Dr. Hannah," as Mr. K. styles him) and reconcile such neighbourly intercourse with such passages as this,—"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds;" and with Rom. xvi. 17, and Gal. i. 8, 9, is what we leave to Mr. Kidd's sense of propriety and honesty to settle. It passes our sense of christian candour.

A pretty little collection of poetical opuscula, "Thoughts amid Shadows," (Oxford, Graham), has been sent us; we hear it is the production of two or three junior members of one college; and when we say that its profits are to be given to the erection of a new church in the village in which one of the authors resides, this alone will not only disarm all criticism, but recommend it highly. We are bound, however, to say that it does not require this apologetic notice; it contains right thoughts, (and how gladly do we hail their abundance in the rising classes of our universities,) always correctly, and often strikingly told; there is much true poetry and true religion in it. From our commendations, in a literary view only, we wish to exclude the introductory elegiacs, which are of the true schoolboy pitch; *bald* was the word which we used to hear applied to such compositions.

Digitized by Google

"Real and Rational Church Reform, &c., in a Letter to Lord Ashley, by J. H. Thomas, B.A., Incumbent of Millbrook Chapel of Ease." (Simpkin), seems straightforward. Whatever we may think of the policy or duty of mooting the first of Mr. T.'s suggestions, we quite agree with the need of urging his other two points. They are,—"1. A full, fair, &c. equivalent of labour from each incumbent in return for his emolument. 2. *Belief in the fundamental doctrine of the Church.* 3. *Obedience to her essential discipline.*"—P. 7.

A fourth edition of Dr. Hook's "Lent Lectures, revised by the author," (Duncan,) is, we are glad to see, announced.

"Letters on Infant Tuition, addressed to Young Teachers, by a Lady," (Burns,) has reached a second edition, with a new introduction; and well it deserves it.

And, speaking of re-issues, we are pleased to see a second impression of Lord John Manners' "Plea for National Holy-days," (Painter,) to which important subject we shall have occasion to recur next month.

In connexion with which we recommend, *on the whole*, "A Letter to Lord J. Manners," on the work in question, by "a Minister of the Holy Catholic Church." (Longman.) The two pamphlets take the same side, though we think the letter-writer has endangered his cause by being somewhat needlessly frank on one or two points which should have been kept for another occasion.

An important document will be found stitched into the present Remembrancer, "An Appeal in behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," with Letters, declaratory of their approval of its designs, from all the Bishops of England, with the exception of those whose infirmities exclude them from business, (the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Lichfield,) and from five of the Irish prelates. Why should not the Whitsunday ensuing be selected for the general and spontaneous alms of the faithful, *at the offertory*, throughout the whole Church, for the great missionary cause?

From Oxford we have a valuable reprint of that scarcest of scarce books, "Bilson's Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," (Clarendon press,) carefully edited by Mr. Eden, of Lambeth; a new volume of the Library of the Fathers, "St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on St. Matthew," translated by Sir George Prevost; and three new volumes of the "Anglo-catholic Library." These kindred, in some sense, series, have each reached their eleventh volume; and of the former, we are glad to hear that considerable progress is made with the long-expected editions of the originals, of which it does not speak highly for our scholarship that there are not more subscribers; and of the latter, that by punctuality it is fast retrieving a character which was suffering by delay.

Mr. Dyce's edition of the "Order for Daily Service, Litany, and Communion, with Plain-tune," (*canto fermo*,) after Marbeck's well-known, but very scarce book, has at length appeared; and its extreme beauty compensates for its long-deferred postponement. We observe, that after ancient custom it is dedicated, "by permission, to the Bishop of Salisbury, as Precentor of the Episcopal College of the province of Canterbury," an office which we own was as new to us as we suspect that it will be to our readers. However, it accounts for this, that the "Sarum use" was selected as the model of our reformed services; and when we remember that Salisbury, and its choral service, was the bourn of saintly Herbert's weekly pilgrimage from Bemerton to the cathedral, and that the "Sarum use," in its reformed state, must have been in Hooker's mind, (he holding the prebend of Nether-Haven in that church,) when he composed his glorious defence of chanting, we can only express our earnest hopes that the same "plain-tune," and the same stately anthems which they alone could have heard, viz., the school of Tallis, and Farrant, and Byrd, and Gibbons, may soon be restored in that cathedral; and then Salisbury will re-assert her old prerogative as the model of England's Church-music. If we defend the choral service by adducing the examples of Herbert's and Hooker's love, we must first be certain that it is a service in kind the same, to the heavenly nature of which they have left such testimony.

Digitized by Google

An abridged edition of "Wilberforce's Life" (Seeley) has appeared; a book too well and too favourably known to require more than acknowledgment, though we may remark that few biographies stood more in need of the wholesome discipline of compression.

What could possibly have induced the Rev. J. N. Green Armytage, of Lancaster, to put forth "An Attempt to determine the Sense of the Book of Common Prayer on the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration" (Seeley), is more than we can divine; seeing that the sense of the Prayer Book is allowed to be tolerably clear, even by dissenters; and certainly the present writer is not one likely to bring light to the subject from his own stores of smoke.

"The British Church, and other Poems, by the Rev. D. J. Waugh, A.B." (Seeley), is anything but poetry.

"Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love, made to a Devout Servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an Anchorite of Norwich; who lived in the days of King Edward the Third." Mother Juliana seems to have been a pious woman, with a very warm imagination, who, in deep reveries on the sufferings and death of the Saviour, conceived the idea of being the object of Divine revelations, touching the subjects on which she was meditating. The book is curious, especially as coming from one who had a desire to be made to understand experimentally the bitterness of the Redeemer's sufferings, and who believed her desire to have been granted.

Among books for the young, we have to recommend a very pretty illustrated square volume, which has just reached us, entitled, "A Present for Young Churchmen." The contents are most varied and amusing, as well as instructive. We may also name, for the benefit of a still younger class, "The Story of the Little Wren," a very attractive collection of rhymes, in which sound principle is not forgotten. Both are published by Burns.

"Norrisian Prize Essay for 1842, by J. S. Howson, M.A.," contains a digest of arguments on the connexion and interdependence of the old and new dispensations, and calls attention to the danger of the notion, prevalent, though often refuted, that a man may be saved by virtue of belonging to a particular community, or adhering to a particular set of opinions. The style of composition and manner of exhibiting his arguments, decidedly reflect credit on the author.

"Letters and Biography of Felix Neff, from the French of M. Bost," (Seeley.) This work has the advantage derived from an endeavour to supply the deficiencies of former memoirs. It contains much new information, and being in a creditabie style and compact form, will recommend itself to the public.

"Page on National Education," (Seeley.) The Rev. Thomas Page, in this rather lengthy *Letter*, [pp. 171,] sets before Lord Ashley the position, that in proportion to the importance of religion it is incumbent on the State to waive all further delay, and pass a vigorous national measure, securing to, or rather enforcing upon, the children of all sects an effective religious education through the instrumentality of the clergy. We quite agree that the clergy are the legitimate teachers of the people, but the difficulty is how to bring all people to receive their instructions, and this Mr. Page has failed to solve.

We have no doubt that the Rev. H. Hughes, M.A. is incapable of wilful dishonesty, and that he considers his "Voice of the Anglican Church" (Seeley and Burnside) perfectly fair and impartial. It is true that he does quote some favourable expressions of our Bishops towards the Oxford school. But we submit whether these, placed as they are, in a sort of Appendix, are likely to impress the readers of this book with the proportion which praise of the Oxford school has recently borne to blame in the charges of our prelates; especially considering the elaborate way in which their adverse opinions are classified and headed in the previous chapters. Anyhow, to call a selection from the charges of any one period of time, the "Voice of the Anglican Church," is singularly absurd.

Digitized by Google

"Judah's Lion, by Charlotte Elizabeth" (Seeley and Burnside), is full of the writer's faults, and manifests her usual powers. It is often eloquent and lively; but, not only do we condemn many of its opinions, but we denounce the whole conception of the Child Missionary to the Jews, as one of the most unreal and monstrous which we ever encountered. Little, however, as we agree with our authoress, we are disposed to regard one of the leading opinions of this book as by no means unimportant—our having no warrant to call on Jews to cease being Jews, in order that they may become Christians. The New Testament certainly condemns nothing in the practice of Judaism by Christian Jews, so long as it did not separate them from their Gentile brethren, and as they did not seek to enforce it on those brethren. For any of these latter, say the Galatians, to wish to become Jews, was quite another thing. We ought, perhaps, to show more respect than we commonly do, for God's national ordinances in Israel, even when we proclaim a better kingdom, and a law of life.

We shall have more to say on the recently published "Life of Bedell," (Seeley and Burnside,) in our next; and we hope if not then, yet very shortly, to call particular attention to Archdeacon R. Wilberforce's important work on "Church Discipline," (Murray.) Meanwhile we beg our readers to get and master it without delay.

If the proposed establishment of cemeteries at some distance from our large towns be a measure which, as our readers must remember, we Churchmen regard with some anxiety, our fears are nothing compared with those entertained by some of our dissenting brethren. A pamphlet has just appeared, entitled, "Health of Towns," &c., (Snow,) from which we learn that "the order, the evidence, the report, the bill, are all broadly stamped with churchmanship;" and again, that "the utmost care is taken (in the proposal) that the fees of the clergy shall be secured and paid to the last farthing;"—"nor are the vested rights of the vestry clerk overlooked. The very sexton is kindly remembered. Poor sexton! thus placed as the climax! Pray why should he not be kindly remembered?" If, however, the prospect of injury to the clergy be any satisfaction to this writer, we believe we may offer it to him in the present instance. So far from their interests being thus carefully looked after, the present bill, if passed without alterations in this respect, will be destructive to some of the livings near London, in which the incumbent's income is derived mainly from the churchyard. The compensation proposed will, in some cases, prove miserably inadequate; inasmuch as the burial fees are but a small part of the income derived from interments. No allowance seems to have been made for the fees for tomb-stones, &c.

Dr. Mill's "Prelectio Theologica in Scholis Cantabrigiensibus habita," &c. (Deighton, Cambridge; Rivingtons, London,) is much too important and full of erudition and thought to be judged of by so hasty a glance as we have yet been able to give. It seems nobly beautiful and Catholic.

"Stories Illustrative of the Lord's Prayer," and "Stories on the four First Commandments," (Burns,) are two valuable additions to our stock of books for school libraries and prizes.

We can scarcely keep pace with Mr. Watson, of Cheltenham; this month we have to announce "Two Sermons, the Church, and Church of England Societies," the subject of which connects itself with the financial difficulties of the S. P. G.; a "Lenten Address;" and "Two Sermons on the unexpected Deaths of Two Members of the Congregation." We have actually omitted a whole volume of "Sermons" (Rivingtons), by the same author, which we are glad to recommend.

"The Coming of Christ, a Sermon, by the Rev. Wm. Henn, Chaplain to the Bishop of Derry," excited much attention in Derry, and contains, in an Appendix, a clear and admirable exposition and substantiation of the Church's doctrine of the Eucharist.

Digitized by Google

A volume of "Expository Sermons, preached in the Parish Church of St. Martin, Leicester, by the late E. T. Vaughan, M.A.," &c., has just appeared, (London, Clarke; Leicester, Crossley,) and we venture to say will be found worthy of peculiar attention. Mr. Vaughan was a character to us eminently interesting. In a shallow time he pierced far into Christian truth; holding a class of doctrines much dissociated in public opinion, and for the most part, in fact, from Catholicism, he yet did arrive at some great features of the latter. We believe, too, we are justified in saying that he latterly modified much of his Calvinism, of which improvement we hope to find many traces in the sermons. Their style is eccentric, but vivid; and the reader must remember that they were delivered extemporaneously, and only now remain through the zeal of one who was in the habit of taking them down in short hand.

We have been too long in calling attention to Mr. Darling's admirably arranged *Catalogue Raisonnée* of his Theological Library in Little Queen-street. We trust that the richness of the library is a proof of the number of subscribers. The Clergy in or near London forego a great advantage, if they do not aid Mr. Darling's spirited undertaking.

Mr. Deighton, of Cambridge, has also put forth a very tempting Catalogue of Theological Works.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

By the Lord Bishop of Chester, *on Sunday, Feb* 26.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—C. H. Dean, B.A. Queen's; J. Rigg, B.A. New Inn Hall.

Of Cambridge.—J. Appleton, B.A. Cath. Hall; W. Castledge, B.A. St. John's; W. C. Green, B.A. Clare Hall; C. J. G. Jones, B.A. Clare Hall; J. F. Lingham, B.A. Trin.; T. Massey, B.A. Cath. Hall; T. G. Perry, B.A. Trin.; P. Thompson, B.A. Cath. Hall.

Of Dublin.—J. Jervis, B.A., R. F. S. Skea, B.A., G. A. Warner, B.A., Trin.

Of St. Bees.—W. Hughes, T. Labern, R. White.

PRIESTS.

Of Cambridge.—H. Briant, B.A. Queen's; M. J. French, B.A. Cath. Hall; J. Griffith, B.A., Christ's; H. S. Hindley, B.A. Queen's; V. Lush, Corp. Chris.; J. W. M. Millman, B.A., St. John's; D. Shaboe, B.A. Queen's; G. H. Stevens, B.A. Magd.; E. Whitley, B.A. Queen's.

Of Dublin.—J. Richardson, B.A. Trin.

Of Durham.—E. C. L. Blenkinsopp, B.A. Univ.

Of St. Bees.—M. H. Maxwell and J. Moorby.

By the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, *on Sunday, March* 12.

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—R. H. W. Miles, B.A. Ch. Ch.; G. Nuit, B.A. Worc.; G. D'Oyly Snow, B.A. St. Mary H.; J. N. Hinxman, B.A. Trin.; W. L. Collett, B.A. Queen's; W. Grey, B.A. Magd. H.; J. C. Earle, B.A. St. Edm. H.; F. Dyson, B.A. New Inn H.; R. Astley, B.A. Pem., J. Langworthy, Magd. H., W. C. H. Smith, B.A. Exet. (*l. d. Bp. of Bath and Wells*); G. E. Symonds, B.A. Linc., J. Coventry, B.A. Magd. H., H. R. Fortescue, B.A. Exet. (*l. d. Bp. of Exeter.*)

Of Cambridge.—W. W. W. W. Walsh, B.A. St. Peter's; C. B. Coney, B.A. Corp. Chris.; T. P. Methuen, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Bp. of Bath and Wells.*)

Of Durham.—W. Haslam, B.A. Univ. (*l. d. Bp. of Exeter.*)

Of Glasgow University.—W. Wright, M.A. (*l. d. Bath and Wells.*)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—J. Fyler, B.A. Ball.; F. J. Rooke, M.A. Oriel; R. F. Meredith, M.A. Worc.; H. B. Mason, B.A. New Inn H.; O. A. Hodgson, B.A. Magd.; H. Phillips, M.A. Queen's; F. Courtenay, M.A Exet. and N. A. Howard, B.A. Exet. (*l. d. Bp. of Exeter.*)

Of Cambridge.—R. J. Rowton, B.A. St. John's; R. Burridge, B.A. St. John's (*l. d. Bp. of Bath and Wells*); H. H. Molesworth, B.A. St. John's (*l. d. Bp. of Exeter*).

By the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, *on Sunday March* 12.

DEACONS.

Of Cambridge.—A. E. Fowler, B.A. Queen's; C. T. Penrose, M.A. Trin.; O. E. Vidal, B.A. St. John's; M. H. Simpson, B.A. Cath. Hall (*l. d. Abp. of York.*)

Of Dublin.—G. T. Payne, B.A., F. A. Sanders, B.A., and W. G. Ormsby, B.A., Trin. (*l. d. Abp. Dublin*); A. E. Auchinleck, B.A. and J. W. Dickson, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Bp. of Clogher*); H. S. Hamilton, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Bp. of Derry and Raphoe*); N. Whitestone, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Bp. of Tuam.*)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—E. Shepherd, B.A. Exet.; W. J. Whateley, B.A. Ch. Ch.

Of Cambridge.—C. L. Maltby, B.A. and R. E. Monius, B.A. St. John's; J. Thorold, B.A. Emm.; J. T. White, B.A. Magd.; S. L. Wilson, B.A. St. Peter's; C. Thornhill, B.A. Emm. (*l. d. Bp. of Limerick*); T. F. Chamberlain, B.A. Christ's (*l. d. Bp. of Chester.*)

Of Dublin.—G. R. Young, B.A. Trin. (*l. d. Bp. of Clogher*).

By the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, *on Sunday, March* 12.

DEACONS.

Of Cambridge.—G. M. Tandy, B.A. St. John's.

Of Dublin.—J. Bland, B.A. Trin.

PRIEST.

Of Durham.—J. A. Whitehead, B.A. Univ.

Digitized by Google

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Lichfield, *April* 9.
Bp. of Oxford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 11.
Bp. of Exeter, *June* 11.
Bp. of Hereford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Worcester, *June* 11.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 18.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Almack, H.	All Saints, R. Southampton	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	£400	5560
Baron, J.	Waterperry, V.	Oxford	J. W. Henley, Esq. M.P.	60	243
Bathurst, E. S.	St. Cross, Oxford, P.C.	Oxford	Merton College	80	944
Bell, R.	Eye, P.C.	Peterboro'	Bishop of Peterboro'	161	1122
Bird, R.	Turkdean, V.	Gl. & Brist.	Ch. Ch., Oxford.	208	237
Biscoe, F.	Coombe Bissett, V. w. West Harnham	Sarum	Preb. of Coombe	220	614
Blissard, J.	Hampstead Norris, V.	Oxford	Marquis of Downshire	400	1179
Bousfield, W.	One-third Bampton, V.	Oxford	D. & C. of Exeter	395	...
Bromby, C. H.	St. Paul's, P.C. Cheltenham	Gl. & Brist.		150	...
Brooking, N.	Ipplepen, V.	Exeter	D. and C. of Windsor	119	1164
Clark, W. J.	Swinderby, V.	Lincoln	Rev. W. C. Kendall	148	449
Cockerton, J.	Turweston, R.	Lincoln	D. & C. of Westminster	300	371
Davis, —	Charles, P.C.	Exeter	Sir C. Bisshop	100	...
Dolben, C.	Spernall, R.	Worcester	C. Chambers	154	95
Drummond, S. R.	St. John Evangelist, Brighton, P.C.	Chichester	Vicar of Brighton	60	...
Faber, F. W.	Elton, R.	Ely	University Coll., Oxford	478	780
Ford, C.	Postwick, R.	Norwich	Earl of Roseberry	432	237
Fraser, G.	St. Mary, Wolverhampton, P.C.	Royal Pec.	Miss Hinckes	...	...
Gordeaux, J.	St. Silas, Liverpool, P.C.	Chester		...	...
Gregory, A. T.	Flixton, P.C.	Chester	S. Madan, Esq.	150	2099
Hawkins, E.	Newport, V.	Llandaff	Bishop of Glou. & Brist.	278	7157
Hepworth, A.	Ingoldsthorpe, R.	Norwich	Cooper's Trustees	347	286
Hext, J. H.	Morval, V.	Exeter	Lord Chancellor	238	644
Hides, T.	Gayton, P.C.	Lichfield	J. C. Brown, Esq.	46	296
Hill, H. T.	Lye, P.C.	Worcester	Wm. Robins, Esq.	...	...
Hill, J. O.	Bladington, V.	G. & B.	Ch. Ch., Oxford	88	335
Hughes, J. R.	Newton Longville	Lincoln	New Coll., Oxford	...	...
James, T.	Theddingworth, V.	Peterboro'	J. Cook, Esq.	137	283
Johns, J. W.	Coleridge, V.	Exeter	Bishop of Exeter	142	644
Kemp, A.	Worth Matravers, V.	Sarum	Rev. J. L. Jackson	150	356
Kinsman, R. B.	Flushing, P.C.	Exeter		...	...
Knollys, —	Quedgley, R.	Gl. & Brist.	Mrs. C. Hayward	161	297
Lamb, T. D. L.	Windlesham, R. w. Bagshot, C.	Winchester	Lord Chancellor	404	1912
Langford, E. H.	Marksbury, R.	Bath & W.	General Popham	240	371
Llewellyn, Dr.	Llangeler, R.	St. David's	St. David's Coll.	176	...
Lockwood, W.	Kirkby Fleetham, V.	Chester	Lord Chancellor	200	625
Lowe, T.	St. Barthol. Chichester.	Chichester	Dean of Chichester	65	...
Millikin, R.	Stoughton, V.	Chichester	Bishop of Chichester	160	570
Moon, S.	Ainsworth, P.C. Bolton.	Chester	Rector of Middleton	136	1584
Moore, J.	Buckland, V.	Sarum	Bishop of Bristol	291	946
Moorsom, R.	Seaham, V.	Durham	J. R. Moorsom, Esq.	666	264
Morgan, F.	Willey, R.	Worcester	Lord Chancellor	291	96
Nevile, G.	Tilton, V.	Peterboro'	Rev. Geo. Greaves	...	342
Nicholson, T. M.	South Mimms, V.	London	W. P. Hamond, Esq.	336	2010
Nogan, S. L.	Walberton, V.	Chichester	Bishop of Chichester	468	1194
Otter, J.	Ludford Magna, V.	Lincoln	G. F. Heneage, Esq.	189	322
Palmer, C.	Chesterton, P.C.	Lichfield	Ld. Willoughby de Broke	82	188
Passey, F. G. C.	Wilshampstead, V.			...	...
Peake, C. E.	Ruishton, P.C.	Bath & W.	Rev. R. Winsloe	74	400
Platten, J. C.	North Barsham, R.	Norwich	Earl of Oxford	244	84
Powell, E. A.	Toft, R. w. Caldecote, V.	Ely	Christ Coll., Cambridge	287	279 112
Pryor, S.	St. Paul, Waltham Abbey, P.C.	London	Bishop of London	110	550
Reeks, H.	Angmering	Chichester	Lord De la Zouche	258	928
Rodwell, J. M.	St. Ethelburga, Bishopsgate, R.	London	Bishop of London	363	665
Rose, F.	Little Woolston, R.	Lincoln	Lord Chancellor	102	124
Ryan, V. W.	Isle of Alderney, P.C.	Winch.		...	...
Simpson, F. R.	N. Sunderland, P.C.	Durham	Trust. of Lord Crewe	...	...
Snooke, H. B.	All Saints, P.C. Portsea.	Winchester	Vicar of Portsea	160	...
Stoddart, W.	Willington, V.	Lichfield	Corp. of Etwall Hosp. and Repton School	82	402
Taylor, R. M.	Hunmanby	York	H. Osbaldeston	350	1079
Thompson, W.	Ockham, R.	Winchester	Earl Lovelace	244	596

Digitized by Google

PREFERMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Vogan, T. S. L.....	Walberton, w. Yapton, v.	Chichester.	Bishop of Chichester ...	468	616 / 578
Wenman, W.	Sarnesfield, R.	Hereford ...	T. Monnington.....	203	98
White, T.....	Cuckney, v.	Lincoln.....	Earl Manvers	193	1638
Wilson, W.	Ryhope, P.C.....	Durham ...	Hn.&Rv.G.V.Wellesley	100	602
Woodley, G.....	Martindale, P.C.	Carlisle.....	J. De Whelpdale	43	182
Wright, R. R.....	Marham Church, R.....	Exeter.....	.....	344	659
Yule, J. C. D.....	Hollacombe, R.....	Exeter	Lord Chancellor	73	100

APPOINTMENTS.

Bellamy, J. W.... Prebendal Stall in St. Paul's Cathedral.
Bostock, J..... Head Master of Warrington Grammar School.
Churton, J. F. .... Minister of the Township of Auckland, New Zealand.
Cockin, W..... Head Master of Grammar School, Kidderminster.
Coldridge, T..... Chap. to Exeter Workhouse.
Cole, R. ..... Minister of the Township of Wellington, New Zealand.
Cornish, G. J. .... Preb. Stall, Exeter Cathedral.
Douglas, W. P.... Chaplain to the Duchess of Gloucester.
Foster, J. S. ..... Cur. of Leigh-upon-Mendip.
Gough, H..... Mast. of Cathedral School at Carlisle.
Harrison, W..... Sund. Even. Lect., St. Mary, Aldermanbury, London.
Harvey, R..... Prebendall Stall in St. Paul's Cathedral.
Hildyard, J. ..... One of her Majesty's Preachers at Whitehall.
Robbins, H. ..... Head Master, Stepney Grammar School.
Stainforth, R..... Canon of St. Anthony's Stall, Coll. Church, Middleham.
Whytehead, T. ... Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of New Zealand.
Wilkinson, M..... Hd. Mast. Marlborough Sch. for Sons of Clergymen.
Williams, W..... Archd. of East Cape, & Exam. Chap. to Bp. New Zealand.
Wise, J. H..... Cur. of Swithin's, Norwich.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Anderson, Robert, of Brighton.
Ashburnham, D., Vicar of Ditchling, and Rect. of Catafield, Sussex.
Courtney, S., Vicar of Charles.
Dobree, N. P., Rector of Wigginton, Oxfordshire, and of Further, Northamptonshire.
Fripp, S.C., at Bristol.
Gibbs, J., at Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, 85.
Hoare, E. H., Vicar of Thrussington.
Jones, W., Vic. of Caerwent, Monmouthshire, 47.
Kell, W., Vicar of Corsenside, Northumberland.
Palling, E., Vic. of Norton-Cuckney, Notts, 41.
Pickwood, J., Chap. to Bishop of Antigua, 35.
Scoresby, G. M., at Kensington.
Shadwell, J. Æ.
Vardon, E. B., at Westminster.
Wickland, W. P., at Wells.
Young, R. G., in Great Ormond-street.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

On Monday, 20th of March, a meeting of this society was held, at their chambers in St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square, to receive the reports of the sub-committees, and for general business. The Lord Bishop of London was in the chair, and there were also present the Lords Bishop of Lincoln, Salisbury, Bangor, Hereford, Ely, Chester, and Ripon; Lord Kenyon, T. D. Acland, Esq., M.P., the Revs. Archdeacon Lonsdale, Dr. Sheppard, Dr. Spry, and H. H. Norris, J. W. Bowden, N. Connop, J. S. Salt, Benjamin Harrison, Esq., &c.

After the secretary had read the reports from the sub-committees, the general committee proceeded to investigate the cases referred to them for aid, and decided upon granting votes of various sums for the following purposes :—

For repewing the church at Harlton, Cambridgeshire; for building a church at Goole, in the parish of Snaith, Yorkshire; building a church at Stoke Row, in the parish of Ipsdon, Oxfordshire; for repewing the church of St. Martin, at Colchester; building a chapel at Reddal Hill, in the parish of Rowley Regis, Staffordshire; erecting additional seats in the church of Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire; building a church at Halstead, Essex; building a church at Eastover, in the parish of Bridgewater, Somersetshire; enlarging the gallery in the church at Earl's Heaton, in the parish of Dewsbury, Yorkshire; enlarging the chapel at Rainhill, in the parish of Prescot, Lancashire; rebuilding the chapel at Thelwall, in the parish of Runcron, Cheshire; repewing and rebuilding galleries in the church of Sheepshed, Leicestershire; for enlarging galleries in the church at Bures, Suffolk; building a church at Dilton's Marsh, in the parish of Westbury, Wiltshire; building a church

Digitized by Google

at Macclesfield, in the parish of Prestbury, Cheshire; enlarging by rebuilding the church at Broseley, Salop; being together 15 grants of money to districts, the population of which amounts to nearly 115,000 persons, for whom church accommodation is now provided to the extent of nearly 29,000 sittings, of which 6,082 are free and unappropriated; but with the assistance of this society, 6,209 sittings will speedily be added; of these, 4,407 will be free in perpetuity. One of these parishes contains a population of 56,000 persons, with church room for not more than 12,300 persons of that number. Three parishes with a population of 11,000 persons each, have respectively only church room for 2,480, 2,093, and 1,504 persons; one with 7,585 inhabitants, has accommodation for 1,250; another with 5,595 persons, can accommodate only 952.

The Committee examined certificates of the completion of the erection, enlargement, &c., of churches and chapels in 13 parishes, all of which were approved, and warrants were issued to the treasurer for their respective payments.

The population of these 13 parishes is 48,292 persons, for whom there had been church accommodation for 6,303 persons (1,177 being free seats), but with the aid of this society, and within a short period, 3,666 additional seats have been added, 3,013 of which are free. One of the parishes contains 16,000 people, which previously had only church room for 1,482 persons, another with 17,000 persons could only accommodate 1,193 of them, and another parish with 4,700 persons had only 658 church sittings.

Since last March (one year) 150 applications have been made to this society. Out of these, 96 have received grants, and ten others are under the consideration of the sub-committee of correspondence and inquiry, the requisite plans, estimates, sections, &c., being now before them.

The treasurer reported that the amount of the outstanding grants voted by the society is now 48,860*l.*, and the sum at their disposal is only 44,517*l.*

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

LONDON.—*Confirmations.*—The Lord Bishop of London will hold confirmations throughout his diocese this year. The following arrangements have been announced in the first list:—Tuesday, May 2, at eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. James, Westminster. Tuesday, May 2, at three o'clock, in the parish church of St. John, Westminster. Wednesday, May 3, at eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. George, Hanover-square. Thursday, May 4, at eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Friday, May 5, at three o'clock, in the parish church of St. Michael, Highgate. Saturday, May 6, at eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green. Monday, May 8, at half-past eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. Marylebone. Monday, May 8, at two o'clock, in the church of All Souls, Marylebone. Tuesday, May 9, at half-past eleven, in the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn. Tuesday, May 9, at two o'clock, in the parish church of Christ Church, Newgate-street. Wednesday, May 10, at half-past eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Wednesday, May 10, at two o'clock, in the church of St. John, Hoxton. Monday, May 15, at half-past eleven o'clock, in the parish church of Woodford. Monday, May 15, at two o'clock, in the church of St. John, Stratford Green. Tuesday, May 16, at eleven o'clock, in the church of St. Mark, Myddleton-square. Wednesday, May 17, at eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. John, Hackney. Wednesday, May 17, at two o'clock, in the church of the Holy Trinity, Islington. Thursday, May 18, at half-past eleven o'clock, in the parish church of St. Mary, Whitechapel. Thursday, May 18, at two o'clock, in the parish church of St. George in the East. Saturday, May 20, at half-past eleven o'clock, in the parish church of Kensington. Saturday, May 20, at two o'clock, in the parish church of Chelsea. Monday, May 22, at half-past eleven o'clock, in the parish church of Isleworth. Monday, May 22, at two o'clock, in the parish church of Ealing.

The Bishop of London has recently received 5,000*l.* from an anonymous donor, "to be expended in building a church in London, as an offering to Almighty God for his glory and the good of his Church."

SALISBURY.—The Chapter-house of Salisbury cathedral is about to be restored, at a great expense, by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, who has already expended a large sum in repairing and improving the cloisters of the same cathedral.

DURHAM.—*Newcastle.*—The consecration of the church of St. Peter, in the parish of St. Andrew, took place on Thursday, the 23d of February. The style of archi-

Digitized by Google

tecture is that of the fourteenth century, and the execution is said to be most admirable. Several of the windows are filled with richly stained glass, the seats are open, and the centre aisle of the nave, chancel, and baptistery is laid with ornamental pavement; indeed, the whole edifice, both externally and internally, is what a catholic church ought to be.

The handsome stained window at the east end has been placed by the Rev. W. Dodd to the memory of his father, the late vicar of Newcastle; and there is also another in the chancel. Both were executed by Mr. Wailes, and are favourable specimens of that gentleman's skill in this reviving branch of art. Amongst the offerings made for the furniture of the church by private munificence, we may mention a font and pair of candlesticks, an eagle-desk, a Litany-desk, an altar cloth, a pair of massive flagons, two patens and chalices, a large almsdish, a canopy for the font, &c. &c.

WINCHESTER. — *Roehampton.* — The chapel of the Holy Trinity at this place was consecrated on the 27th of Feb., by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. The chapel is an elegant building, in the early English style of architecture. In the interior of the open timber roof is one of the most successful attempts we have seen, to restore that beautiful feature of our early buildings. The rose window at the east end is richly coloured with figures, and the seven trefoil arches under it, which form a sort of altar screen, and are supported by columns of Purbeck marble, are richly adorned with scroll patterns, in vivid colours and gold, surmounting the Creed, Commandments, &c. in illuminated characters. The altar carpet is the general work of the ladies of Roehampton. We understand that the morning and evening service of our Church is to be performed in the new building, according to the injunctions of the Rubric, "daily throughout the year."

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Church of England defended by Messrs. Holloway, Hall, Sabin, &c.—The following course of sermons was lately advertised in *The Record*:—"A course of sermons upon the Doctrinal Articles of the Church will be preached at Eaton Chapel, on the Wednesday evenings during Lent, 1843. On Wednesday, the 1st of March, by the Rev. J. E. Sabin, M.A., Articles Nine and Ten—on 'Original or Birth Sin,' and on 'Free Will.' On Wednesday, March 8, by the Rev. J. T. Holloway, D.D., Article Eighteen—of 'Obtaining Salvation only by the Name of Christ.' On Wednesday, March 15, by the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, M.A., Articles Six and Twenty—of 'The Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation,' and of 'the Authority of the Church.' On Wednesday, March 22, by the Rev. Peter Hall, M.A., Article Seventeen—of 'Predestination and Election.' On Wednesday, March 29, by the Rev. William Curling, M.A., Article Eleven—of 'The Justification of Man.' On Wednesday, April 5, by the Rev. Edward Auriol, M.A., Article Thirteen — of 'Works before Justification.' On Wednesday, April 12, by the Rev. J. E. Sabin, M.A., Articles Twenty-seven and Twenty-eight—of 'Baptism,' and of 'the Lord's Supper.' Divine service commences at a quarter before seven."

ARCHES' COURT.—*Veley* v. *Gosling.*—On Saturday, March 25, Sir H. Jenner Fust gave judgment in this, the well-known Braintree case. He reversed the decision of the court below, pronounced for the plaintiff, and therein for the validity of the church rate. The learned judge considered the law clear, that though the churchwardens may not impose a rate out of vestry, yet if a church need repair, they and the minority in vestry can make a valid rate against a majority refusing such. That is, that the parishioners are not assembled to say *aye* or *no*, as to whether the church shall receive necessary repairs, and that those who vote against such, in fact do nothing. The case will probably be either carried to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or prohibition will issue. On any supposition, there seems at last a prospect of this difficult question being settled; and those who remember how markedly the present point was hinted at in the judgment given two years ago by the Exchequer Chamber, will see how likely it is that the law is as Sir H. Jenner Fust has viewed it, and is favourable to the rights of the Church.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have to thank our northern correspondent for setting us right about Mr. Drummond's practice on Ash Wednesday. It appears that he did officiate on that Fast last year.

"E.'s" suggestion shall, if possible, be attended to. By referring to our review of Mr. Morris's "Nature a Parable," in January, and to a note in that of Mr. Williams' "Baptistery," in August, p. 146, our correspondent will find that we do not agree with the document referred to.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

MAY, 1843.

The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola; illustrating the progress of the Reformation in Italy, during the Fifteenth Century. Whittaker & Co. London. 1843.

SAVONAROLA is one of those whose character it seems, at first sight, very difficult to estimate correctly. He is one of whom nothing moderate has been said. Either he is represented as a saint, whose every action bears a heavenly impress, or he is characterised as a person influenced by the worst motives in acting the part he chose. His biographers are all of them panegyrists, or apologists. His enemies speak of him incidentally, for the most part; but their most connected and direct testimony is contained in their report of his conduct under torture in his last trial.

However, this seeming difficulty disappears to those who look closer; and even his eulogists, when compared together, give a fair picture of what he was. Their standard is so different, that they dwell upon the most opposite points of his character, in order to show him excellent. They have each their own ideal image of the beautiful, and they would bring their portrait to resemble this as nearly as possible. Thus both sides are shown. Their aim is different:—one would make him as Catholic as they can, the other as Protestant. Hence it comes to pass, that his contemporary biographers are apologists; modern compilers are panegyrists. The one, admiring in him much which they thought good, are anxious to believe, and eager to show, that he was not an innovator, a despiser of authority, or a heretic. The other seize upon the fact that he *did* make himself obnoxious to the censures of the Church as it was, and claim him boldly as their own,—one of the witnesses, a link in the golden chain, a harbinger of the bright dawning day of the Reformation.

Pico della Mirandola loved Savonarola, and admired the boldness and strictness of his teaching; perhaps he was grateful to him for those lessons of seriousness and earnestness which seem to have made so much impression on him; and he warmly defends him from the charges of heresy and contumacy. Nor is it strange if he erred in

Digitized by Google

his estimation of him. Pico, like most of the mere learned men of his time, had, we fear, intellectually thrown himself out of the Church system in which he should have been nourished, and adopted the tone of heathen philosophy, devoting himself to a life of literature. What wonder, then, that he could see no faults in the man by whose means he was brought to a fitter sense of what was due to better and nobler employments? The English biographer belongs to another class. He admires Savonarola because the Pope was offended with him. Savonarola was in opposition to the ruling powers; he was tried; he was condemned; *therefore* (so it is argued,) he was a Protestant; and not only so, but a latitudinarian, because our author is a latitudinarian; and not only so, but a despiser of the Holy Orders he had received on bended knees, because his biographer esteems all Christians to be equally priests: and so on. He tries to make Savonarola the strange *negative* creature he is himself; and, where he cannot succeed, he kindly pities his remaining infirmities, his superstition, his natural prejudices, his undispelled awe,—the weaknesses of a great mind, not yet wholly escaped from the influence of a narrow-minded education.

These and the like are the sources from which the history of Savonarola is to be drawn. But, besides these, we have Savonarola's own works remaining, in many volumes. Here he is fully displayed. He is one of those energetic writers, who do not leave their readers in doubt of their character. Be his faults what they may, he is open and free. Whatever he writes, his own mind is impressed upon it. He is not one of those heavenly-minded beings, towards whom one approaches with an awe that prevents a too prying search into their inmost soul; nor, on the other hand, is he of consciously evil intention, so that he should endeavour to hide himself from his readers.

Judging of him, then, by his writings and his actions, as recorded by history, and explained by himself, he seems to us to have been a person earnestly set upon doing what he thought right, and bending towards the objects he had in view the whole energies of a powerful mind. He is so conscientious, (especially at first,) and so great, that one cannot suppose him going wrong, unless there be some deep-seated error at the root,—something likely to grow with the growth, and strengthen with the strength, of his better designs. He is not a person to be influenced by circumstances. If they avail much in the formation of any character, yet not of his. Had he been quite right when he began, there is everything in him to assure one that he would not fail in the time of trial.

What this radical fault was, appears in one of the first incidents noted in him by his English biographer. Speaking of him at ten years of age,—" He was wont," he says, " when their views differed, to contend with his teachers, and assert his right to maintain his own." This is a very remarkable fact. It is, as it were, the key to his whole character. An insubmissive temper seems to have been the fault which led him wrong all his life through. His biographer

Digitized by Google

remarks it in order to praise it, to show how "greatly zealous he was for truth," even at that early age, and how "much accustomed to investigate its evidences for himself." Of course such a judgment is only consistent with syncretic notions. The temper which distinguishes persons of those opinions cannot (they think) be too soon shown. They pry into the early history of those whom they claim as their supporters, to see how soon they can discover the germ of that independence of spirit which made them great men in the world; and when they succeed in their search, they just afford to a Catholic mind the clue to errors and faults which seemed, at first sight, inconsistent with apparent earnestness, sincerity, and straightforwardness. To discuss the general principle (the real ground of difference between catholics and freethinkers of all grades,) is not our present business. It is on the very face of things, that submission is the state assigned to man, and, indeed, more or less, to all *creatures*. No man can escape from this great law, without overleaping the natural barrier his own conscience has placed between him and self-dependence. But it *is* our business to notice this fact in Savonarola, and to bear it in mind through the whole course of our remarks upon him.

There is something awful in such words as these:—"He was wont to contend with his teachers," when spoken of the youth of a person about to take an active part in the world's deeds; more so still, if in the affairs of the Church. They seem to pronounce his doom at once—he must go wrong. Yet, fearful though the thought be, so it is, that men form their destiny in their childhood. We could scarcely believe this if we had not the clearest proof of it in the Bible itself. In the more cheering view, may it not seem as if David was kept safely on the whole, and raised up again after many sad falls, because he had given his heart to the Lord in those days of innocence when he kept his father's flocks in the fields of holy Bethlehem? And, on the other hand, that the doom of children may be fixed for ever, even by one act, those forty and two, torn in pieces in a moment for mocking the bald Prophet, are proof sufficient. Such facts, recorded by the pen of inspiration, lead us to suppose that men may, in their childhood, form that character which determines all their future actions.

Bearing in mind this early trait of Savonarola's disposition, we will briefly trace his history, and illustrate his character and actions by his own words, his apologies, confessions, and direct statements. But first we may notice one fact that lies upon the surface of his life. He was not a Reformer in *doctrine*. He bears no resemblance to Luther, or Wickliffe, or Huss. He never disputed the Church's teaching: nor was his doctrine condemned, or even found fault with. He attempted to reform the manners of the people and clergy. His object was good; if he erred, it was in the means by which he endeavoured to attain it, and the manner in which he conducted himself under the various circumstances into which he was thrown, in

Digitized by Google

attempting to carry out his schemes. Hence our subject will not lead us to speak at all of doctrinal errors; the points in dispute between the Roman and Reformed Churches do not come under discussion.

Girolamo Savonarola was born at Ferrara, A.D. 1452. He was educated by his grandfather till he was ten years old; then by his father and the best teachers his native place could afford. He was esteemed a clever child, and was, as we have noticed, an indocile pupil. He read the usual classical course, ending with Aristotle and Plato. Then he devoted himself to the study of St. Thomas Aquinas: by the influence of whose comment he became reconciled to Aristotle: formerly he had not admired his philosophy. In his twenty-first year he began to think seriously of retiring from the world, and set his heart upon the Dominican Convent at Bologna. It is very probable that he may have cherished this design earlier; but a disappointment in his affections seems to have been the immediate cause of his leaning strongly to it at this time. His father had educated him for a physician; and for some cause Savonarola kept his intended change of life secret, until he was ready to put his design in execution. His escape is thus described by his English biographer:—

"Having determined to quit Ferrara secretly, Savonarola made preparations for effecting his purpose during the time of the solemn festival held in honour of St. George, the patron of the city..... The bustle of the public games, and the magnificence of the religious spectacles, would engage so much the attention of his father and friends, that Savonarola knew his absence could not be remarked until it would be too late for them to overtake the fugitive, or interpose remonstrances between his purpose and its execution. On the 24th of April, 1475, he found safe refuge in a Dominican monastery at Bologna, as a candidate for the vows.—P. 42.

It was not without a great struggle with himself that this step was taken. Nor is it easy to see why he should keep his intention secret from his father. Surely the natural course for one wishing to do right would have been to ask his father's blessing upon his wishes. Must we not fear that this is another instance of his self-dependence and want of submission to lawful authority? His biographer confesses that "such conduct needs a justifying apology." The apology he offers is one that may be pleaded to justify almost anything.

"None is sufficient which comes short of supposing a special call by God himself, appointing the individual to a special office;—a call of which, however, only the individual is audient, and the evidence must be left entirely to his own conscience .... The sincerity of the conviction can only be historically tested by the general course of action, by the persevering exercise of a mission to the world, and by its ultimate success, either in the person of the individual himself, or in that of his successors in the like office."—P. 37.

Surely this defence contains its own refutation;—a Divine call would have justified even active disobedience, after endeavouring to obtain his father's leave; and a call of which he had no proof but his own wishes, could not justify the virtual disobedience of a secret

Digitized by Google

escape. However, Savonarola does not seem to have thought he did wrong. In a letter written the following day, he speaks much of the grief it occasioned him to leave his home, and fears it should be thought he had acted childishly or rashly.—"I beg you, then, dearest father, cease to weep . . . Comfort my mother, of whom I beg, together with you, that she will bestow her blessing upon me, and I will ever pray for your souls."

In the convent, Savonarola became lecturer in metaphysics and natural philosophy. This was his occupation for many years. In his leisure hours he studied S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and Cassian. "Seven years were passed by Savonarola in his lay noviciate, travelling from place to place by the direction of his order, and teaching from cloister to cloister." In the year 1482, after being ordained priest, he removed, with the rest of his convent, to Florence, where he was appointed reader at the convent of San Marco; and it was arranged that he should preach there during the Lent of 1483. However, he pleased neither himself nor his audience. "A constrained courage, an ungainly figure, a piping voice, have little to please an audience. Day after day the number of hearers diminishes." He was much disappointed, and gave up preaching for some time. But in the year 1485, he went to preach at Brescia. His sermon is thus described:—

"How his imagination was fired—how his eloquence was wakened! Words poured from him like water from the Divine fountain of life, and the new light of Gospel truth surrounded his brows with a glory like the aureola of saints. He stood before the people as a prophet. Such, without his announcement, they believed him to be, for he brought the crimes of the Church [*i. e.* of certain Christians,] to the judgment of the book, and denounced them in the language of God himself."—P. 95.

The strain of his discourse was this:—

"Those sunk in sin will be invited to conversion, and mercy will be offered if they turn to virtue; but justice will be at length executed, if they persist and persevere in vice! The popes have attained, through the most shameful simony and subtlety, the highest priestly dignities, and, even then, when seated in the holy chair, surrender themselves to a shamefully voluptuous life, and an insatiable avarice. The cardinals and bishops follow their example. No discipline, no fear of God is in them. Many believe in no God. The chastity of the cloister is slain; and they who should serve God with holy zeal have become cold and lukewarm," &c.

From this time Savonarola became a popular preacher; wherever he was to be heard crowds flocked to listen and admire. The belief that he was a prophet became general. His conduct with regard to such belief is very ambiguous. "I never," he remarked, continually, "said that I was a prophet; yet this I say, that God sent me to prophesy a scourge to Italy, which if I do, I lose my body,—if I do not, I lose my soul." By such doubtful expressions he encouraged the belief in his prophetic powers; and yet never distinctly laid claim to them, and, indeed, at last denied that he ever had them. He uttered many general threats of punishments about to come upon

Digitized by Google

Italy, and especially on Rome, if they did not repent; and sometimes he ventured upon more precise predictions; but whether he believed himself inspired to utter them, it would, perhaps, be impossible to determine, from his earlier mention of the subject, if we had not his last confession to interpret it by. The people freely gave him the full benefit of the doubt. In 1489, by the interest of his friend, Pico della Mirandola, he was called to Florence. There Lorenzo de Medici appointed him Prior of San Marco. For many years he remained at Florence, preaching, with earnestness, a reformation of manners, and mingling with moral and religious teaching vehement invectives against the court of Rome under Alexander VI., and in general against the immoral lives of the clergy; and taking an active part in the party politics of the city. His republican principles inspired him with a great dislike of his patron, Lorenzo; and he would not even treat him with common respect. He predicted his death,—which of course he might do with great certainty of its fulfilment. He also foretold the overthrow of his son Piero; and had a chief share in fulfilling his own prediction. After the death of Lorenzo, and the expulsion of Piero, he preached, wrote, and advised much on the new form of government; and acted with considerable success as ambassador to Charles VIII. the invader of Italy.

The most blameless (indeed praiseworthy) part of Savonarola's conduct, was his practical teaching by preaching and conversation, and, among the members of his own order, by a reform of their discipline. By these means, employed earnestly and with evident sincerity, he not only succeeded in effecting a marked reformation in the manners of the city, and bringing the monks of St. Mark, and the convents of Fiesole and Bologna, back to the strictness of their ancient rule, but gained the sincere affection of those whom he benefited, and procured for himself supporters amid dangers, and defenders of his much-questioned character after his death. His English biographer has contrived to bring forward much that is wild, enthusiastic, and vehement, even in his practical teaching and devotional thoughts. We will give one extract from a sermon on the 19th of the Revelation, in a more subdued strain; such as is to be found among his writings much more extensively than might be thought, to judge by the extracts presented to English readers.

"We can then distinguish three states of being in the universe. The first state is of those who are so absorbed in enjoyment that they can feel no misery: and this is the state of the blessed. The second state is of those who are so absorbed in misery, that they are incapable of enjoyment: and this is the state of the damned. The third is a mean between these two, and is divided into two parts; for some have so much enjoyment in their intellectual part, that things grievous to sense give them little annoy; and if they do feel them, yet not in such a manner that they are thereby wholly deprived of intellectual enjoyment: and this is the state of the just in this life. Others have so much misery in the intellectual part, that they cannot perfectly enjoy themselves in things sensible: and this is the state of the wicked; but chiefly of master-minds. They frequently suffer so much wretchedness of mind, grief, anxiety, fear, that they cannot truly and perfectly enjoy anything. You may

Digitized by Google

sing and play in their presence, and give them pleasure, but it passes not into their spiritual being: it goes only skin-deep, and pierces the superficies of the senses,—their *mind* is elsewhere. Consider, then, my brethren, how little good God gives to the wicked, when he bestows on them temporal possessions."—xxv. Discorsi, p. 280.

In order to be free in carrying out his plans of reformation within the cloister, Savonarola obtained permission of the Pope to separate his convent from the general government of the Dominicans, and to receive into San Marco all who were excluded from other monasteries. Of this new community he was appointed vicar-general. Many even of the nobility eagerly enrolled themselves under the revived discipline; and men of learning and political fame resorted to him.

"Those who had found his eloquence the effectual means of changing their own minds, anxiously sought to bring others within his influence."—P. 183.

One instance our author considers "amusing." The effect of this "amusing" interview was, "that, after the death of Savonarola, Alberti became a zealous Christian."—P. 184.

Meanwhile, he ceased not to pour out the most violent invectives against the court of Rome, the Pope, and the higher ecclesiastics. In consequence of the excited state of Florence, a brief was sent from Rome commanding him to go and preach a course of Lent sermons at Lucca. Though this was not agreeable to him, he was preparing to obey, when, at the request of the Seignory of Florence, the brief was recalled. Not content with preaching on these subjects, he wrote to Charles VIII. and other princes, requesting that a general council might be called. His statements are thus reported by his friend and biographer, Burlamacchi:—

"He wrote to the princes of Christendom, that the Church was going to ruin, and that they ought to cause a general council to be assembled; before which he would prove that the Church of Christ was without a head, and that he who sat there was not a true pontiff, nor worthy of his office, nor, indeed, a Christian." Miscell. Baluz. Vol. I. p. 551.

The contents of these letters were communicated to the Pope, and he was cited to Rome. In the citation, the Pope says, "he did not doubt but that he rightly employed the power of the Divine Spirit for the salvation of the common people; but it had at the same time been reported to him that Savonarola predicted future events, and this not by his own human wisdom, but by means of Divine Revelation. Hence he desired, as it belonged to his pastoral office, to speak with him on the subject . . . . and commanded him, therefore, by the power of holy obedience, to come, as soon as possible, to Rome, where he would receive him with paternal love." Savonarola happened at that time to be ill, and sent, with an account of his proceedings, "an humble request that the Pope would accept his apology, and an assurance that, as soon as impediments were removed, he would hasten to gratify his desire." Whatever this assurance meant, Savonarola soon recovered sufficiently to be able to preach, and continued to do so in his old strain, but never went to Rome.

He now began to fear the arrival of a prohibition to preach, and

Digitized by Google

endeavoured to prevent it by a previous declaration of his intention to disobey, seeking to justify his disobedience by an argument which each reader may value according to the acuteness of his moral sense.

"Perhaps you may imagine," he said, in a sermon, "that I have received a command of the Pope not to preach. I will relieve you from the doubt;—no command of the kind has come to me, but I have written to him. Moreover, you may know, that, under the circumstances, such a command could not be given, because it would be useless. . . . Should the Pope follow the false representations of the Pharisee, and command me not to preach, *then I would obey not the word but the purpose;* for such a command lies not in the purpose of the Pope, when he is falsely informed."

Of course to most minds such an argument appears absolutely dishonest; but some allowance is to be made for Savonarola's excited notions of his own mission. The perfect certainty he felt of his own honesty was easily extended to an equal assurance that it was his duty to continue preaching in Florence, though to do so he must break through every tie of earthly obedience. His own sincerity, contrasted with the extreme wickedness of many of his opponents, easily led him into this error. Yet he could not bring himself to disobey, without attempting to justify himself by the more subtle sophistry of the supposed intention of his superior. He mixes up the two pleas (which counteract one another,) in the following sentence:

"As I saw my leaving the city would occasion the spiritual and temporal ruin of the people, I would obey no living man who commanded me to go, both because such command would be contrary to the Divine will, and because I should presume this was not the intention of my superior, knowing that I should rather obey the intention than the words."

At length, October, 1496, the decree prohibiting his preaching arrived, and with it a second citation to Rome.

How does he act when he comes to the point? He writes a vindication of himself to the Pope, in which he assures his Holiness that he has been deceived. Then he retires for awhile from his preaching, notwithstanding his former protestations; but soon he goes to preach again, in order "to obey the illustrious Seignory!" This surely is strange. He will obey his temporal ruler, but his patriarch (whose authority he had not cast off, but frequently maintained,) he will not obey. If he believed what he constantly affirms, that the Pope was misinformed, why could he not at least keep quiet within his cloister, and there wait till he saw the effect of his vindication? If he could justify his refusing to appear at Rome for fear of his life, (though this argues little confidence in the overruling Providence of Him whose message he bore,) yet that faith must have been very weak, which could not trust that a duteous silence would, in His hands, be more for the good of His Church, than the most powerful preaching of an undutiful and disobedient priest.

Savonarola was too eager and self-confident thus to wait in faith. He felt his own powers, and, we fear he trusted in them. He saw (as he thought) inevitable evil about to follow upon his withdrawal;

Digitized by Google

and he did not obey, and trust (what he thought) a good cause in Higher Hands.

It may be questioned how far he was right in preaching at all in Florence, on the evils of the court of Rome, and the immoral lives of the dignified clergy. It may be asked whether he was not appointing the people, who heard him, judges of their superiors,—whether he was not inflaming them by invectives which could do no good;—but, if we be willing to make allowances for the indignation such evils naturally inspired, and suppose that a zeal for holiness would not allow him to be silent, this can be no excuse for plain disobedience to a power he acknowledged; for we shall see, by an extract we are about to give, that he never doubted the power of the Pope: he allowed him the whole of his accustomed claim; and at least the Pope had the right of a metropolitan over him.

By this time the followers of Savonarola had become very riotous: the children went from house to house, collecting together books, pictures, and marbles, which they burnt in the squares, with music and dancing. While his friends were thus proceeding in Florence, his enemies were busy at Rome, inciting the Pope to proceed to extremities against a man who had set at nought his censures and disobeyed his citations. On the 12th of May, 1497, his excommunication was pronounced, as on "one disobedient and suspected of heresy." His biographer's account of his bearing is, that, "In the midst of peril, he continued to evince not only great fearlessness of character, but singular Christian energy."—p. 307. He published a long letter addressed "to the faithful," to encourage them to bear up under the trial:—

"I therefore pray you, my beloved, that you will not let yourselves be perplexed by my troubles and persecutions, but rather rejoice with me, that the Lord has thought us worthy to suffer this for Him, and the love of truth."

But from this time his cause began to decline; the number of his adherents diminished. The brethren of San Marco, indeed, continued with him, but the other orders refused to join with them in religious service of any kind. Yet those who still favoured him exerted themselves in his behalf, and the Pope offered to withdraw the excommunication if he would appear in Rome. The offer was not accepted. Savonarola returned railing for censure. He "attacked more unsparingly than ever, at the same time, the depravity of the Romish Church [?] and clergy. 'The scandal begins at Rome, and goes through the whole; they are worse than Turks and Moors,'" &c.—p. 322.

Of the ordeal and trial we will make few words. Francisco di Puglia, a Franciscan, offered to prove the falsity of Savonarola's claim to prophetic inspiration, by the ordeal of fire, if Savonarola would enter the fire upon a like trial. Dominico, a friend of Savonarola, accepted the challenge in his behalf, and another Franciscan, named Giuliano Rondelli, came forward instead of Francisco. After due preparations on both sides, the two candidates approached the

Digitized by Google

flames, and Savonarola delivered the Host into the hands of his champion. A cry of horror arose among the spectators. Savonarola endeavoured to explain, but could not be heard. At this moment a violent storm of rain and hail quenched the fire, and both parties retired, the Dominicans followed to San Marco by the execrations of the people. From this moment Savonarola's hold on the minds of the people was gone. They attacked the convent, and he and his friends were saved, only to be carried to prison. Their trial followed immediately; at which two papal legates were present. Guicciardini describes the proceedings thus:—

"Savonarola was examined by torture not very severe; and his confession is published, which, when the calumnies of his enemies are removed, contains what follows,—'that Savonarola uttered his predictions not by Divine suggestion and inspiration, but by his own judgment and observation of Scripture teaching; that he had no evil end in view, but rather he hoped that, by his exertions, a council of the whole Christian world might have been called, in which the corruptions of the priesthood might have been amended, and the whole state of Christ's Church restored, as nearly as possible, to what it was in apostolic times. If he had accomplished this object, he would have considered it the greatest glory.'"

This is the report of a friend. Certain it is he made some retractions, and acknowledged "that he should so retract, and so reassert again and again, as often as they might torture him."—p. 366.

Finally, he and two of his friends were condemned and executed, their bodies being burnt on the spot where the ordeal fire had been made a few days before.

Such was the course of a man who, in his youth, seemed earnestly bent upon doing good in his generation, but who, in his childhood, "was wont to contend with his teachers."

We think his actions and apologies speak plainly enough for themselves. We need only be in possession of these, to be sure that his friends had a difficult task when they undertook his defence. Their line of argument is the same as his own. They quote such words as these:—

"I say you ought to obey the sacred canons of the Church, and councils, and in short the doctrine of the Roman Church; for thus we are all obliged to continue in obedience to the pontiff. But [on the subject of the excommunication] I and all others ought to entertain this pious belief, 'that such a command accords not with the will of the superior, nor, indeed, with his intention, but rather that it has been given by mistake, or because the superior was ill-informed;' and, therefore, you ought to believe that the superior intends such command to take effect if things are so as they have been reported to him,—otherwise not at all.*"

Much as Savonarola spoke against the pope and his college, it needs but little study of his writings to show that he had no sympathies with such men as his English biographer. Indeed, we can

* Quoted in "A Discourse on the Doctrine and Acts of Girolamo Savonarola, delivered in Rome, under the pontificate of Pope Paul IV. before the illustrious and most Reverend Carinals of the Holy Inquisition, by Fra Paulino Bernadini da Luca, 1558."

Digitized by Google

scarcely imagine his disgust, if he could see his own life as now laid before the readers of Whittaker & Co.'s Popular Library. How astonished he would be to hear merely the enunciation of views which "it is supposed he may have held!" Why, we would venture to say that neither the phrases "unlimited private judgment,"—"priesthood of all Christians,"—"universal inspiration,"—"spiritualism antagonistic to formalism," &c., nor anything at all equivalent to them, would reward the most diligent search through the one hundred and one volumes displayed at the end of this little book, which omits "notes and references to the authorities consulted, from a desire not only to avoid unnecessary display in that kind, but to diminish, as much as possible, the size and weight (!) of a work intended for popular perusal."—xiii.

We will give his views in his own words, on the Supremacy of the See of Rome, on the doctrine of the Real Presence, and on Justification. After reading these, we do not think any honest ultra-Protestant will wish to claim fellowship with him.

"Since, therefore, Peter was by Christ appointed vicar and pastor of the whole Church, it follows that all the successors of Peter should have the same power. And since the bishops of the Roman see hold the place of Peter, it is manifest that the Roman Church is the leader and mistress of all the Churches, and that all congregations of the faithful are to be united to the Roman pontiff. He, then, who dissents from unity, and the doctrine of the Roman Church, without doubt wanders in error, and departs from Christ." Triumphus Crucis. Lib. 4. c. 6. [One of his later works.]

In the same Work on the Real Presence, he says—

"For we believe and confess that in a small mouthful of bread the whole body of Christ is contained, and likewise, in a small portion of wine His whole blood. . . . We say, therefore, that in a small quantity of bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ, by virtue of consecration, begin to be, by conversion, not by local motion. The body of Christ is locally in heaven only; but it is in the Eucharist sacramentally, in an indivisible manner, whence in each particle divided from others, Christ is whole. For He is not in the sacrament, by means of extension, but in other wonderful manner, possible only to God."—iii. 17.

Lastly, on Justification he is as far removed from the Lutheran doctrine as possible.

"The fine linen is the righteousness of the saints;" that is, the merits and works of justice which the saints have done in this world by the grace of God; by which they are justified; they are the garment with which the saints clothe themselves in paradise, as it is written, 'Sacerdotes Tui induantur justitiam.' Without this garment it is not lawful to appear before the Bridegroom . . . . . and note that bissus is a species of finest linen; and, as linen becomes clear and white when cleansed with much washing and beating, so the merits and righteousnesses of the saints are acquired with much fatigue and pains, and cleansing of conscience, so that they become perfect and complete, resplendent and white."—xxv. Discorsi, 285.

The book which stands at the head of this article, though entitled "The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola," is, more properly, "a vehicle for the spreading of latitudinarian opinions." Any one wishing for information about Savonarola, must wade through at least half the volume before he will meet with more than a few passing notices of

Digitized by Google

him. We do not lightly use the word *wade*: it conveys exactly what we mean. The author has contrived to make his book *heavy*, though he was so careful not to give it "weight." Besides, a reverential mind cannot but be shocked at the almost profane way in which sacred things are often mentioned. Some instances of this have been incidentally brought in, where quotations were made for other purposes. He tells us in one place that Savonarola had "great *partiality* for the Old" Testament. In another place he ventures to characterise the heavenly visions, revealed by our blessed Lord Himself to the apostle St. John, as a "*pro-Dantean* argument." Again—"Thus it was that [*S.*] John was appointed the apostle of love, [*S.*] Paul of faith, and [*S.*] James of works. What wonder that an Augustin and a Whitfield were commissioned to teach predestination to holiness, and an Arminius and a Wesley prevision of holiness!" Again,—"In a word, Savonarola was an extempore preacher, deriving assistance from Scriptural phraseology and a finished elocution." One more we will give, if it is not too shocking:

"Conversations with the young will educe the purest, the subtlest, and most oracular utterances of philosophical and religious truth. The experiment has been made even lately, on very little children, with remarkable success. Of these advantages Plato was sufficiently aware, and Jesus emphatically said, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' The greatest poet of modern times expresses the same reverence for childhood."

We almost fear to repeat the offence by making these quotations, and only do it to warn reverent persons of what they will meet with, if they read "popular works" on religious subjects written by low churchmen or dissenters. We have not (because we would *not*) chosen the worst specimens.

The book abounds in contradictions. In one place we are told that Savonarola "is a prophet among priests and monks—an apostle in the midst of apostates—a champion of truth numbered among liars—a believer fallen into the camp of practical, if not theoretical, atheists." To say nothing of the extreme want of charity in this sweeping condemnation of men known now, if known at all, only in the aggregate, he informs us, only a few pages further on, that, in a charitable and self-denying work, Savonarola was "well seconded by the efforts of the monks." A few pages before, he had remarked that "religion in an Italian mind never loses its claims." And again, "In Italy . . . all was subservient to the religious spirit."

For historical accuracy, take this specimen:—

"But it was written in heaven, that both Alexander VI. and his slaughterous son should themselves suffer in like kind. Purposing to take off by poison the rich cardinal, Cometo, the latter succeeded, by bribes, promises, and entreaties in gaining over the pope's chief cook, and thus both died of the draught intended for their guest."—p. 302.

It ought to have been known to the historian of those "times," that Cæsar Borgia, "the son," was, after this, twice imprisoned, and twice escaped; was in alliance with France, then with Spain, then visited Naples, fought in Navarre, and was killed in a skirmish before

Digitized by Google

the castle of Viana, four years after his father's death. The blunder may be excused; but surely he ought to have been certain of his fact before he introduced it with so solemn a reference to the purposes of Heaven.

There is one mistake, if it be not something worse, which we cannot pass over, because it involves the character of the living. He thus writes at p. 55:—

"As very properly insisted on by some modern Tractarians, there is in the New Testament, as separately considered, 'no system of doctrine,'—'no proposed intermediation between the believer and the Christ, such as sacraments, ministers, rites, and observances,'—'nothing, indeed, of what may be called sacramental, ecclesiastical, or mysterious in its general tone, but much that is moral, rational, elevated, impassioned.'"

Will it be believed that these quotations, as far as they are in the tract referred to at all, occur within inverted commas following the sentence "the objection may be thus put"? In fact, they form part of an objection of an adversary, drawn out at length on purpose to be answered. We should be quite certain this was an oversight, if our author did not, in another place, show considerable acquaintance with the tract in question. Let it be noted that in this place he says, "As has been *very properly* insisted upon by some modern Tractarians;"—in a later page he says of the very same tract, that it "was of a kind so virulent, that no professed infidel ever wrote so offensively on the topics treated of in it." This inconsistency would surprise any one who had not read to the 397th page of the life of Savonarola. We do not at all wonder at his being angry with a tract, in which the untenable nature of latitudinarian views is so powerfully proved; but we pity a person who can speak of the "virulence" of a work, which overflows with sympathy for the difficulties of those for whose benefit it was written.

We abstain from quotations to exhibit the wretched principles, despite of authority in doctrinal points, self-confidence, discovery of new "truths," modern inspiration, &c. which pervade this book: but we must protest against their being supported by the supposition that they were taught or held by Savonarola. We will give one instance in which this is done. It is constantly taken for granted, that Savonarola held the pope to be Antichrist, and the Roman see the Great Harlot; whereas, in fact, he held that

"The soul of every Christian is made the spouse of Jesus Christ in baptism, as it is written, 'Desponsabo te mihi in fide;' but when of free will she allies herself to the devil, and to the love of the creature, she commits fornication, and becomes a harlot. Now all the wicked, and especially the great, and such as are prelates, who, by their prostitution, that is, by evil works and bad example, and malignant persuasion, and violence, have corrupted the earth and the holy Church,—these are the great harlot, whom God has judged and punished in hell."

This is a very different doctrine to that which represents the Church of Rome specifically as the Harlot, and the pope as Anti-

Digitized by Google

christ. If the individual pope is wicked, then he is antichristian, as any other wicked man is.

In short, our author takes all heretics and schismatics under his special protection; he maintains them to be all inspired, especially if they were bold enough to contradict openly the Church's teaching in all ages. With such persons Savonarola had no sympathies; though his conduct is indefensible, yet, with regard to his doctrine, we agree with the judgment of Tiraboschi—that "we must not class him among heretics, because the Church did not denounce him as such. His works were often examined, but not pronounced heretical."—*Storia della Litteratura*, vol. vi. p. 1162.

Parliamentary Papers. Correspondence relating to Affghanistan. Bombay Times, 1842, 1843.

"We are now indebted for advice and censure to gentlemen, who, till our measures forced it upon their knowledge, had never heard the name of Herat, and did not know Cabool from Candahar."

To this effect spoke Lord Palmerston, when vindicating the Eastern policy of the late Government, in one of the earlier debates on the subject. Whatever, more or less, direct bearing this piece of satire may have upon the merits of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues, they are entitled to its full benefit; for it is true. It would have been well for England, for India, for Affghanistan, and perhaps for Lord Palmerston himself, if the assertion had been less true.

Five or six years since, the degree of information possessed by the educated portion of society, generally, was little more than that above attributed to members of the House of Commons. We had a general idea that Affghanistan was a mountainous country, and that it lay somewhere between India and Persia; we had heard the names of Cabool, Candahar, and Ghuznee; and we attached some meaning, very slightly connected with latitude and longitude, to the mention of Herat. Our political conceptions were equally vague with our geographical. We had two or three names of persons, which we fitted with varying degrees of incorrectness to the two or three names of places above-mentioned; we believed that Dost Mahomed held in Affghanistan, some kind of supremacy from which Shah Soojah had been deposed, and stood in some relation or other, of friendship or hostility, towards Prince Kamram of Herat, whose name was at that time rather the most familiar of the three. We connected these names in different combinations with an indefinite fear of danger to our Indian empire. We

Digitized by Google

heard much of the influence of Russia at the Court of Persia, of her intrigues in Central Asia, of her emissaries and stirrers-up of discontent in India; and our most fixed was our most well-founded idea, that Russia, whether dealing with Circassians, Persians, or Affghans, was neither moderate in her wishes nor scrupulous in her choice of means, that she cared less than nothing for our interests, nothing for those of general humanity, and much for her own. Such in the early part of 1837 was, upon these subjects, the amount of the public knowledge, and the disposition of the public mind.

At length there arrived intelligence of a definite and important event; the attack of the Persians upon Herat, with the countenance and aid of Russian officers, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the representative of England. The danger apprehended from the west, seemed to have taken the first step in advance towards our frontier; and we began to look with some interest at the map of Central Asia. The cause of the besiegers was the cause of Russia, the cause of the besieged was the cause of England; and we heard with satisfaction and pride, of the degree in which the skill and resolution of an English lieutenant had contributed to the determined and ultimately triumphant resistance of the besieged. It seemed not impossible that the two great powers, from the indirect struggle of diplomacy and encouragement of antagonist interests, might pass into direct collision. Suddenly we heard that we were at war—with Russia? No,—with the existing rulers of Affghanistan. An Anglo-Indian force of 20,000 men was about to cross the Indus, with the object of deposing Dost Mahomed and his brothers of Candahar, and reinstating Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabool. The declaration of October 1st, 1838, announced to the world at once the intention of the Governor-general, and the grounds on which he proceeded.

It was natural that most readers of this document should take for granted that this statement of facts, at least, was well-founded; it was natural, too, though less excusable, to receive the announcement of such a step with some tendency towards acquiescence; to believe that no English minister would recommend, no Governor-general would adopt, a measure so extraordinary, involving possibilities so tremendous, without the existence of strong grounds both of justice and policy. The intelligence of the commencement of the Affghan war was received by the public in accordance with these feelings, by Parliament with that indifference to foreign affairs which characterizes the senate of the most commercial nation of the world. A few questions were asked and answered; papers were refused, produced, or to be produced hereafter; the foreign minister made bold assertions, the leader of opposition cautiously reserved his opinion, and the subject of Affghanistan

Digitized by Google

slept at least until the arrival of the next mail from India. Then came the fall of Ghuznee, the flight of Dost Mahomed, the unopposed entrance of Shah Soojah into Cabool. The Affghan expedition had all the vindication it could derive from success; and that, for the time, was all that it needed. We had successful generals to make into lords, successful diplomatists to make into baronets, a successful army to thank and praise; remonstrances on the score of impolicy were answered by the event; remonstrances on the score of injustice could get no hearing. The very ease with which Shah Soojah's restoration had been effected, *proved* that his rule was acceptable to the Affghans; in placing an effectual barrier between our own territories and Russian intrigue, we had bestowed upon them the inestimable benefit of a strong and settled, yet popular, government. We had replaced an oppressive and usurping ruler, by a legitimate and beloved monarch; we had opened a way to the extension of our commerce into vast and unknown regions. A war, undertaken on grounds, which had been, or should be proved, to be irrefragable, was over, in fact if not in name, and we had only to reap its benefits, and reward its instruments.

The latter was done forthwith, but it was soon apparent that the former might yet be delayed. Months passed on, and became years, and still every Indian mail brought intelligence of "disturbances" in Affghanistan. There were still "insurrections;" there were still "rebels" to put down; predatory tribes to be restrained, turbulent chieftains to be humbled. A war of detachments seemed to be spread over the country; there were no great battles; but there were "brilliant affairs," and "dashing exploits" without end, each of them costing many valuable lives; and our usual success was not unchequered with serious disasters. Even the surrender, in November 1840, of Dost Mahomed, did not restore tranquillity to the country. It appears from a summary, drawn up in the *Bombay Times*, that between January 1840 and August 1841, our troops in Scinde and Affghanistan, were engaged in thirty-four distinct conflicts. The Affghans and Beloochees were slow to learn the benefits of the state of things we had introduced among them.

In the meantime, as much attention was bestowed upon the subject at home as could be expected. Parliament did not neglect its duty, as far as that duty was to be inferred, from its ordinary practice. Masses of printed paper, bound in blue, were distributed to the members of the House of Commons, and partly read by some of them. The general result of the correspondence produced, was in favour of Lord Auckland's policy. The invasion, if invasion it was to be called, of Affghanistan, appeared to have been recommended by some of the authorities, to whose opinions on all topics respecting these countries, most weight was attached; and the opinions of Sir

Digitized by Google

Alexander Burnes to the contrary, his expressions in favour of Dost Mahomed, and even his statements of facts, militating against the views of the government, were withdrawn from the notice of Parliament, by a system of careful *selection*, as Lord John Russell designates it,—omission, as we think it might be more accurately denominated. In short, a case was, to a certain extent, made out, and any one who chose to acquiesce in the policy of the government, might point to the blue book as his reason for so doing. The Affghan war was not a party question, that is, it was a question upon which each individual member had still to form his opinion from his own researches, and upon his own responsibility; and, therefore, (the inference is a singular one, but so uniformly drawn, that we suppose it must be sound) it excited little interest. Had the subsequent disasters occurred in the early part of the war, the case would doubtless have been otherwise. There would have been no triumph of our arms to dazzle the eyes of enquirers, and voices which were silenced by victory, would have been clamorous for an explanation of the causes of a war resulting in defeat. For the comparative tranquillity he enjoyed, Lord Palmerston was indebted less to the blue book than to the petard which blew open the gates of Ghuznee. But, by the help of the one and the other, and the Whig Budget, and the pressure of more domestic matters, the Affghan war was acquiesced in. Months and years passed away, leaving Affghanistan still occupied by our army, and many began habitually to regard it as virtually a permanent addition to our empire. Sir J. C. Hobhouse spoke exultingly of our extended dominion; Lord Palmerston of its perfect tranquillity; and hardly a voice was raised through the country to censure the one, or contradict the other.

But the time was approaching, when the name of the Affghan war should no longer be pronounced with indifference in England. The account of the commencement of the great outbreak at Cabool reached England early in 1842; and from that time, every mail brought intelligence of disasters so new and so terrible, that it was difficult to replace the involuntary incredulity they excited with a sense of their reality. At length, after an interval of painful suspense, we knew that our principal force in Affghanistan had been utterly destroyed. It would be vain to deny that these events were the first which, by the doubt which they cast on the policy, really and thoroughly awakened the mass of Englishmen to question the justice of the original quarrel. But whether it was just or not, was not for the time the nearest consideration, while the Affghans yet beleagured our garrisons, and held numerous prisoners in their hands. It is sufficient to refer to the outline of events which are still fresh in the memory of our readers. A short and decisive campaign accomplished at once the recovery of the prisoners, and the

Digitized by Google

important and collateral object of retrieving the slur upon our military reputation; and then, with the entire withdrawal of every part of our forces, closed the four years' drama of war in Affghanistan.

Such is a sufficiently accurate outline of the course of these events, and of the feelings with which they were successively received in England. If our account of the latter is true, we need not wonder at the very imperfect degree of knowledge still existing respecting the origin of the war. Still, there are features in the case sufficiently remarkable, we should think, to excite more curiosity.

A war was undertaken with very general acquiescence, continued for four years, and then terminated with all but universal satisfaction. The natural inference would be, that it terminated in the accomplishment of the objects for which it was undertaken. How far such an inference would be just, let the facts known to all the world answer.

We entered Affghanistan to effect a change of dynasty—we withdrew from it, professing our readiness to acknowledge any government which the Affghans themselves may think fit to establish. We entered it to establish a government, above all, friendly to ourselves. Are the Affghans our friends now? In short, a struggle which we commenced in furtherance of a certain line of policy, and with a view to certain objects, has ended in our renouncing those objects, and reversing that policy. Under an assumed necessity, we crossed the Indus: after a war in which 20,000 lives have been sacrificed on our side, and countless lives on the other, we have retired within the Indus: and, except for the anarchy we have in the place of order, the hatred in the place of kindness, all is as it was before. Our conduct of '42, stands forth before the world as contrasted with and condemning our conduct of '38. These are results not to be obtained by a laborious search into the history of the last four years, from a comparison of State Papers, they are facts before all the world,—to be seen by all eyes which are not resolutely kept shut,—as far beyond misrepresentation and doubt as beyond denial. We would urge them again and again upon all those who, having looked with indifference on the commencement, are ready enough to look with equal indifference on the termination of the Affghan war, as presenting in themselves a *primâ facie* case against its originators,—or, if they prefer it, its concluders. If we were right formerly, we cannot be right now. If we are not wrong now, we must have been wrong formerly. Without understanding how we were in the wrong, can we feel sure that we are now in the right?

And, supposing that we are entirely satisfied of the rectitude of our present conduct, is the injustice of four years back a matter of indifference? a subject, not to be tried by contempo-

Digitized by Google

rary judgment, to be questioned at the bar of living opinion, but to be elucidated at some time or other, by curious historical enquiry? Is the statute which limits the time for the recovery of a debt due from one individual to another, to be applied, and narrowed in its applications, to the transactions of nations? We have been led, influenced by imperfect knowledge, into a course of conduct which, with our present knowledge, we would have avoided,—how came we to be misled? How far was that knowledge possessed by our responsible leaders? Was their conduct censurable? Was it justifiable? Was it excusable error, or flagrant injustice?

He who is indifferent to the answer to those questions, as regards the events of four years back, would surely feel little interest in the right or wrong of any quarrel into which we might enter to-morrow. In our judgment, enough has already appeared on the subject of the Affghan war to make further inquiry most desirable. That inquiry has been demanded, and hitherto steadily refused. In its absence, the public have a right to assume that the whole case is before them, and to form such a judgment as they can from the existing materials; and we believe that an examination of the question as it stands will lead most persons to a conclusion, in accordance with our own, that the war was unnecessary, unwise, and, above all, unjust. To prove the first of these, is, in the present state of the British empire, to prove the second; to prove the third, ought to supersede the necessity of proving the other two. Our observations will be principally directed to this point; but we trust they will be found to contain, incidentally, sufficient evidence upon the others.

The received code of international morality is not, even in the nineteenth century, very strict. One principle, however, seems to be admitted in the theory, if not the practice, of civilised men, that an aggressive war,—a war undertaken against unoffending parties, with a view to our own benefit only,—is unjust; and, conversely, that a war to be just, must partake of the character of a defensive war. It may be defensive in various ways—in the way either of preventing an injury which it is attempted to inflict, or of exacting reparation for one inflicted, and taking the necessary security against its future infliction: but, in one way or other, defensive it must be. Still it does not follow, that the party who strikes the first blow is always the aggressor. A state may with as much justice advance beyond its own frontier, to oppose the known designs of a hostile state, as an individual may prevent by anticipating the blow of the murderer. In this case, however, it lies upon the assaulting party to bring his conduct within the general rule of self-defence, from which it apparently departs, by showing that he had grounds for apprehending attack.

Digitized by Google

Such is the case of the Affghan invasion. It is not pretended that the Affghans had injured us either nationally or individually. In the cities of Cabool and Candahar our emissaries had been courteously received and kindly treated. Even the Murrees, Brahoes, Khyberries,—the warrior-robbers of their tremendous passes, whose hand has been, from of old, against every man, had robbed us as little as, before he sought them in arms, the Trojans had robbed Achilles, and for much the same reason—

οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους,
. . . . . ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα, θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα·

Many a dark mountain-range and broad river lay between us and them. Of the many articles which they covet, camels are the most attractive; yet, up to the year 1838, we do not know that we had lost by them a single camel; if we have since lost fifty thousand, perhaps they who acted after their custom, and according to their knowledge, are hardly more to blame than the party who sought the collision. From the Affghans we had sustained no wrong.

But we apprehended wrong. As it is stated in Lord Auckland's proclamation, the ruler of Cabool "avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India;" and, again, he and his brothers, chiefs of Candahar, are spoken of as "ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement." The former of these clauses refers to the claims of Dost Mahomed upon Peshawur, then, and since 1835, in the possession of Runjeet Singh; the latter to the Persian attack upon Herat, the anticipated progress of Persia towards India, and the extension of Persian,—that is to say, of Russian,—influence over the whole of Affghanistan. The whole question of the Affghan war turns upon these two points—Peshawur and Herat. We are content to give one version of the facts respecting the former in the words of a writer in the Edinburgh Review, a professed defender of Lord Auckland's policy.

"Dost Mahomed . . . . was never ruler in any form or under any title, of the province of Peshawur, of which, in truth, he demanded not the restitution, but the gift; and which he modestly required that we should extort, as the price of his alliance, from the close grasp of the old lion of the Punjaub. Dost Mahomed was ruler of the city of Cabool, with an insecure authority over some other districts. In the division of power among the Barukzye chiefs, Peshawur fell exclusively to Sultan Mahomed Khan, a half-brother of Dost Mahomed, who seceded from the confederacy with that chief, and thought it for his interest to succumb to the power of Runjeet Singh, and to hold a large jagheer (fief) within the Peshawur territory as a subject of the Seikh government. This he was holding at the time of our negotiations with Dost Mahomed, who regarded him as his enemy because

Digitized by Google

he had submitted to the Seikhs. But the territory he had ceded to them was quite as much his, to dispose of, as Cabool was Dost Mahomed's."

On this we would remark, in the first place, that with any quarrel between Runjeet Singh and Dost Mahomed we could not pretend to any direct concern whatever. Both were independent powers, at perfect liberty, as far as other states were concerned, to make peace or war with each other; of which liberty, as might be expected from Eastern rulers of hostile races and religions, they had not been slow to avail themselves. If Dost Mahomed, as Lord Auckland remarks, in a tone of virtuous indignation, avowed "schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India," that is, of the kingdom of the Punjaub, under the dominion, not of the English, but of Runjeet Singh, his persevering and powerful enemy, Runjeet Singh had not been altogether in the habit of abstaining from schemes of aggrandizement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the Affghan territories. The terms of our alliance with him were not such as could give us a right to interfere between him and the Affghans, except for purposes of mediation; and if we ever so interfered, justice would have required that our mediation should be for the advantage of both parties; not a mere combination of our strength with that of the stronger to enforce the submission of the weaker.

Secondly, it should be remembered that the territory of Peshawur, though it had never belonged to Dost Mahomed, was undoubtedly Affghan. It was one of the four Affghan principalities; it had ever been such until the date of its acquisition by Runjeet Singh, through a combination of force, fraud, and good fortune, of which the reader will find an amusing account in Mr. Masson's third volume. The "old lion of Lahore" never eked out the strength of the lion by the cunning of the fox in a manner more characteristic and successful than on the occasion on which (as Dost Mahomed says, in a letter written in October, 1837, to his brothers at Candahar,) "Peshawur, which is our principal abode, fell into the hands of the Seikhs, on account of the foolishness of Sultan Mahomed Khan, and which has always been a source of great trouble and vexation to us." That Dost Mahomed, the chief of the principal city of Cabool, and if not the ruler, at least the acknowledged head of the Mahometan Affghans, should be anxious to recover for his people the possession of Peshawur, an Affghan city, thus thrown into the hands of their "natural enemies" the Seikh idolaters, was surely no strange or blameable ambition. It was his interest as a ruler, and, we will add, it was his duty as a patriot; though, we doubt not, that, by speaking with gravity of the patriotism of an Affghan, we incur the ridicule of all such as the reviewer above

Digitized by Google

quoted, who considers Dost Mahomed quite inexcusable in regarding Sultan Mahomed Khan as his enemy, because of his willing submission to the Seikhs; because "Peshawur was quite as much his, to dispose of, as Cabool was Dost Mahomed's."

Quite as much—and quite as little. An Asiatic, a Mahometan, and a prince, Dost Mahomed was, probably, no perfect character. In his difficult position, struggling through life to maintain himself against enemies, foreign and domestic, he had done, we doubt not, many questionable things; he professed, we dare say, no indifference to temptation, no superhuman morality; but we do not find, in any part of his career, any traces of his having thought, as this English writer seems to think, that his country was his, *to dispose of.*

Our mediation, however, between the Affghans and Seikhs, we had a right to offer; and we offered it—but on what terms? We will again quote the Reviewer.—

"Lord Auckland . . . offered, as the price of an alliance, to guarantee them in their actual possessions against the Seikhs. They refused to break off their negotiations with those who were threatening us with hostility, and inflaming the minds of our most unquiet subjects, unless we consented to despoil Runjeet Singh, and to make over the plunder to them. More than this, Dost Mahomed, being then perfectly aware of the rupture, actual or impending, between Persia and England, and in direct allusion to soliciting the aid of Persia and Russia, declared that, in support of his designs upon Peshawur, he would call in every foreign assistance that he could command. Lord Auckland lost all hope, therefore, of making use of the Affghans as a barrier, and was compelled to regard them, at a crisis demanding action, as the allies of our enemies; and who affords them the most convenient station from whence to send forth the emissaries of disaffection and rebellion throughout our territories."

The last sentence is open to criticism of more than one kind; in particular, we can make nothing of "and who affords"—*who* affords? We really cannot tell; but the nearest applicable nominative is Lord Auckland, who is probably not the person meant. The hypothesis of some inconceivable misprint may enable the charitable to get over the grammatical difficulties; but the construction is not so difficult to reconcile with grammar as the previous statements with fact. In the possession of Runjeet Singh, certainly Peshawur might be correctly designated as plunder: still it might not be our business to despoil him of it for the benefit of the people whom he had plundered. But if the above sentences imply that Dost Mahomed was ready to accede to our alliance on the terms of the unconditional possession of Peshawur, and no other, they imply what is capable of disproof even by the papers as presented to Parliament. Dost Mahomed was most willing to meet the wishes of the British Government, when those wishes were not incompatible with his own safety. Nor was it likely that our interference on his behalf would have led to any interruption of our friendship with Runjeet Singh; who had certainly no reason to plume himself

Digitized by Google

on his success in the struggle. In the early part of the year 1837, his troops had been more severely handled by the Affghans than they had ever been before; and it was the opinion of those best qualified to judge, that the Seikh ruler would gladly have had an excuse for resigning on creditable terms his troublesome acquisition of Peshawur. Such an opportunity Burnes, doubtless, thought he had presented to him and the Indian government, when he induced Dost Mahomed to make the offer of holding Peshawur under a modified acknowledgment of the supremacy of Runjeet Singh—an offer which he considered all which the Indian government could desire, and more than they could well have expected. "What say you to this," is his expression, in a private letter (referring to a similar plan) "after all that has been urged of Dost Mahomed's putting forth extravagant pretensions?" These overtures, however, did not meet the views of the Indian government, and they offered other terms, which, with the discussion that ensued upon them, will be found *partly* reported at pages 22—24 of the 5th No. of the Parliamentary Papers.—

"We offered," as the Reviewer says, "to guarantee Dost Mahomed in his present possessions against Runjeet Singh; an offer to which he replied, naturally and truly, 'Thank you for nothing—I have hitherto been able to defend myself, and expect to be so still.' We also offered to influence Runjeet Singh to replace Sultan Mahomed Khan in Peshawur. This plan he considered as, not indifferent, but deeply injurious, to him—as endangering him personally, far more than the continuance of the Sikhs in Peshawur; Sultan Mahomed Khan would be the most efficient tool they could employ. 'Of Runjeet Singh's power to invade me in Cabool, I have little fear. Of his power to injure me, if he reinstates Sultan Mahomed Khan in the government of that city, I have great apprehension, for in it I see a Mahomedan ruler instead of a Sikh.'"—(*Parl. Papers*, v. p. 22.)

As Dost Mahomed's rejection of our offers respecting Peshawur is represented as the justification of our breach with him, it is worth while to take some notice of the light in which his objections to the plan proposed by the British government appeared to the British envoy. This, however, our readers will not find in the Blue Book: the despatch of 26th January, 1838, being one of those which have been submitted to a process which, according to Lord J. Russell, is *not* garbling, but the exercise of the right of prudent selection. The definition of "garble," given by Johnson, is "to part, to sift, to *separate the good from the bad;*" and we find that in this despatch,—a record of various opinions on an important subject—that which appeared to the government good, is given; while the bad, that is, every part which was likely to militate against the views of the Government, has been most cautiously excluded. It may be true that the Government is not bound to publish on all occasions the opinions of its officers. They may be unimportant—they may be unnecessary; but in the present case there is something more, there is an

Digitized by Google

attempt to disguise those opinions. It has been also said, that the favourable disposition of Sir Alexander Burnes towards Dost Mahomed was generally known, and did not require to be stated. In the first place, it was not generally known, in England at least; in the second, the opinion of Captain Burnes in favour of Dost Mahomed generally, is one thing; and his conviction that Dost Mahomed's grounds for rejecting a particular proposal of the British Government, were in every respect just, is another; and the facts upon which the conviction was formed, another still: and these two last are studiously withdrawn from the knowledge of Parliament.

Dost Mahomed's apprehensions from the plan proposed, and the reasons by which he supported his views, are given, though with very imperfect fairness. In particular, a fact, and a most important one, stated by him, is omitted—and why? Because no one could have read the passage without the conviction that his fears were perfectly reasonable. It states his knowledge of an intrigue for his deposition, which had lately transpired, to which Sultan Mahomed Khan was a party, conjointly with the exiled king, Shah Soojah—the plot being, of course, backed by Runjeet Singh. "What security can I have against a repetition of such practices?"

On Captain Burnes' part, the original despatch contains several such expressions as the following, called forth by a conciliatory proposal made on behalf of Dost Mahomed by one of his brothers; one, noted at the time for his attachment to the English, and whose name has since been yet more honourably distinguished for kindness, good faith and charity, shown towards our countrymen and the Hindoo sepoys in captivity at Cabool—the Nawab Jubbar Khan:

"These observations, coming from the Nawab Jubbar Khan, are the more remarkable, since he is devoted to his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, and would rejoice to see him restored to Peshawur. They consequently carried with me *a conviction that the Ameer's fears are not groundless.*"

What comes immediately before and after this passage is given, but this is suppressed, as is also the whole concluding portion of the despatch, beginning with the awkward words—"It has appeared to me that they (Dost Mahomed's views) call for much deliberation. *It will be seen that the chief is NOT bent on possessing Peshawur . . .*," and proceeding to enforce the justice of his views, the feasibility of the plan proposed by the Nawab, to state the *facts* that a Russian agent with high offers had been forced to quit the country for want of encouragement; that the much talked of Russian agent had received "no more civility than is due by the laws of hospitality and nations," and to notice the possible scheme of putting forward that Shah Soojah, with a view to the destruction of the authority of the

Digitized by Google

present rulers, as "one which has happily never been contemplated.* Besides the very questionable nature of such a proceeding, it would not gain the objects of Government." All this, and much more to the same effect, is suppressed; and it was surely well worth—suppression.

This wholesale omission, however, is less remarkable than the mutilation of particular sentences; especially of the first two sentences in the despatch. This instance was referred to by Mr. Roebuck in his, if not unanswerable, certainly unanswered speech of March 1st. The omissions were said by his opponents to be quite unimportant. It is a singular defence of a perversion of the truth to say that the subject matter is unimportant. It suggests the answer, "You appear to have thought it not too unimportant to pervert." A falsehood worth telling is worth detecting; a forgery, though to a small amount, is still a forgery. It will, however, be for the reader to decide what object there could be for omissions, all bearing on the same point, for cutting up two sentences into one, altering the stops, making doubtful what was clear, except to conceal the fact that the views enforced on Dost Mahomed by the British envoy were—not his, but the Governor-general's—and if there could be any doubt that this, in fact, was the object, that doubt would have been removed by the suppression of the portions of the despatch to which we have already referred. We print the passage as it stands in the original despatch, with the omitted part in italics, requesting the reader to observe, that in the paper as presented to Parliament, the despatch begins at "regarding," and that the full stop at "governor" is replaced by a comma.

"Captain A. Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.

"Cabool, 26th January, 1838.

"Sir,—*I have now the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 25th November and 2nd of December last, which reached me about the same time, (and conveyed the views of the Right Honourable the Governor-general,)* regarding the overtures made by Dost Mahomed Khan, for adjusting his differences with the Sikhs, and the apprehension that the Maharajah would not be disposed to surrender Peshawur on those terms, but be more likely to restore it to Sooltan Mahomed Khan, its former governor. I lost no time in making known these circumstances, *(as well as the sentiments of his Lordship on them)*, and the policy which it would be advisable for the ruler of Cabool to pursue."

Can it be imagined that this sentence was so altered without an object? Can any one say that Mr. Roebuck's remark on it is severer than it deserves? "Did honourable gentlemen oppo-

* This allusion to the scheme would seem to indicate, on the part of Captain Burnes, some suspicion that it *had* been already contemplated. The first suggestion of it in the Blue Book occurs in a letter, dated January 1st, to Mr. Macnaghten from Captain Wade, our political agent at Loodiana.

Digitized by Google

site know what their verdict would be if they sat to try such alteration as a jury? *He did.*"

We give one more passage as showing the manner in which Dost Mahomed's declining to entertain the proposal presented to him, was at the time received by Captain Burnes on the part of the British Government. "I said . . . . that if he was thoroughly sincere in his belief, that the restoration of Peshawur to Sultan Mahomed Khan was positively injurious to him; it was proper to state most decidedly, that we had no such design, *and would be a party to no measures of such a tendency.*" In the Blue Book, the last words are omitted—not surely because of the space they would have occupied—perhaps they seemed to convey a pledge too inconsistent with the subsequent conduct of the British Government to admit of their being recorded.

"It appears to me," says Mr. Borrow's admirable Spanish 'Nacional,' "that this Caballero Balmerson must be a very honest man." We are sorry that we cannot, after the examination of this despatch, echo Mr. Borrow's hearty assent—"There cannot be a doubt of it." It appears to us that there is proof—positive proof—such proof as would, as Mr. Roebuck said, carry conviction, before any twelve of her Majesty's subjects—to the contrary.

This scheme thus rejected by Dost Mahomed on grounds which appeared to our envoy in every respect just, was as far as we can see the only definite proposition put forward by the British Government respecting the occupation of Peshawur. It was preceded and followed by overtures on the part of the chief of Cabool, showing anything but indifference to the good-will of the British Government, anything but indisposition to listen to any arrangement which it might recommend. But the British Government continued peremptory in its unjust demand, miscalled an offer of mediation; that he was to give up all claim to Peshawur—all right to interfere in the settlement of that province, and, on his side, to receive exemption from the attacks of Runjeet Singh, from which he had never apprehended danger. And even this he was ready to concede on any terms compatible with his safety; terms which, by placing in Peshawur any one whose influence would not be used to his detriment, might, in his own words, leave him as we found him. He waived all expectations of Peshawur for himself. In the despatch of March 13th will be seen how far Dost Mahomed was ready to advance to meet the wishes of the British Government, even when those wishes included the re-establishment of Sultan Mahomed Khan. But the British Government showed an unwillingness to respond to his advances—a determined harshness—which it is difficult to explain on any other hypothesis than that they were bent on forcing him into a quarrel. Their *animus* towards him may be partly estimated from the following

Digitized by Google

circumstance, which, we need not say, is not found in the Blue Book. It appears that Burnes was directed to require of Dost Mahomed tokens of submission to Runjeet Singh, of such a nature, that he declined to be the channel of any such demand, assigning the reason that to do so would defeat (what he then assumed to be) the object of his employers. "The difficulties had been great, without adding to them. Had Dost Mahomed himself assented, the Mahomedan populace would have despised him and probably prevented him."—*Bombay Monthly Times*, February, 1843.

These were the offers of either negative advantage, or positive injury, in return for which we required of Dost Mahomed to renounce his pretensions, to sacrifice every prospect of advantage held out to him from other quarters, and even to incur, as we shall see hereafter, their hostility without any assurance of our protection; and because he did not gratefully accept them, he was charged with being "disaffected and ambitious." Disaffected, is, we think, a singular phrase to apply to one who was not, and never had been, a vassal of the Indian Government, who was bound to it by no ties either of allegiance or alliance. If disaffection means dislike, the disaffection appears to have been on the other side, amounting to a perverse hatred, which would rather accomplish its objects in spite of Dost Mahomed, than through him. And ambitious! the world, which has some common sense sometimes, will apportion justly the charge of ambition between the invaders and the defenders of Affghanistan.

We asked much, and offered nothing; yet it did not follow that we should force a quarrel upon the other party because he demurred to so unjust a bargain. Had our mediation been more reasonable, Dost Mahomed, as an independent prince, had a right to reject it, and remain as he was; the penalty of the rejection being the withdrawal of those "good offices with Runjeet Singh" which we rated so highly. And this, in fact, appears to have been the only penalty held out to him, even up to the time of Burnes' departure from Cabool. Lord Auckland had not then come to the conclusion, that the rejection of a one-sided, but professedly friendly mediation, is an enormity to be visited by war.

But it may be said, that, although we might, under other circumstances, have allowed Runjeet Singh and Dost Mohamed to fight out their quarrels without interfering, the case became different when one of them, in promotion of his designs against the other, connected himself with those whose "schemes of conquest and aggrandizement" endangered our empire; that is, with the Persians, and the shadow or substance of the Russians. And this brings us to the consideration of the second question; the designs of Persia, the subservience, represented to be voluntary, of the Barukzye chiefs to these designs, and the ground

Digitized by Google

for hostility which such subservience presented. If Dost Mahomed's disposition to call in foreign assistance in support of his designs on Peshawur, had in fact placed us under the necessity of dealing with him as an enemy, the necessity would still have been created and raised by ourselves alone; by our resolute indifference to his claims, by our harsh refusal of any concessions. But, in spite of all that we had done to produce it, we were under no such necessity; the attack upon him was not requisite to our security; and the question of Peshawur was not, after all, that upon which the success of Captain Burnes' negotiation turned.

The Shah of Persia, as is well known, advanced claims not only to the sovereignty of Herat, but to the supremacy of Affghanistan generally. At the time of our mission to Cabool, he was besieging Herat, with a view to its reduction, and was engaged in intrigues having for their object to induce the Barukzye chieftains to support his attempt upon that city and to acquiesce in his supremacy; acting throughout, as was supposed, under the direct influence of Russia; the assumed object of the latter being, by approaching her influence to our Indian frontier, to have it in her power to undermine our dominion. We need not enter into the inquiry how far the fear entertained of the designs of Russia against our Indian empire was in itself well founded; or how far the famous and mysterious Vicovitch was or was not an authorized Russian agent. Probably he was, what it is quite consistent with Russian policy to employ—a tool, more or less encouraged to believe himself an agent, and thrown aside as a tool the moment his services ceased to be advantageous. Possibly too, the designs of Russia were as indefinite as his commission, and extended only to raising up whatever difficulties they could against us, and taking what might come of them. The absence of ground for such apprehensions, however, is not proved by the fact, that the Russians afterwards withdrew whatever they thought it convenient to withdraw, and disavowed whatever act of their agents it was inconvenient to maintain. All this cost them nothing but words, it could not cost them a reputation for truth and honesty, which they had not to lose. At the time, these fears were as generally entertained as it now seems to be the tendency to hold that they were exaggerated. The amount of the danger may have been exaggerated, but to its existence, more or less, we have strong testimony. All those public servants whose especial office it was to form an opinion on the politics of Central Asia, Mr. M'Neill, Mr. Ellis, Captain Burnes,—are agreed upon this point. We quote a sentence from a letter of Mr. M'Neill's, dated January, 1838:—

"The evidence of concert between Persia and Russia, for purposes injurious to British interests, is unequivocal, and the magnitude of the evil with

Digitized by Google

which we are threatened, is in my estimation immense, and such as no power in alliance with Great Britain can have a right to aid in producing."

In arguing on the morality, if not on the policy, of the conduct of the Indian Government, we are bound in fairness to take this opinion of the Russian encroachments as our point of view. If, in one respect, it partly justifies Lord Auckland, in another it strongly condemns him. If it be held to prove that there was a necessity for doing something, on the other hand, it points to something as different as possible from what was actually done. Either there was no danger, or such danger as did exist proceeded primarily from Russia, and secondarily from the combination of Russia with Persia. If the cause of rupture with Persia was, that the Shah "had openly connected himself with an European power for purposes avowedly unfriendly, if not absolutely hostile, to British interests;" if, as Mr. M'Neill says, in the despatch we have before referred to, "our connexion with Persia has for its real and avowed original object to give additional security to India, and it has been maintained for the purpose of protecting us against designs of the only power which threatened to disturb us in that quarter"—that power, of course, being in both cases Russia—the inference is one which it hardly requires much practice in diplomacy to draw. We are aware that, in the complicated relations of nations, the right course is not invariably that which would naturally suggest itself to a common observer on a first, and perhaps superficial, view. It may be necessary to strike first at the instrument, rather than the moving power—the hand rather than the head; but there is something too repugnant to truth in the state of things which permits the Czar of Russia to continue our very good friend, while the Shah of Persia, for promoting his designs, is declared our enemy; and the rulers of Affghanistan, for an apprehended readiness to acquiesce in the accomplishment of these designs, are treated as enemies. We have no fear of the Affghans, except as far as they may act in subservience to the Persians; nor of the Persians, except as aiding in the accomplishment of the designs of Russia. The Russians are, "for purposes avowedly unfriendly, if not absolutely hostile" to us, making the Persians their instruments, and it is to be feared that the Persians may be able to injure us through the Affghans. There is a regular gradation in the inimical feelings of the three parties, and we graduate our proceedings accordingly, only in the inverse ratio. We have a polite and friendly, and "perfectly satisfactory" explanation with the Russians; we have a temporary rupture, but no fighting, with the Persians—and we MAKE WAR on the Affghans!

Had all our apprehensions from Affghanistan been well founded, they do not appear sufficient to justify the course which we pursued. On the principles on which the war was undertaken,

Digitized by Google

a reason for war between bordering states would never be wanting. If every apprehension of danger is to be held to make a war defensive, and therefore just, the whole of Europe might be involved in a perfectly just war to-morrow. We never can be sure of the future intentions of the most amicable neighbour, and we are quite sure that the stronger he is the more able he will be to injure us if so disposed. Our security, again, is greater in proportion to our strength, and what is expedient for our advantage will, unquestionably, contribute to our security; the next step is to call it *essential* to our security, and the plea of necessity is made out—the old proverbial plea of tyranny. Since we cannot tell how soon we may need our Might to protect our Right, let us at once identify the two. There is no advantage of which we may not deprive another state, on the ground of securing ourselves against possible danger hereafter. Thus, by a short and easy road, we may pass from defence to aggression: from the principles which armed the Athenians at Salamis to those avowed by the Athenian arguer in the Melian controversy, to the practical, if not the confessed, definition of justice as the interest of the stronger. Since vice first paid to virtue the homage of hypocrisy, the conqueror has never wanted a pretext sufficient for all who chose to find it so.

We make these remarks to illustrate the manner in which a principle admitted by all may be perverted into an excuse for conduct reprobated by all: and to show that, as it is not every prospect of advantage, so it is not every apprehension of danger, that justifies a recourse to war. The Affghan invasion did not, we can believe, appear to the minds of those who planned it in the light of mere injustice and aggression; but it is not possible to acquit them of jealous suspicion and consequent indifference to the rights of others. It was one of those pieces of cruel and unjust violence which are the frequent result of the combination of alarm with power. The strongest case that has ever been stated against the chief of Cabool is this:—that, with a view to purposes of his own, he was willing—not to attack us, not to join actively in any measures undertaken against us—but to acquiesce in the extension of Persian influence over Affghanistan. And when we say purposes of his own, we mean distinctly to exclude the supposition that any hostile feeling towards the Indian government, any desire to injure our interests as such, entered into these purposes. Whatever his objects were, it stands on record, and has not, as far we are aware, been ever disputed, that he would have preferred attaining them through our help, and with our countenance, to attaining them by any other course whatever. It was not until he had renounced all hope from us that he listened to the promises of Persia and of Russia; of Persia, be it observed, not even then in a state of declared hostility to the Indian government, and of Russia,

Digitized by Google

with whom our friendly relations had never been interrupted. "It should not be forgotten," says Sir Alexander Burnes, in a letter written some time after his departure from Cabool, a last attempt to appeal to the justice of the Indian Government, "that we promised nothing, and that Persia and Russia held out a great deal." We will assume, however, that, had the designs of Persia been carried out, and had Dost Mahomed cooperated with their successful prosecution, he might, in the course of events, have subjected himself to be treated as our enemy. But let us look at the state of facts.

It must be recollected that the turning point of all these proceedings was the siege of Herat, and not the siege merely, but the besieging Herat, with a view to depriving it of independence. In the opinion of our ambassador, the Shah of Persia had just grounds of complaint against the ruler of that city. At the time when Herat was hardest pressed, Mr. M'Neill actually aided in composing the draft of a treaty conceding all the demands of Persia with the exception of those which went directly to compromise the independence of Herat. We did not consider ourselves justified in opposing the Persian government until all terms, short of the entire subjection of Herat, had been peremptorily and perseveringly refused. Had the Persian government never made any such pretensions, had it relinquished them on our original remonstrance, what would have become of the assumed necessity for interference in Affghanistan? and what name could have been assigned to our invasion of that country but that of mere and shameless aggression? The persistance of the Shah of Persia in his claims upon Herat was our ground of quarrel with him, and, except their presumed readiness to acquiesce in this design, what ground, what pretence of quarrel, had we with the rulers of Affghanistan?

The Shah of Persia persisted, our minister withdrew from his camp, and warned him that the occupation of Herat, should it have surrendered, would be considered as a hostile demonstration against England; that troops had already been landed in the Persian gulf; and, in short, that compliance with the demands of England would be refused at the price of war. Before the Shah received this declaration, a general assault on Herat had failed with great loss, and he must also have been aware of the assembling of a large force within the Indus. After remaining before Herat some weeks longer, he ultimately complied with all the demands of the British minister, and abandoned his enterprise. The camp broke up from before Herat on the 9th September, 1838.

And now, let us ask, what reason was there for marching into Affghanistan? Every object we had professed to desire was attained—Herat was safe—the Perso-Russian scheme was broken up—the danger had passed over. If it was open to us

Digitized by Google

to resume friendly relations with the principal in the affair, it could hardly be incumbent on us to punish even active subordinates, had such been within our reach; much less those who could scarcely be charged with having more than passively favoured the now terminated expedition. Dost Mahomed had, we believe, given no assistance whatever to the Shah of Persia in his attack upon Herat; his brothers of Candahar little or none.

But, it may be said, whatever effect the retreat of the Persians from Herat might have had on the original question; whatever effect it might have produced six months, or even weeks earlier, it could not be expected to turn Lord Auckland from pursuing the course marked out in his Declaration of October 1st, published before the intelligence of that event arrived; nor from fulfilling the tripartite treaty with Runjeet Singh and Shah Soojah, entered into yet earlier, and binding him to cooperate in the restoration of the latter. We are inclined to believe that this was the real state of the case: that the invasion of Affghanistan would never have taken place, had the knowledge of the retreat of the Persians preceded the conclusion of the treaty; had not Lord Auckland felt that he had pledged the faith of the Indian Government to the restoration of the exiled king. Let this argument be admitted to its fullest extent, and the only inference would be that the treaty itself was, and was proved by the result to be, unjustifiable. The treaty was an interference with the independence of the Affghan nation. Such a treaty could be justified only on the grounds of necessary self-defence. The assumed necessity had passed away before the time for executing the treaty had arrived—but the treaty was there. The precipitance, if so it is to be regarded, of the Governor-general, had brought him into the dilemma of breaking his word to the parties to that treaty, or invading a country with which we had no longer any quarrel. For a remote interest, a possible danger, a hypothetical war in which we ultimately never fired a shot, we had bound ourselves by treaty to sacrifice the independence of the Affghan nation. It would have been better, at least for the two principal parties to the contract, if we had not kept the promise so rashly given. We kept our word, and perpetrated the crime.

If it be said that, although the danger had passed, yet the course we followed was justified by the possibility of its recurrence,—that, the experience which had shown the existing condition of Affghanistan to be capable of becoming dangerous, vindicated the Indian Government in resolving to alter that condition for its own future security, we would ask, where is the independent state which may not endanger the well-being of its neighbours? which they might not, perhaps, devise some way of settling more in accordance with their own interests? Had

Digitized by Google

Napoleon nothing to apprehend from independent Spain? and was it not probable that the empire of France would derive security from the establishment of his family in the Peninsula? Has the Russian empire, in case of war, nothing to fear from the occupation of its mountain frontier by the yet unsubdued Circassians? Yet we English are in the habit of designating Napoleon's invasion of Spain as an act of gigantic injustice; we should read with exultation in to-morrow's *Times*, that the Circassians had gained another exterminating victory. This is the old plea in a new form—an attempt to confuse the limits of self-defence and advantage; limits which it is easy to distinguish, except when our own interests are concerned. The Affghans were not our subservient allies, but they were not our enemies. We thought it for our advantage that they should be the former; and we marched an army into their country to make them so. And the means we selected for the attainment of this object were such as no common hostility could justify—the imposition upon the nation of a sovereign whom they had dethroned. To this not ordinary result of even bitter warfare, defensible only where experience has shown the impossibility of remaining at peace with the existing government, we resorted at once, and in the first instance. In announcing our intention of deposing the Barukzye brothers, and restoring Shah Soojah, we took a step equivalent to the assertion of an absolute right of conquest. It was an interference with the internal affairs of an independent people, which, even after a direct attack by them, would have been questionable. In all our proceedings, there is something like a careful reversal of what justice would have dictated. As we made war in preference upon the least offending of three powers, so for a very slight provocation we thought fit to exact an extraordinary retribution; a retribution amounting not only in theory, but, as the subsequent events show, in fact, to a deprivation of independence.

We dwell the more on this plea of just self-defence, which, when looked at closely, resolves itself into the unjust, but expedient, because these seem to have been the considerations which in fact determined the course of Lord Auckland and his advisers.

The approach of danger from the side of Affghanistan suggested to them the natural idea of using the Affghan tribes and mountains as a means of keeping it at a distance—of making Affghanistan, in the words of the Edinburgh Reviewer, a barrier. Through all the changes and chances of negotiation and intrigue, this haunted them, until it became a *fixed* idea; and a fixed idea, like the conception of the monomaniac, must be realized, if not in one way, then in another. That the Affghans could have any rights, except in relation to the British government,—that the mountains and their inhabitants lay, as they had lain

Digitized by Google

for thousands of years, between the rivers of the Punjaub and Persia, for any other purpose except to serve as a "barrier to British India,"—was a conception of which they had grown incapable. To the principle that Affghanistan must in any case be made a barrier, the rest of course followed. It was a minor question of expediency only by what means this object should be effected. If Dost Mahomed would not become our subservient ally, and Shah Soojah would, so much the better for the latter. So strongly had this view, to all appearance, taken hold of the minds of the originators of the war, both here and in India, that its reappearance in Lord John Russell's speech in the recent debate, is not extraordinary. The main question for Lord Auckland's decision is there stated to be, whether he should have anything to do with Affghanistan at all: through whose means he should interfere was, it is said, a minor consideration. That is to say, whether he should in the attempt to accomplish his aims, respect the independence of the country, by allying himself with the existing chieftains, or in violation of its independence, force upon it a dethroned king, thirty years in exile, was a minor consideration. It may perhaps be worth while to illustrate further the prevalence of this view among the men whose counsels were the more immediate cause of the war.

In the third volume of Mr. Masson's work, in a letter to the author from a prominent actor in the subsequent transactions, occurs a sentence which we do not recollect to have seen hitherto noticed, though it appears to us well deserving of attention. It was written in May 1838. Let it be observed that, throughout Burnes's negotiation, at that time only just terminated, the Indian government had been profuse of expressions of friendliness towards the people of the Affghans, with whom, indeed, it never professed to have any quarrel. In bringing back Shah Soojah, we represented ourselves as conferring upon them the greatest of benefits; the settled government of a ruler whom a great part of the people would gladly see restored; and, in short, the Indian government was always unwilling to confess that it was at war with the Affghans as a people. Let it be recollected too, that the Sikhs are the deadly and hereditary enemies of the Affghans; so much so, that at this time, according to Burnes in one of his letters written during our occupation of Affghanistan, a Sikh could not have safely appeared in the streets of Cabool in his national dress; finally, that we entered on this question with the professed desire of holding the balance fairly between the Sikhs and the Affghans, who, as Lord Auckland says in a letter to Dost Mahomed, "are a brave people, much respected by the English nation;" and then let us estimate, dispassionately if we can, the morality of the following suggestion:—

Digitized by Google

"Would you oblige me by stating . . . . . whether you think that the Sikhs, using any (and what?) instrument of Affghan agency, could establish themselves in Cabool?"

Mr. Masson states, that in his reply he deprecated this "extravagant notion," and recommended the establishment of Shah Soojah "as the lesser evil," which perhaps it might be.

The writer of this letter seems to have coincided fully in the opinion quoted above, that the question of the means to be employed in accomplishing our object, of making Affghanistan a barrier, was indeed entirely secondary. We hardly know where to look for a parallel to the political immorality displayed in this short sentence; to the self-contented calmness, the courteous tranquillity, with which it suggests the commission of an enormous wrong. Would you oblige me by stating your views of the means by which we may most completely and safely deprive the Affghans, "a brave people, much respected by the English nation," of their independence? Can you suggest a plan for bringing them under the dominion of a nation whom they detest with the fully reciprocated hatred of opposed races and religions? Name, if you can, a fitting instrument to aid in this scheme for subjugating his countrymen, and we are ready to adopt and support his cause. Such is the scarcely disguised suggestion of the prime mover in the scheme adopted a few months later, of which, a few years later, he became the principal and memorable victim. Such is the calmness with which a man of eminent abilities, of moral qualities, which appear to have won for him the respect and affection of most of those who surrounded him, can contemplate the attainment, by any means, of an object he has taught himself to consider necessary. This letter is signed W. H. Macnaghten. Truly for once "the wheel has come full circle."

Hitherto we have, generally speaking, as far as the question of Herat is concerned, and of the subservience of the Affghan chiefs to Persian influence, given the originators of the invasion the benefit of their own statement of the reasons on which it was undertaken; and we have attempted to show that, assuming the conduct of Dost Mahomed and the Affghan chiefs to have been what it was by them represented, the course followed by the British government was still unjust and aggressive,—doubtful, previous to the retirement of the Persians from Herat,—after that event, unnecessary and unjust. It has appeared that the hostility attributed to the Affghan chiefs amounted at most to a disposition consequent on the promises of the Persian court, to acquiesce in the accomplishment of its schemes, and the extension of its supremacy over Affghanistan; but did it in fact amount even to this? The Barukzye chieftains are said to have identified themselves with the aggressive policy of Persia, with a view to their own aggrandizement. But what if it shall appear that adherence to Persia was the result of fear, not of

Digitized by Google

ambition? if they were prepared to acknowledge the supremacy of that power, merely to protect themselves from being forcibly subjugated by it? An examination of the correspondence relating to Affghanistan presented to Parliament, will furnish an answer to these questions. It will there be seen that the alternative presented to Dost Mahomed and his brothers, by the advance of the Persians, was on the one hand alliance with Persia, on the other, its hostility,—that what they required of us on this point, was to guarantee them in their independence against Persia, or otherwise protect them,—that during the residence of Captain Burnes at Cabool, they requested from us some assurance on this point, not once, nor twice, but constantly,—and that their request was met by that officer, in obedience to his instructions, by a direct refusal, or an evasive reference to the value of our sympathy, as evinced by our having sent an agent to Candahar. Captain Burnes had no choice but to speak thus. In the early part of his mission at Cabool, he had in anticipation of the reduction of Herat, and the consequent advance of the Persian army on Candahar, thought it right to offer to accompany Dost Mahomed and his force to that city, and to furnish money towards the expenses of its defence; an offer for which it appears that he was visited with the severe censure of his employers.* Henceforth, all that the Affghan chiefs had to contrast with the positive and advantageous terms offered them by Persia, under the ostensible guarantee of Russia, were these vague assurances of friendliness and sympathy, coupled occasionally with an appeal to their national pride, which in such a subject seems almost ludicrous, and which was unquestionably adopted by our able emissary, in the conscious absence of anything better to say—"Why, surely you, the brave Affghans, the Dooranees, who have before now carried your swords to Ispahan and Delhi, are not afraid of the Persians!" Such is the answer occasionally given to earnest representations of the danger to which they were exposed, and requests that England, so profuse of assurances of sympathy, would promise to *do something* for them in the way of protection against a dreaded enemy, then offering them the choice of peace or war. Throughout the whole correspondence, during Burnes' residence at Cabool, these two points stand forth as those upon which the fortune of the negotiation turns—an arrangement with Runjeet Singh respecting Peshawur, and *protection from Persia.* The defenders of Lord Auckland's policy are apt to omit reference to the latter, as the Edinburgh Reviewer, in the passage we have above quoted, has done.

He charges the Barukzye chieftains with having "refused to break off their negotiations" with the Persians, unless we consented to despoil Runjeet Singh, &c. It would have been

* Bombay Times, Aug. 1842.

Digitized by Google

nearer the truth to have said that they were ready and willing to break off their negotiations, but we declined pledging ourselves to protect them against the consequences of doing so. It is true that, on the occasion of Burnes's offer, to which we have referred, the chiefs of *Candahar* showed some insincerity, representing themselves as fearing more from Kamran, the prince of Herat, their old enemy, than Persia; but they afterwards changed their tone, and earnestly requested protection against the latter. At once endangered, and strongly tempted, there is nothing very strange in their wavering; they were in a situation in which every allowance should have been made for them. But for Dost Mahomed, in truth, none was needed. He is charged with having flung himself into the arms of those powers to whom, urged by the strongest impulses of hope and fear, we at length, and with difficulty, drove him.

In the despatch of the 25th of April, which contains Captain Burnes's account of a conference between himself and Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan, of Candahar, speaking both for himself and his brother, Dost Mahomed, we find that, after a pledge of protection from Persia has been asked and declined, and the promises of that power, and their guarantee by Russia brought forward, Captain Burnes asked "if they reposed confidence in these papers? 'Most certainly,' was the reply, 'since they are from Europeans, whose word is inviolable.'—'But,' continued I, 'is not Russia to aid you, through means of Persia; and how does the Shah act towards you? He addresses you as his vassals, and calls your country a part of his own. Are Lord Auckland's letters or views couched in such terms? Certainly not.'—'That may be all true enough,' said the Sirdar, '*but a powerful enemy threatens us; and if you will do no more than use general terms, and go no farther than keeping Mr. Leech at Candahar, we must take measures to secure ourselves in the manner best suited for our advantage.*'"

At page 28 of the fifth Number of the Parliamentary Papers, occurs an extract of about twenty-two lines, the sad relics of a long, important, and mutilated despatch—mutilated, did we say? eviscerated—the whole contents being torn out, and little more than the beginning and end given. The original* contains, among much bearing on the same question, and the same side of the question, from the mouth of the good Nawab Jubbar Khan, the following exposition of the case of the Affghans—true in every fact, unanswered, and unanswerable.

After stating that the offer of protection against Runjeet Singh was not of the value the British government seemed to suppose, since there had never been any fear of his attacking Cabool, the Nawab goes on—

* Bombay Times, February, 1843.

Digitized by Google

"That it appeared we valued our offers at a very high rate, since we expected in return that the Affghans would desist from all intercourse with Persia, Russia, Turkistan, &c. *Were the Affghans to make all these powers hostile, and to receive no protection against the enmity raised for their adhering to the British? As for Peshawur being withheld from the Ameer, it might be got over. . . . .*"

To which Captain Burnes could only reply by an assurance that we did "most sincerely sympathize with his brother and all the Affghans," and by repeating that he had promised all which he had authority to promise. We are not surprised that the Nawab "took his leave, telling me that he hoped for the best, but that he, too, was disappointed."

Again, in a conversation with Dost Mahomed himself, reported in the despatch of March 25th, after Captain Burnes has stated that the British Government "had no desire to guide him, and that if he did not approve of its offers, he need not accept them," expressions curiously contrasted with its subsequent conduct, Dost Mahomed at once replied—"I do not see what you are aiming at. I am either kept in the dark, or misled. Never was there such excitement in this land; the Persians are before Herat, openly aided by Russia; that power has sent an agent here, and your Government have deputed you. I wish no countenance but that of the English, and you refuse all pledges and promises, and mean, I presume, as you are people of your word, to do nothing for me." To which Captain Burnes, as we find, replied, by referring him "to Sinde as an instance of the value of a British connexion;" words upon which a melancholy comment is furnished by the last intelligence from India.

We find this same point, of protection from Persia, urged in the last letter from Dost Mahomed to Lord Auckland. "When the Shah of Persia came to take Herat, which, along with the country of Candahar, is the abode of the Affghans, I asked Captain Burnes to point out the remedy against the Persians, since the English are noted for sympathizing with the Affghans."

Noted for sympathizing, indeed! it will be long before the English cease to be *noted* for the manner in which they have shown this sympathizing—long before the Affghans forget the nature of the sympathy which has been shown to them.

Dost Mahomed afterwards says, "It is now eight months since Captain Burnes came into this country, and about five months since the Persians have besieged Herat; the expectations of the country of Peshawur being restored, or Candahar protected against the Persians, which were entertained for a long time, are gone now from the hearts of the Affghans. . . . . If the restoration of Peshawur required a longer time, there was no harm in saying so; but it was necessary that Captain Burnes should give pecuniary assistance, that we might be able to protect Herat, and, if unsuccessful, certainly to save Candahar

Digitized by Google

from the Persians. Captain Burnes gave us no assurance on the above-mentioned subjects; perhaps he has no power to do so."

It may perhaps be said that this fear of Persia was merely colourable—a mere pretext for that "ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote views of conquest and aggrandizement," which Lord Auckland's proclamation denounces with such righteous reprehension. It might be sufficient to reply that the fear is often and earnestly expressed, and is in itself highly probable. We find, too, an evidence of sincerity in the perfectly natural manner in which this point is urged, with a varying earnestness corresponding to the completion of the news from Herat.

When the prospects of the besiegers are adverse, it is brought forward more carelessly, and withdrawn on the British envoy's referring as a sufficient answer to the late intelligence; when the reduction of the besieged is expected, it is dwelt upon with the earnestness of real and pressing alarm. At the time of the termination of Burnes's mission, we know that news of its capture was almost daily expected; and we can show from his own words, that he believed the chiefs to be perfectly sincere in the fear that they expressed, and that this, and not the restoration of Peshawur, was the point which immediately led to his departure from Cabool, and to the failure of the negotiation he was instructed to conduct. We first give a passage, which actually appears in the papers presented to Parliament, and which, if nothing more had appeared, would have been sufficient to establish the utter defiance of justice shown by the Indian government in this matter. It occurs in the commencement of the despatch of the 25th April, already referred to. "The immediate cause of such a step" (that is, his quitting Cabool) "being necessary, is the arrival of Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan from Candahar, and the demands in consequence made by him, in which he has been joined by the Ameer, for a direct promise of protection from Persia, should Herat fall, of which there is no doubt now entertained by the authorities here."

This is enough; but yet more direct and strong is his language in a private letter written immediately after his retirement from Cabool, in which, after referring to the failure of his mission, he hints that possibly he may be now ordered to lead the ex-king against the Barukzyes. "This last I will not do (would that he had kept this resolution!) The Barukzyes consigned themselves to us, and merely asked for Persia to be warned off, and we would not do it!—fear, not will, therefore, made them desert us!"—*Bombay Times*, August, 1842.

In the letter of Dost Mahomed to Lord Auckland, to which we have referred, as well as in other parts of this correspondence, the feeling is expressed with a kind of affecting simplicity, that he could not understand the English; that they required much

Digitized by Google

and promised little; that they seemed to attach little value to his friendship, at the same time that they demanded it; that they called on him to sacrifice the good-will of others without the return of their protection. And such, in fact, seems to have been their feeling. They were willing to grant him the honour of becoming their tool, if he on his part was willing to become so; but they would not pledge themselves that he might not be broken in the process. They left him to choose between —their *sympathy* coupled with a danger from which they would not engage to protect him—and offers of the most tempting kind presented at the sword's point by a powerful enemy. Because he chose the latter, they made war upon him. Expressions of indignation would be wasted upon conduct of which the mere recital is so damning.

The case would be incomplete if we did not add that the Indian government, consistent with its policy of mystery and insincerity—its systematic attempt to bind the Affghans by pledges while refusing to bind ourselves—never appears to have fairly laid before Dost Mahomed the peril he might incur by refusing compliance with its demands. The envoy, as instructed, spoke vaguely of our friendship, referring him as above to Sinde for an instance of the advantage of British connexion—and mysteriously of the loss of our friendship—expressed his wishes as a personal friend, that Dost Mahomed would see that a connexion with the British would be of advantage—his hope that the Ameer might never see cause to repent of the course he had pursued—but that was all. As he never definitively promised, so he never definitively threatened.

He never laid—his employers had not instructed him to lay—before the Affghan chief the tremendous alternative of alliance or war with the greatest power within his knowledge, which the rejection of his proposals involved.

What the answer to such an alternative would have been may be questioned. Dost Mahomed could not know, what the British government apparently had not yet brought themselves to determine, that this was, in fact, the alternative presented to his choice. A vague fear of possible danger seems occasionally to have been excited in his mind, and repressed by the natural thought that he had done nothing which could justly expose him to the hostility of the British. "The Affghans have done nothing wrong, that other governments should blame them; nor have they received any injury from the English."

We have seen in the despatch of the 24th of March, the envoy disclaiming on the part of the Government any intention to "guide" the Ameer. A letter, addressed by him to Dost Mahomed, on April 24th, immediately before his departure for Cabool, after speaking of the views of the British government towards the Affghan nation, as full of *friendship and disinterest-*

Digitized by Google

edness, proceeds to refer in these terms to the alternative presented to Dost Mahomed:—"If the Ameer receive the good offices of any power to the West, he need not complain"—of what? of having his country invaded, his followers slaughtered, himself deposed by a British army? No— "of being refused those of the British Government in his difficulties hereafter,"—and, shortly after, follows this sentence: "The Ameer will observe that he has the perfect exercise of his discretion, and that if he considers the Governor-general's views at variance with his interests, he is the best judge."

If these words are not,—what the character of the writer, and his feelings towards Dost Mahomed, forbid our considering them,—a mere piece of deceitful irony, they have no other meaning than this:—We have offered you a close connexion with us; you are not satisfied with the terms of our offer, and you reject it; you are the best judge of your own interests, but you may, perhaps, hereafter regret having done so, when the time comes at which our aid might have been useful; having rejected our offer, you cannot complain if we refuse to help you in your difficulties. We are as we were before; bound to each other by no relation of peculiar friendship.

On this head we cannot help referring to Lord Auckland's last letter to Dost Mahomed, which the reader will find at page 44 of No. V. of the Parliamentary Papers. It conveys no threat; it says nothing of possible measures which may hereafter be found requisite to our security; it utters no whispers of war; it begins with courteous regret upon the failure of attempted "mediation for the settlement of the unhappy differences existing" between Dost Mahomed and Runjeet Singh; and ends with a deserved acknowledgment of the attention and kindness shown to Captain Burnes and the other British officers. Think of what followed upon this. This was the last direct communication from Lord Auckland to Dost Mahomed; the next was indirect—the proclamation of Simla. Conduct for which such a letter was a fitting return, was afterwards held to justify the Affghan war. We need not press this further. To have denounced war as the alternative of Dost Mahomed's acceptance of the terms offered, would, in our judgment, have been an act of unprincipled violence, but still open and bold. The Affghan chief could not have accused us of misleading him; the state of the case would have been before him, and (whatever his feelings towards us might have been) his estimation of our power might probably have induced him to accept our terms. But, standing as it does, we designate the act as one of perfidious violence. It reduces the British Government below the comparative honesty and humanity of the highwayman, who at least presents his victim with the alternative of "Your money, or your life."

The letter from Dost Mahomed to Lord Auckland, before

Digitized by Google

noticed, may be considered as expressing the feelings with which that chief, on his part, viewed the termination of the negotiations. Its style is pathetic and earnest: it refers to the hopes which the mission of Captain Burnes had excited, and to the failure of those hopes, in a tone certainly of disappointment, but of anything rather than hostility; and its conclusion seems to point at a hope that the British Government may yet see fit to befriend him. Its last words are striking: "*What is worthy of the good name of the British Government, it, I hope, will come to pass in future;*" words, simple in the meaning with which they were used, but which now seem to have been suggested to Dost Mahomed by the bitter irony of Fate; like the careless, but fateful, sayings which the Greeks believed to be prompted by an approaching Nemesis. What, one naturally asks, must have afterwards been the half-taught, yet clear-sighted and high-spirited, Mahometan's opinion of the men with whom he had been dealing? of these rulers of India, these Englishmen, these Christians? who approached him with proffers of advantage, with professions of *disinterested* friendship and sympathy? who raised large hopes by vague generalities, which they would not fulfil in any particular; who expected of him entire adhesion to their plans, yet would not pledge themselves to protect him against the possible consequences of such adhesion; finally, who, parting with him on terms of courtesy, returned with twenty thousand bayonets to set their puppet in his place, and bear down the "factious opposition" of the people they had so often professed their wish to befriend!

The Indian Government, however, were apparently well satisfied with their own conduct towards Dost Mahomed; they wiped their mouth, and said they had done no evil. There is a curious and really edifying paper addressed, in August, 1838, by Lord Auckland to the Secret Committee, announcing the conclusion of the treaty with Runjeet Singh for the restoration of Shah Soojah. Parts of it, indeed, read like the high tone of a man attempting to persuade himself out of a suspicion that he has done wrong; but there is one portion peculiarly worthy of notice. After talking confidently "of the justice of assisting to his throne the *lawful* sovereign of Affghanistan," (as if that were any concern of ours)—after giving in words, part of which were afterwards borrowed by the Proclamation of Simla, the reasons which we have already examined for deposing Dost Mahomed and his brothers—their identifying themselves with "schemes of aggrandizement and conquest," and the hostility of Dost Mahomed to our old ally, Runjeet Singh, (the "unprovoked attack" of the Proclamation,) Lord Auckland proceeds as follows:—

"Still it must be admitted, that in one respect the conduct of the Barukzye chiefs is not without some colour of excuse; and, though a spirit of

Digitized by Google

ambition was, unquestionably, the governing motive of Dost Mahomed's conduct, yet he and his Candahar brothers may not have been without apprehension of the displeasure of the powers to the westward, in the event of their holding back from the Persian alliance."

So there was some excuse; and Lord Auckland himself admits that the fear of consequences, against which he directly refused to guarantee the Affghan chieftains, was really felt by them; that they were in earnest, and spoke the truth, when they spoke of their apprehensions from Persia. We take this admission for what it is worth—that is, for a complete unanswerable establishment of the point for which we have been above contending—that we would not secure them against a danger which we visited them with war for not disregarding. But we are yet more anxious to draw attention to the continuation of the paragraph:—

"It is my intention, therefore, when our preparations are sufficiently matured, to tender to Dost Mahomed Khan an honourable asylum in the Company's territories."

Noble and generous enemy! It was actually your intention not to give up the head of an independent state, the courteous host of English emissaries, the brave man who held by the consent of his countrymen the highest place amongst them; who had repelled, by their aid alone, the rival whom you were about to restore with a foreign army,—not to give him up, though subdued, to the mercies of an implacable enemy, but to offer him,—never the enemy of the British Government, till it made him so by attacking him,—an honourable asylum in the British dominions! We do not wish to be mistaken. Lord Auckland, if wrong in every other particular of his conduct, was right in this; but it was the least he could do, and not, as he seems to have thought, the most; and we cannot wonder if Dost Mahomed received the offer of an asylum, coupled with the announcement of his own deposition, without any transporting gratitude.

We may here terminate our remarks on the originating causes, as far as we have been able to discover them, of this unjust war. We have not thought it necessary to waste argument upon the talk, put forward in full consciousness of its ineptitude, with the mere view of raising a mist to obscure the real nature of the transaction, respecting the lawful sovereignty of Shah Soojah and the usurpation of Dost Mahomed. In that sense, the Great Mogul is the lawful sovereign of India, and the King of Sardinia, or somebody else, we forget at present who, of the British empire,—and the rule of the English in India, and Queen Victoria in England, is an usurped dominion. Neither is it requisite to enter into a comparison of the moral character of the ruler, whose friendship we had rejected, and the king whose allegiance to our cause we were content to purchase at so dear a cost; and as it seems, purchased insecurely.

Digitized by Google

Whether Shah Soojah was only weak, as some of his friends allowed, or, as his enemies stated, weak, perfidious, and cruel: whether Dost Mahomed was the brave, just, and able ruler which he appeared to most of the European travellers in Affghanistan, and which many even of those Affghans who, on our advance into the country, under apprehension of a power which they thought it useless to resist, left his cause for that of Shah Soojah, proclaimed him to be: all this is beside the question we have had to consider. That question was, whether the Affghan chiefs had merited at our hands the infliction of an aggressive war. We have also avoided mixing up the question of the necessity and justice of the war, with its conduct and our subsequent misfortunes. This view, and the consequent tendency to make Lord Auckland's original policy answerable for the disasters which followed upon it, is not uncommon. It is earnestly argued against by the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, from whom we have quoted some passages; and we agree with him that it is unjust and misleading. We may indeed measure, in some uncertain degree, the oppression we exercised, by the exasperated reaction it provoked: but this is all, and applies perhaps more to our subsequent conduct than to the justice of the original quarrel. If any one into whose hands these pages may fall, should be conscious of sharing the feeling we have noticed above—of doubting the justice of our conduct only when our losses began to make the policy look questionable—we would remind him that this is but to repudiate iniquity when its wages fail us; that, in the history of the world, injustice has often been perfectly successful; and that the injustice of our attack would be what it is to-day, had we still our foot upon the neck of our enemy.

The crime, if a crime has been committed, is one of which the responsibility is shared by every Englishman. It is no new thing to say that a nation, and especially a free nation, is generally accountable for the conduct of its government. But with respect to such transactions as the Affghan war, the English people has a more direct and heavier responsibility. Our position, as rulers of India, not only places in our hands the destinies of our hundred million subjects, but makes us to the greater half of mankind the representatives of Christendom and European civilization. We may teach them to identify the idea of an European with wisdom, mercy, and justice, or with the fearful intelligence and strength, guided by the disposition of a demon. What Asia shall be, a hundred years hence, lies in our hands.

Yet this responsibility is slightly felt, is sparingly acknowledged. It is confessedly difficult to excite interest upon Indian or Asiatic topics, whether in Parliament or elsewhere. Many a worthy friend of civil liberty, who follows up with virtuous indignation the case of a drunken man unjustly knocked down

Digitized by Google

in the next street by a policeman, cares little whether it is with justice or injustice that we have slain our tens of thousands in Asia. Many a subscriber to Bible Societies, many a zealot in the cause of converting the heathen, hears with coldness, and considers with indifference, the recital of actions which may turn the hearts of countless millions against the very name of Christianity. This indifference is the cause, but it is in part also the consequence, of ignorance, and of ignorance which is to a great extent unavoidable. The distance, the pressure of nearer and more familiar interests, the real difficulty of understanding any particular topic, without more general information on the subject than is possessed by most men, render its entire removal impossible. But it is possible, and most desirable, to obviate its worst effects. In proportion as the conductors of our foreign relations, and especially the rulers of our Asiatic empire, are necessarily trusted with a greater amount of unlimited power, frequently exercised beyond the sphere of the knowledge of their countrymen, and quite removed from the daily check of their opinion, it becomes more and all important that they should act under the fullest conviction that the use, or abuse, of this power is not a subject to which their countrymen are indifferent—that the responsibility transferred by the nation to them, is in no degree diminished by the transfer—that they are trusted only as a man ignorant of law trusts his agent, to a certain end, in which he is nevertheless deeply interested—and that the power with which they are entrusted is used in violation of the purpose of the trust, if used unjustly. If the country cares little for all this, its representatives abroad will share in its feelings. If the country feels fully the criminality of an unjust war, and is deeply and sincerely anxious that its power shall be used in the furtherance of good, means are not wanting to impress a similar feeling on the delegates of its power; the men whose words, often without its previous consent, set in motion its distant armies.

That the nation felt thus, would by no means interfere with that enlarged and liberal confidence which, under certain limitations, it is both right and expedient it should repose in its servants. It would not for any idle cause, or vague rumour, question the conduct of those whom it had thought right to confide in. But, if on any occasion there should appear strong grounds for believing that injustice had been perpetrated, it would not rest satisfied without some certainty on such a subject; it would not acquiesce, as it has lately acquiesced, in a mere vague suspicion. Honest Tories would not be contented with believing that the late Government had done something more wrong than usual in Affghanistan, from the consequences of which Sir Robert Peel had perhaps too generously sheltered them. Honest Whigs would not be quite easy under the thought,

Digitized by Google

that the Affghanistan war was an awkward business, about which the less that was said the better. In short, Mr. Roebuck's motion would have been conceded, or if refused, refused on very different grounds from those assigned by its opponents, and in particular by the Premier. He would not on an occasion so grave as a motion for inquiry, whether the power of England had been used cruelly and unjustly, have begun by resorting to the very Parliamentary, but rather worn-out jest, of proving out of Hansard the inconsistency of an individual member. Neither would he have rested his refusal of the motion on a long list of inconvenient inquiries which might arise from granting this one; a precedent, as it would prove, for digging up ten years of buried diplomacy.

"'Twill be recorded for a precedent."

Sir Robert Peel is a brave man; but there is one thing which Sir Robert Peel seems to contemplate with panic terror—an inconvenient precedent. He has less fear of a pistol than a precedent. "If this inquiry is granted, we shall be called upon to grant a dozen others, and shall not be able to refuse with such a precedent before us."

Need we state the obvious answer? If this inquiry be applied for on sufficient grounds, grant it—it is your duty to do so. If other inquiries be applied for on equally sufficient grounds, grant them; if on insufficient grounds, refuse them; you will have established no precedent against doing so; you will only have established a precedent applicable to all cases, though inconvenient in some, of acting rightly and justly.

Neither would he have thought it an answer to say, that the time for inquiry was gone by; that the affair, which might have been a very bad one, and indeed of which he had uniformly disapproved, ought to have been censured formerly, if at any time; but that all had been ready to acquiesce in it then, and made themselves parties to the transaction. "Let bygones be bygones" is a good and true saying, as between the wronged and the wronger, not as between the judge and the offender. It might, indeed, have been true that all were in fault, though not all equally; and we have sufficiently shown our opinion that all were so; but this, whatever bearing it might have upon the retribution due to individuals, strengthens, rather than diminishes, the reason for national retrospect and inquiry.

To say that these reasons appear to us frivolous, is to say that they are not, in our opinion, the grounds upon which Sir Robert Peel really acted. The actual reasons for the course which Sir Robert Peel adopted may be guessed; and they were not frivolous, but strong. He knew, that to grant the inquiry demanded would expose him to the charge of vindictive partisanship; of an ungenerous use of his power as a minister to the

Digitized by Google

injury and disgrace of his former rivals; of having made the pretended interest of the public a screen to the gratification of private animosity. He knew that this charge would be made by all the other side, and believed by many of his own; that the large proportion of all parties to whom politics are a game would regard this as an unfair move; that it would embitter against him an hundred for one whom it conciliated; that it would change political opponents into personal enemies. It would have become a question of passionate interest; it would have thrown the country into agitation; it would have interfered with the progress of other and important business: it would have disturbed many minds sincerely intent upon discovering, if possible, a remedy for the existing distress, and fixed them for the time on the events of some years back, and the doubtful report of a committee. All statesmen would have felt the weight of these reasons, but some would have placed in the opposite scale the benefit of a solemn renouncement and reproval of injustice, and have thought that it overweighed them all.

Inquiry, however,—the inquiry which the voice of the country might have compelled—has been refused, and will certainly not now be granted. The public indifference, the parliamentary carelessness, about a question which never yet turned an election, threw away an occasion of demonstrating that England required from the trustees of her power justice in their dealings with weaker nations. It seems the more desirable that all who have formed a decided opinion on the case as it lies before them, should express it; not only for the duty of doing so, but for the chance that the collective opinions of individuals may ultimately produce some fraction of the effect which might better have arisen from a national judgment; as at some place of crime, unmarked by any solemn and public memorial, every passer-by contributes to heap up an expiatory monument of abhorrence, at once a protest and a record. We have added our stone to the cairn.

The length to which these remarks have extended, makes it impossible for us to include in our present number, any notice of the subsequent course of the war, of its strange and romantic character, its brilliant exhibitions of courage on both sides, its terrible and overwhelming disasters, its eventful and singular conclusion. These, with some of the works which have appeared on the subject, we hope to be able to notice in our next number.*

---

* In a part of our impression of this article, the reader is requested to make the following corrections:—

Page 606, line 11, *for* it is true, it, *read* it is true. It
— 606, — 4 from bottom, *for* Hamram *read* Kamram
— 610, — 29, *for* have, *read* leave
— 616, — 6 from bottom, *for* Russian, *read* Persian

We must also mention that the first part of the paragraph in p. 615, printed in small type as an extract, belongs, down to the sentence beginning "Runjeet Singh," &c., to the body of the article.

Digitized by Google

Life of Bishop Bedell. Republication by Monk Mason.

THE reprint of such a work as this in Ireland naturally directs our attention to the present state of that country, as regards the religious prospects of the Romish part of its population, among whom our good Bishop Bedell laboured and suffered so much, and about whom, we, at the present day, hear so many various accounts, so many indeed, and so various, that it is anything but easy for a plain man to find his way through them to truth;—and, as we fear an additional account from ourselves (if at all professing historical accuracy), might vary so considerably from those already current, as only to increase uncertainty in minds unprepared to receive it, we have decided, that, for the present, it is more desirable to confine ourselves to some few general remarks on the subject.

Interesting as Ireland is, and always has been, there can be little doubt, we think, that, now-a-days, some of the chief, if not the chief, points of interest connected with it, are the religious and social state of its Romish inhabitants, the aspect of our Church towards them, their aspect towards us, and the means either already undertaken, or yet to be undertaken, for re-bringing both to their proper level. These are points of deep and anxious interest, in fact they are the very turning points of Ireland's welfare, for upon them depends the advance of all sound principles, the increase of all healthy practice,—upon them depends the completion, as only it ought to be completed, of the blessed work of reformation, as opposed to, and distinct from, the progress of religious division and dissent; for the reformation, which either starts from, or ends in such consequences, or the principles which involve them, is no blessing to a country, but the reverse, endangering as it does the very foundations of all that should be most fixed and lasting.

As anxious also as are these considerations, so difficult is it to know how to deal with them; that is, supposing Romish dissenters to be in a state to receive instruction from the Irish Church, how is that Church to give it to them; how is it to engage in the most difficult of all work, the work of conversion? for that such should be the avowed object of the Irish Church no one can deny who understands the impossibility of persons differing on questions of vital importance, and yet suffering no harm from such difference—no one can deny it who acknowledges the blessing of a pure and apostolic creed, and who, moreover, will not admit that the Irish Church has forfeited one fraction of her ancient rights—no one can deny it, who has taken the solemn vows, by which, at ordination, the clergy have bound themselves to endeavour the banishment of all "error in religion;" and, if so, the question is not so much, How are the Irish clergy to assert that such is their object? but rather, how

Digitized by Google

are they to act out their assertion, and so discharge the important duty belonging to their first commission, the duty of preaching the Gospel to every creature: in a word, how are they with boldness and prudence to undertake and carry on the work of *proselytism.*

This is a declaration which may astonish some who are in the habit of indulging sickly notions of liberality and honour; persons who value the seeming preservation of an unsound peace more than the real advancement of Christian truth; persons who apply principles of worldly policy to a subject where they are wholly out of place. But it ought not to astonish any person who appreciates the one and undivided nature of Divine truth, and the important connexion which exists between that undivided truth and the best and most lasting interests of mankind. It ought not to astonish those who believe, that the principle of true religion is a social principle, and not an individualising one; a principle connatural with the most generous and human feelings we possess, and intended to cultivate and mature them. In addition to which, let it be observed, that no man can be honestly and deeply persuaded of the truth and importance of the religion he belongs to, without seeking to advance that religion, and so, as he conceives, "set forward the salvation of all men"—for when a man does not so regard his religion, he must, as a matter of course, be more or less tolerant of all religions, that is, he must think it a matter of indifference to what religion men belong; he must think that there is some high philosophical ground, in which all kindreds and tongues may take their stand, for the time forget their differences,—a ground which, be it remembered, distinctly recognises their differences, and unites not in their destruction, but in their acknowledgment; which, of course, is *infidelity* in one of its most subtle and insidious forms—an infidelity which leaves us the empty husk of religion as a substitute for the kernel it has abstracted.

But, notwithstanding that it is the duty of the Irish Church, (as well as of all other branches of the Church Catholic) to be openly, what it is in reality, an avowed and bold proselytiser of the people; still there is need of great caution and prudence, in order that it may be able to confer true and substantial benefits on those outside its fold, who belong to the Romish and other dissenting bodies, and not such as are chiefly, if not only, seeming and superficial; that is, the efforts of the Irish Church to instruct such dissenters, must be definite, and under the control of proper authority, not indefinite and desultory, and, moreover, they must be influenced by those prudential considerations which, in particular cases, may lawfully act as *conditions* of truth. When we say that the labours of the Irish Clergy must be definite, what we mean is, that they must be proved according to a certain fixed form; and when we say that they must not be desultory, but

Digitized by Google

under authority, we mean that individuals, *as such*, are not the proper persons to fix that certain form; and, when we say that the influence of prudential considerations must be permitted to limit the proclamation of truth, we mean that men are not always to be carrying on the assault, without ever thinking of what is the proper time and place; for such conduct would most probably result in the very worst consequences, as thus, many might receive a first bias against truth, which it is so difficult to change into a second bias for it.

The great thing, then, for Irish churchmen to avoid, when labouring among Romish dissenters, is that vague and, too often, angry combination of negatives with which the Romish body in Ireland has been sometimes assailed; and which seems merely to evidence a desire to break off members from that body, without caring much what other body they become united to, *provided only* it be a body of negatives likewise, a body which denies Popery, but asserts anything else in the world, which by the most ingenious system of interpretation can be called Christianity. Does it not, however, seem that such a method of proceeding is not only unkind, but illogical and absurd? for, surely, nothing can be more unkind to any responsible moral being, than to refuse to distinguish between the truth and error which coexist in his mind, and so at the same moment blindly attack both; and if such attacks do produce any effect, must they not issue in a total abandonment of both truth and error; must not the unhappy victim of such a system be driven, naked and unarmed, into the middle of a thousand contending parties, each anxious to secure him to itself? Many people, however, do not think of the consequences; all they place before their minds is *disunion* with Rome. We do not say that in every case they are satisfied to obtain this on any terms, though we think they too often are; but we do say, that, generally speaking, it is the *one* proposed *end* of all their labours, and, provided it be gained, provided they succeed in disuniting from Rome, they do not much think of what men ought to be united to. We said, also, that this system was illogical and absurd, and so it is; for ought we not, in the first place, to examine how far we agree? instead of commencing, as a system of negatives does, with differences, must we not get some common ground to stand on? and if we do not, is not all our labour mere beating the air? and is it not absurd, and worse than absurd, to tell a man, that his faith is an unmixed mass of superstition and error, when it may be that some holy truths are living and growing in his heart, which he knows to be there; associated, indeed, with error by *him*, confounded with it by *us*, but most carefully to be distinguished from it by *every one*, who understands how possible it is to dislodge *both*,* when we think we are only attacking *one*, and how

* Lest when thou root up the tares, thou root up the wheat also.

Digitized by Google

almost impossible it is ever to restore the truth thus dislodged? For, be it ever remembered, there is no disposition in the human mind for error, *as such*; it brings always some show of truth, which captivates and deceives,—some present good which hides some distant evil; and on this account, no man's faith, as it exists not in his *creed*, but in his *heart*, can ever be entirely erroneous.

Perhaps some may imagine, that, because we thus openly speak of the Irish Church as a proselytising, or missionary Church, it is therefore impossible for us to weigh well the momentous nature of the change which conversion to it from Rome involves. But we are disposed to believe, that the very persons who most strongly assert the duty of the Irish Church, in this respect, are the very persons who most anxiously consider the importance of that duty; for it is, in a great measure, because they do so consider its importance, that they make such an assertion, and which, therefore, excludes all interference in such a delicate and solemn business, except from those to whom the Almighty has given means whereby to make that interference a blessing. And most truly do we call it a solemn and delicate business; for what else can we call a change of religion,—a change which must give a shock, greater or less, to all a man's old associations, and to his moral being—placing the subject of it, as it does, in an attitude of opposition and judgment towards many things which before he loved and reverenced? It is, indeed, such a change, that the whole course of a man's after life depends upon the manner in which he makes it; and it is only by the greatest watchfulness and care, that any, under God's blessing, can be brought safe through it, with all those moral feelings and associations undamaged, which make up the very thread of our existence, and preserve us in perpetual remembrance of our responsibility as accountable beings. What advantage is it to any person who is, perhaps, blindly or superstitiously deferential to authority, if you do away with that blind and superstitious deference only by doing away with all deference? What blessing is it to ease a person of *disproportionate* reverence for some sacred things, by leading him to reverence *none*? Is prayer to saints and angels to be done away, by excluding the invisible world of spirits from our thoughts altogether, and by teaching people to pray seldom to God? Is the *servile* bondage of private judgment only to give place to its absolute tyranny? Surely not. And it is because we may justly fear such results from any vague or desultory attack upon Romanism in Ireland, that we consider the Irish Church should be proclaimed in her rightful character, as a missionary or proselytising Church. Is it not the case, also, that the Irish Church possesses many advantages, both as connected with the national character of the Irish people, and as belonging to the mere *history* of its theology, which must greatly facilitate all its missionary labours,

Digitized by Google

and enable it to take its *hereditary* place, and assert its dominion over the length and breadth of the land, so as to deny with authority those misstatements of *facts*, upon which, in Ireland, Rome rests pretended claims? for, although along with Rome, we maintain the *principle* of spiritual authority in opposition to her; we deny the *fact*, that in Ireland her's is that authority.

We said that the Irish Church had much to encourage it, in its labours to extend Catholic truth through Ireland, as regards the national character of the people: and so it has; for we hesitate not to assert, that there are few people who more pre-eminently possess the elements of a truly noble, and a truly religious, character, than the Irish people. We find in their character (not as perverted by political partisans, but in its unspoiled state) great respect for authority, both civil and ecclesiastical: so great, indeed, that it is recorded of them, that there were no martyrdoms in Ireland previous to the English invasion in Henry the Second's reign; and this singular fact is accounted for by historians, from the great respect which the Irish always entertained for religious characters, to obey being one of the principles of their nature, in religious matters especially, where they seem to act according to a happy and divine instinct, which tells them that religion is exclusively a matter of authority, and not a subject for investigation; for surely the great point to be discovered in religion is, Whom are we to obey? who has God's delegated authority to direct and control us during our probation for a future life? and not merely (as some men seem to think) How far such and such statements of doctrine or opinion may be logically and theologically correct? This last is a formal and unreal method of proceeding, which treats men more as machines than as human creatures—human creatures who have human hearts to be warmed and instructed; and it is only through persons, not through dogmas, that this or any other process can be carried on in the heart. In this respect, then, we find the natural and national disposition of the Irish to be as it ought, and whenever such disposition has been spoiled and perverted, it may, generally, if not always, be traced either to the baneful influence of a false political system, or to an imperfect social state—imperfect we mean, as not having been perfected or sufficiently developed by *law* in its most comprehensive and philosophical sense; for we are fully persuaded, that the unsettled state of Ireland (so far as it may be considered unsettled), does not result from difference on the subject of religion, so much as from these two causes; and nothing can be surer, than that the Romish body in Ireland have as much cause as and more than any other to dread the increase of that unnational and democratic spirit now to a certain extent prevalent. Such a spirit cares not for authorities, whether they be popish or catholic; its one aim is the destruction of all real, all divine authority, that it may bring into its place

Digitized by Google

that phantom of such reality, such divinity, which, in either religion or politics, is infidelity. But the ultra-montane portion of the Romish body in Ireland does not see this danger, or, at least, does not fear it, and they are, therefore, rashly fostering what loyal Romanists cannot approve of—they are fostering in their bosom the viper which may one day poison their life-blood. And, although we cannot profess to desire such an issue, changing, as it would, a bad religion for what is worse still—no religion at all; still there can be no doubt, that, in Ireland, just as in France and elsewhere, such will be the result, unless the Church is enabled to interfere and infuse sound and healthy principles into the national mind, and the one object after which so many are vaguely sighing will be obtained, namely, the abolition of Popery in Ireland.

But, to return to the advantages which we said the Irish Church possessed in the national character of the people. We have said, that they are instinctively respectful to all authority as *such*, and not merely because they acknowledge it to be such; and, in addition to this, we may say further of them, that they possess another great element of true religion, namely, faith; which is exactly what we might expect as the natural consequence of their respect for authority—faith being the proper correlative of authority. It is scarcely necessary, we suppose, to say here, that, when thus speaking of faith, we do not speak of it as a theological virtue, or as connected with the dogmas of any religious system, for national character, in its primitive elements, is distinct from all such associations; it is only the progress of time and civilization which can so overlay it. We speak of faith as that divine and spiritual faculty which is both the cause and effect of deference to authority, and essentially our point of contact with the invisible world of realities, upon which all we see and handle depends for its existence and meaning, regarded in which manner faith is decidedly a part, and an important part, of the Irish character, as we may see exemplified in a thousand different ways; in the way in which they treat poverty; in their ready response to whatever is generous and noble; in their voluntary dependence on circumstances, or more properly speaking, on Providence; in their form of expression, in the very idiom of their language; in their frequent benedictions; we may see it even in their credulity, which has been produced in them by an improper and unauthorised appeal to the faculty of faith; in fact, it would be difficult to influence the Irish people, as they may be influenced, were they not, as I say, a people of faith; and it is the existence of this faculty in them, which makes it so important that, in seeking to instruct them, we should endeavour to place before their minds, as we can, the just claims and position of the Irish Church—claims and position which must be admitted if but fairly represented to them; and not only this, but that we

Digitized by Google

should avoid addressing them in any such rationalistic and purely negative manner, and which supersede the exercise of faith, and so suggest to them a new foundation in religion, and new motives to its practice.

Another important part of the Irish character is reverence for sacred things, which is a disposition naturally produced in them by both their deference and faith; for, as a matter of course, we find them willing to reverence all that proceeds from authority, and not too curious in seeking an explanation of what is above and beyond both reason and sense, and therefore not commensurate with either. And it is on this account that they are not easily staggered by an *apparent* want of proportion between the sign and the thing signified in any religious mystery; but, on the contrary, are content to regard every such positive appointment with respect; and, both in religion and in nature, they are disposed, when looking at things, to look through them, and see by faith the invisible and mysterious substance which upholds and dignifies all: thus it is, therefore, that we see them so reverential in their places of worship, and when engaged in any religious service; reverential, indeed, to so great a degree, as often leads them to travel close upon the opposite extreme, when they thus blindly yield themselves up to the direction of an authority which abuses their confidence. It is remarkable, also, how, in some instances, the undue appeals made to their reverential disposition, have operated to impair the disposition itself; and so render the Irish people indisposed to submit implicitly to their religious teachers, as is now evidenced in many parts of the country, by the people's resistance to the money exactions of those teachers—a species of "reform," (as some call it) on their part, which cannot be attributed to the influence of sound principles, and correct views of Romish misstatements; but is rather, in fact, the result of that unlogical training by which ultra-montanists in Ireland have ever been seeking to damage their natural and national feelings of reverence, which in every healthful state of society ought to bind all men, in obedience to the providential arrangement under which they find themselves placed; for we hesitate not to assert, as a general rule, that in Ireland it is impossible for either ultra-Romanists or ultra-protestants to train men as loyal subjects, or as good Christians; and whenever exceptions to this rule occur, as of course they sometimes do, we may rest satisfied that they are, what we call them, *exceptions;* caused by some happy accident, or individual peculiarity, which counteracts the bad effects of unsound teaching, and so makes men better than their principles, in spite of themselves. We have no desire to boast ourselves as prophets, but, at the same time, we have no hesitation in saying, that, if ever Ireland be cursed by another rebellion, that rebellion will have been brought about by the two influences we have just alluded to; the one straining the reins

Digitized by Google

of authority until they snap, and the other eating out the very vitals of the principle itself.

Here, then, are some of the advantages, connected with the national character of the Irish people, which we said the Irish Church possessed. It has a people susceptible of impressions on the very side they ought to be impressed on—a people endowed by God, in their national character, with the elements of true greatness and true religion. And, although ultra-montane policy has done much to destroy the susceptibility we speak of, and rob the Irish of their national character, by its exaggerated conduct towards them, still it is something to have them as they are, even in their spoiled state; it is something to know that, so far as dispositions are concerned, (apart from any connexion which may exist between those dispositions, and Rome's dogmas as such) we have not to change them, but merely direct them to their proper objects: and instead of endeavouring the entire overthrow of the religious and moral training of such dispositions, (we mean this to be understood independently of the conformity of single acts with creeds, and systems of ethics) we have chiefly, if not only, to get rid of their exaggeration, and wrong bias, that we may then place before them their proper objects; there not being a difference in *kind*, between the education of habits and dispositions (speaking in the abstract) which the Irish Church should seek to give to the members of the Romish schism in Ireland, so much as a difference in *degree*, and *object*. When we say this, however, let it be observed, that we are speaking of education in the most general manner in which it is possible to speak of it, abstracted from the peculiarities of any system of divinity or morals, Romish or protestant; so that in no way can it be construed into a recognition of Rome's teaching, except in those general and catholic outlines, which, however faintly, she still, nevertheless, endeavours to trace round her ministrations; and in this way it is, that any system, no matter what, which cultivates at all, although erroneously, these habits and dispositions upon which, properly cultivated, the very foundations of true religion rest, leaves less to be done in this way; and, therefore, (if anything be done in this way) less to be done in other ways also, than that which adopts other foundations and neglects these; and it is on this account, as well as because the mere reception of truth by any mind is not of so much importance as is the manner in which it is received, that we consider Romanism is to be thanked for the proper *feelings* which she has endeavoured to associate with wrong *facts*; for it is almost impossible to alter the habits and tendencies of a life, whereas the facts to which those habits and tendencies refer may be changed.

Now, to take an illustration of what we mean by this, suppose a Romanist and a Presbyterian to be each converted to the

Digitized by Google

church in Ireland, according to the system in which each has been trained; that is, suppose the truth (we do not use this expression dogmatically) to be presented to the mind of each along the line, by which each had previously learned what they conceived to be truth. Now, in such a case, although it is quite possible that the new creed and practice of each convert may exactly coincide in form, yet, still, we would look with more hope and confidence to the permanence of the truth in the one case than in the other; we would rather trust the endurance of the convert whose reformation had been conducted according to principles of authority, than that of the convert whose reformation had been conducted according to principles of reason—that is, by a syllogistic process. We contend for it, therefore, that, in those parts of Ireland where national characteristics remain, notwithstanding the pernicious policy of ultra-montanism, the Irish Church has much to encourage it in missionary labours, for it has a people capable of receiving and appreciating the kind of education it wants to give them; a people prepared to receive instruction in the very way most conducive to sound and fixed principles; a people willing to acknowledge authority, and disposed to obey it; and, unless this preparation on their part be attended to by those who seek to influence them, we may be quite sure, as we said before, that, if any effect is produced, it will be done by the suggestion of low or secular motives, and must issue in either gross scepticism, or that more refined form of the same thing, which is now so prevalent, under the name of "toleration," and "union on the fundamentals of the Gospel:" these fundamentals having previously undergone such a process of abstraction, as necessarily deprives them of all distinctive character, and so makes them cease to be such.

In addition to these advantages, which we have just noticed the Irish church as possessing in the national character of the people, we said, also, that it possessed other advantages as connected with the history of its theology, which ought to facilitate immensely its missionary labours amongst the Romanists; and we shall now, briefly, allude to a few of these; for it is too common in this country to regard the Irish church as little more than a mere political machine, introduced by England into Ireland for the advance of English interests there, and, in order to ensure the complete conquest of the country; whereas, if the truth were known, the Irish Church has no connexion with England, except that which has been detrimental to itself. It has never received from England, more especially during the reformation, and at present, anything like fair dealing, or fair speaking. If we mention the names of Bedell, Bramhall, Taylor, and Strafford, we have nearly completed the list of England's favours to the Irish church. But, enough of this just now.

Digitized by Google

Independently, then, of the great controversial *fact*, that Rome is merely a pretender and schismatic in Ireland, (a fact for which we have the fullest and most unexceptionable proof, and on which the Irish church should take up its first position, offensive and defensive,) is it not the case, that there are many other historic facts connected with the theology of Ireland, which, if properly advanced, ought to have a decided and most wholesome influence over the minds of Irishmen? As, for example, if Irishmen are unwilling to read the Holy Scriptures as their rule of faith and practice, cannot we teach them what was the practice of their ancestors in this respect? cannot we show them the ancient method of using God's word, in the ancient Irish church? cannot we quote, further, on this point the opinion of some of the early Irish divines? cannot we tell them that Sedulius, "one of the most ancient writers that remaineth of this country," as Ussher says of him, who lived in the latter part of the fifth century, has left this comment upon certain passages in St. Paul's Epistles, "Search the law in which the will of God is contained,"* for "he would be more wise than is meet, who searcheth those things that the law does not speak of?"† In addition to him, also, we may refer them to another eminent Irish divine, Claudius by name, who lived in the early part of the ninth century, and who has left it recorded as his opinion that men "therefore err because they know not the Scriptures: and because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they consequently know not Christ, who is the power of God and the wisdom of God,"‡ and then, for the purpose of enforcing what he had said, quotes the famous canon of Jerom, "This, because it has not authority from the Scriptures, is with the same facility condemned wherewith it is avowed."§ Then, again, cannot we tell Irishmen that it is recorded by Bede of the successors of Columkille, the great saint of their country, that they "observed only those works of piety and chastity, which they would learn in the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings;"‖ and that the same historian says of Bishop Aidan, that "all such as went in his company, whether of the clergy, or of the laity, were tied to exercise themselves, either in the reading of Scriptures, or in the learning of psalms;"¶ and, as Ussher goes on to say in his

* Scrutamini legem, in qua voluntas ejus continetur. *Sedul.* in Ephes. cap. 5.

† Plus vult sapere, qui illa scrutatur quæ lex non dicit. Id. in Rom. cap. 12.

‡ Propterea errant, quia scripturas nesciunt, et quia scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est, Christum, qui est Dei virtus et Dei sapientia. *Claud.* in Matth. lib. iii.

§ Hoc, quia a scripturis non habet authoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. Id.

‖ Tantum ea quæ in propheticis, evangelicis et apostolicis literis discere poterunt, pietatis et castitatis opera diligenter observantes. *Bed.* lib. iii. Hist. Ecclesiast. cap. 4.

¶ In tantum autem vita illius a nostri temporis segnitie distabat; ut omnes qui

Digitized by Google

"Religion professed by the ancient Irish," from which at present we are quoting these testimonies; long before this time, it was the observation which St. Chrysostom made of both these islands, (England and Ireland,) that, "although thou didst go unto the ocean, and those British isles, although thou didst sail to the Euxine sea, although thou didst go unto the southern quarters, thou shouldest hear *all* men, *every*where, discoursing matters out of the *Scripture*, with another voice indeed, but not with another faith, and with a different tongue, but with an accordant judgment."* Surely such facts as these must have weight with the Irish people, if properly presented to them; at least, there is no reason, we know of, why they should disregard the opinions of their most ancient and eminent divines and historians, but, on the contrary, every reason why they should not. Has not, therefore, the Irish Church, in this way, as well as in others, much to assist and strengthen its hands, when enforcing upon Romanists such an important duty as the study of holy Scriptures? continual meditation upon which, St. Patrick † tells us, was held to give special vigour and vegetation to the soul; and, could it fail to impress them with the opposition which exists between the Romish modern system of education in Ireland, and the catholic ancient system in that same country, if we told them that an English king, in olden time, was esteemed "much learned in the scriptures,"‡ in consequence of his having been educated in Ireland; that others were taught in God's word "from the time of their very childhood," and that Columbanus "had the treasures of scripture so laid up in his heart, that within the compass of his youthful years he set forth an elegant exposition of the book of psalms?"§ Is it possible that they could see any resemblance between such a system, and that which leaves God's word outside the school, in which the rising generation of Ireland is being educated, or only introduces into it partial selections from, in a bare historical narration of the facts contained in, that word; as if, in such a way, any Irishman would receive sufficient instruction in what his forefathers

---

cum eo incedebant, sive ad tonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis scripturis, aut psalmis discendis operam dare. Id. ibid. cap. 5.

* Κἂν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπέλθῃς, κἂν πρὸς τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νησούς ἐκείνας, κἂν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πλεύσῃς πόντον, κἂν πρὸς τὰ νότια ἀπέλθῃς μέρη πάντων, ἀκούσῃς πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων, φωνῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ, πίστει δὲ οὐχ' ἑτέρᾳ, καὶ γλώσσῃ μὲν διαφόρῳ, διανοίᾳ δὲ συμφώνῳ. *Chrysost.* in serm. De utilitate lectionis scripturæ, op. tom. iii. page 71.

† Bonis semper moribus delectatur et consentit; et assiduis scripturarum meditationibus et eloquiis animam vegetat. *Patric.* de abusionibus sæculi. cap. 6, de Pudicitia.

‡ Succurrit Egfrido in regnum Alfrid, vir in scripturis doctissimus. *Bed.* lib. 4, hist. cap. 26.

§ Tantum in ejus pectore divinarum thesauri scripturarum conditi tenebantur; ut intra adolescentiæ ætatem detentus, psalmorum librum elimato sermone exponeret. *Ionas.* in Vitâ Columbani, cap. 2.

Digitized by Google

esteemed their chief riches, according to the words of Columbanus:

"Sint tibi divitiæ, divinæ dogmata legis*."

With respect also to the editions of Holy Scripture much used in ancient Irish times, cannot we tell Irishmen, that "the principal authority was still reserved to the original fountains;" and that the divines of the Irish Church, at that period, were in the habit of recommending, in the Old Testament, "the Hebrew verity"† ("usually following the translation, taken out of the Septuagint, instead of the vulgar Latin now used in the Romish Church"), and that, in the New Testament, they often corrected "the vulgar Latin" according to the truth of the Greek copies? Nor did they depart from the traditions of the elder Church, regarding the apocryphal part of the Bible, but ever reserved, as they should, due reverence for the ancient bounds of the canon.

In matters of doctrine, also, is it not the case, that the ancient Irish Church denied all merit to man's works, as Rome is now said to assert it; and that the proper ground of man's acceptance with God was then, as now, truly taught by the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the land; the just distinction and connexion between faith and works being then clearly maintained; and man's want of merit, at the best, so inferred as to leave no room for modern supererogations? With respect, also, to the doctrine of purgatory, surely none but those who are unacquainted with St. Patrick's writings would assert that it is therein contained; inasmuch as it is wholly incompatible with those portions of his teaching which have been handed down to us:‡ and likewise entirely at variance with all the writings of our early Irish divines,§ and the canons of our early Irish synods;‖ nor had prayers for the dead, nor requiem masses then, any connexion whatever with purgatory, as is most evident from Claudius and other eminent Irish writers. On the subject also of the worship of God in Liturgies and the Holy Eucharist, we have the opinion of Sedulius,¶ and others of his time, to show us what was then thought of in any way sharing God's honour with another, either mediately or immediately; and we know that it is generally believed, by those who have examined the point, that the Liturgy introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland was Eastern in its origin, and different from the Romish use, which was not settled there until the year 1171. How unlike,

* Columban. in Monastichis, et in Epistola. ad Hunaldum.

† Hebraicam veritatem. *Sedul.* in Galat. cap. 3, et Hebr. cap. 7.

‡ Patrick, de tribus habitaculis.

§ Sedul. in Rom. cap. 7; Id. in 1 Cor. cap. 3, and Claud. in Galat. cap. 3.

‖ Custodit animam usque dum steterit ante tribunal Christi; cui refert sua prout gesserit propria. Nec archangelus potest ducere ad vitam, usque dum judicaverit eam Dominus; nec Diabolus ad pœnam traducere, nisi Dominus damnaverit eam. *Synod. Hibern.*

¶ Sedul. in Rom. cap. 1; Id. in Rom. cap. 2. Claud. lib. 2, in Matth.

Digitized by Google

also, was the sacrifice in the Eucharist of early Irish times, to the popular Romish belief on that subject at present. How real and mystical was it in its character!—not fanciful and rationalistic. Then indeed Irishmen, "in the use of this sacrament, received the Eucharist in *both* kinds," not being misled by unsound or human distinctions. Then, again, was not confession, as used in the ancient Irish Church, quite a different thing from what it is now in the modern Romish schism?—a Catholic confessional, different from a popish one! inasmuch as the Irish doctors of those times never taught men to believe that they could receive remission of their sins, without bringing forth "fruits meet for repentance."* Early Irish divines,† also asserted the power of the keys in its proper and apostolic sense, and not merely asserted it, but used it, for the deepening of morality and the increase of religion. Nor did they teach in those days that marriage was a sacrament, or that the clergy were obliged to celibacy.‡ At that period, likewise, monastic institutions were amongst the chief means whereby scriptural knowledge was preserved in the land. Monks were not then slothful moralists, or political partisans, but, on the contrary, they were strict,§ devotional,‖ and industrious; given up to the care of the poor, and the instruction of the young; obedient to episcopal authority, and anxious to uphold it; working also with their own hands, that they might have to give to them that needed; so that begging-friars were unknown to the Church for twelve hundred years. And, on the important subject of the foundation of the Church, and its Head, on whom was it built? and who is its chief governor? cannot we adduce the testimony of the ancient doctors of Ireland, to prove how different was their interpretation of the famous passage in St. Matthew's Gospel¶ (chap. 16, v. 18) from that with which Romish commentators have usually perverted it? and cannot we show from the same sources, how scriptural and catholic was the foundation on which they built "the pillar and ground of truth?" If we turn also to the question of the pope's spiritual authority in Ireland in ancient times, (a question, be it observed, independent of that concerning his present authority in the same country,) we have the word of no less a person than St. Bernard as our warrant, when asserting that no Romish legate was sent into Ireland before the twelfth century; nor did any archbishop seek

* Matt. cap. iii. v. 8. † Claud. in Matt. lib. ii.

‡ Quicunque clericus, ab ostiario usque ad sacerdotem, sive tunica visus fuerit, etc. et uxor ejus si non velato capite ambulaverit: pariter a laicis contemnentur, et ab ecclesia separentur. Synod. Patric. Auxil. Isserim.

§ Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est. Columb. Regul. cap. 6.

‖ Claud. lib. ii. in Matt.

¶ Sedul. in Hebr. cap. 11; Id. in Rom. cap. 9; Id. in Ephes. cap. 2; Id. in 1 Cor. cap. 4, and Claud. lib. ii. in Matt.; Id. in Gal. cap. 2; Hymn. in aud. S. Patricii.

Digitized by Google

his pall from Rome before that same time.* These are important *facts*, and, in addition to them, we may ask our Romish priests in Ireland, to tell us what Irish saint was canonized by his holiness before the betrayer of Irish independence, Archbishop Malachius? and cannot we tell them, that the Irish kings and people kept the nomination of their archbishops and bishops in their own hands for many centuries, and were not, as now, dependent on the Pope? † Cannot we tell them that no visitations of the Irish clergy were held in the pope's name, ‡ and that no indulgences were sought from him, for many a long day? that Irish bishops did not, in ancient times, take the resolutions of the Romish court as infallible? § that they maintained a long and obstinate controversy with Rome, concerning the celebration of Easter? that the great cycle of 532 years,‖ and the Romish manner of celebrating Easter, were not introduced into Ireland until some time in the seventh century? that the Northern Irish and Albanian Scotch¶ had little or no respect for the bishop and Church of Rome, and even refused to associate with them? that the power of working miracles was not spoken of in those primitive times as confined to such churches as acknowledged Rome? ** that appeals were made from Ireland, in the middle of the ninth century, to the Patriarch of Constantinople to inquire of "certain ecclesiastical traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter?" from which it appears, as Ussher says, "that the resolution of the Bishop of Constantinople was sought for from thence, as well as the determination of the bishop of Rome, who is now made the only oracle of the world;" and do not we know, likewise,†† that those in Ireland who opposed the Church of Rome in that time were as much esteemed in Christendom as those who agreed with it?—a *fact* somewhat at variance with the modern doctrine on this subject; and was not the prosperity of Ireland so far from being injured by such opposition, that, according to the testimony of Columbanus, it then so "flourished in the vigour of Christian doctrine, that it exceeded the faith of all the neighbouring nations?" ‡‡

Does it not appear, then, that, when supplied with theological *facts* such as these are a sample of, the Irish Church is not unfortified by history, in any attempt she may make to instruct Romanists. But, even supposing the Irish Church did not possess these and other such advantages, is it not the case, that the single fact of the Irish Church having reformed itself in the

---

* Bernard. Vit. Malach.
† Ussher. Relig. Prot. Anct. Irish. ‡ Id.
§ Id.
‖ Id. ¶ Cummian epist. ad. Segenium.
** Ussher. Relig. Prot. Anct. Irish.
†† Colman. apud Bed. lib. iii. cap. 29.
‡‡ Chrysost. tom. viii. pp. 321—6. ‖‖ Bed. Hist. cap. 3, 4, § 17, 26. Ibid. cap. 25.
§§ Gens quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus; tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet. Ion. Vit. Columbani cap. 1.

Digitized by Google

sixteenth century, through its bishops and convocations, and by the authority of a proper representative of the Church itself, is sufficient to convince reflecting men of the true nature of Rome's pretensions to ecclesiastical authority in Ireland? The true Irish succession is still retained in the Irish Church; for, even if it was the case that in England the lines of apostolic succession were faint, or broken, (which they were not,) we know that in Ireland they were definite and strong, binding their Church, ostensibly and firmly, through successive ages, to "the glorious company of the apostles" and their Great Lord and Head. This it is which Rome can never answer but by evading it. The Irish Church broke no faith with antiquity at the time of the Reformation; it despised no authority; it made God's holy Word the *foundation* of its restoration, and Christian antiquity the *guide;* it left heresy, where the ancient Catholic Church left it, outside the first four general councils; and it left orthodoxy where that same Church kept it, inside those same councils; it acknowledged the Bishop of Rome no further than its ancient doctors acknowledged him, and it submitted, as it ought, to the providential and rational authority under which it found itself placed; and, although individuals and politicians may have betrayed it into some blunders, it still remains, what it always was, a true branch of the Catholic Church.

When such a fact, then, as to the hereditary position and authority of the Irish Church is established, does it not get rid of the thousand difficulties which must otherwise meet every attempt to impart religious education to the members of the Romish schism in Ireland? For does it not at once enable the Irish clergy to teach from God's word with authority?—so that, instead of sitting down with their opponents to argue over it, as merely a collection of data from which certain conclusions are to be drawn, and thus immerse themselves in a sea of logic and uncertainty, they may then assume their true, their ancestral, position, and teach, not *dispute*. Men need not have their heads stuffed with barren dogmas, and logical subtilties, when labouring amongst poor Romanists in Ireland. The chief things to be impressed on such persons are, reverence for God's Word, and respect for His commission. They must be treated as human creatures, not as theological machines. They must be carefully, and not flippantly, dealt with. Their affections must be disciplined,—their senses must be redeemed from the bondage which has destroyed them, by contradicting them;—their respect for themselves must be restored to a proper foundation;—their individuality must be asserted, without injuring their social sympathies, that so their ethical system may be made what it should be. They must, in the truest acceptation of the word, be taught to walk by *faith*, and not by *sight;* and we would almost say that *none* of these things can be done by any system which

Digitized by Google

approaches Irish Romanists along the opposite line from that marked out by sound Church principles.

If, therefore, any attempt is to be made by the Irish Church to use, for home-missionary purposes, those historic and national materials which are lying at its own feet, some endeavour must be made to provide means suitable to such an end—means of such a kind as recognise proper authority, and are provided, as far as possible, against the many contingencies to which anything human is exposed. It will not do merely to suggest what might be done, and then leave the doing of it to the *chance* goodness and ability of *individuals*. It will not do to make *hasty* and *superficial* arrangements—to get rid of *long-established* and *solid* grievances. Irish clergymen must labour like men who know the depth and intricacy of the evil they have to contend with, —like men who are working for future ages,—like men who have faith enough to respect difficulties in *principle* more than difficulties in *practice*, and who will not, therefore, so yield to any mere temporary annoyances, as may injure the permanence of their labours. No flippant sorties will overcome their opponents,—no chance shots will intimidate them,—no political tricks will entrap them,—no rhetorical declamations will conquer them. All their efforts, then, must be regular, systematic, united, and based on the soundest and most enduring principles; and they must look chiefly to the ultimate and distant result of their toil, and not to the incidental and near advantages which *may* follow from it—that is, they must not, in any case, permit themselves to be induced to abandon one fraction of principle for the sake of obtaining any probable, or even certain, present influence; but they must be careful to recognize their hereditary and social position in the great march of human generations, and, undismayed or uninfluenced by the peculiarities of the generation in which they find themselves labouring, they must conduct all their efforts on the abstract and catholic grounds, supplied by those great divine and human laws which belong to every age, and the fundamental principles on which they are based.

Such, then, being the case, there can be little difficulty in perceiving that all missionary labours in Ireland, amongst the Romanists, should be entirely subject to the control and guidance of the proper ecclesiastical authority of the country, that such labours may not be so much the bye-play of evil-intentioned, injudicious individuals; but, as it were, the actual and energetic working out of the Church-system itself, by its parochial ministers, *as such*, and also by those other means which must always exist in any vigorous and well-furnished ecclesiastical constitution. For thus it is that sound principles of reform will be deepened among all classes, and the work of reformation be carried on within the Church, as well as without it, and the superior beauty and power of a true specimen of

Digitized by Google

catholicity be produced, to overcome and put to shame the counterfeit. This, we think, is only obvious; for no mere individual efforts of any kind can give any pledge of their being always correct, always fixed; individual efforts chiefly, if not only, regard the attainment of some immediate and showy return, which of course is not the first thing to be thought of in religious matters. They exist but, as it were, for the realization of some quick and abrupt result. Their *chief good* is something sudden and *out of the way*. They live in a constant state of excitability, and, being irresponsible, they are naturally less fastidious, than should be, in the choice of means to attain their end, and, without denying that there is something providential in such an arrangement, clearing the way, as it often does, by its very indiscrimination, for the advance of more cautious and well-balanced movements, still it cannot be that it is ever to be recommended or sanctioned.

May it not be said, therefore, that all efforts to proselytise Romanists in Ireland, although originating with individuals, must be based on the sanction of ecclesiastical authority, and be subject to its entire and free control?—not placed under it in form merely, for the purpose of gaining an argument to meet some objectors, or, in order to make a display of sentiments of deference and respect which do not exist, but really subject to its direction and guidance, and, in a true and enlightened spirit of reverence, acknowledging its authority? We think so much may be fairly assumed, on such a subject, as not merely expedient, but axiomatic; for is not proselytism one of the most difficult parts of religious education, and that part which is encompassed with most dangers? and ought it not, therefore, always to be conducted, mediately or immediately, by and through the authority of that divine commission which the Almighty has given to His Church, for such purposes? To this, also, we may add, what is so obvious that we might almost be excused mentioning it at all,—that if Irish clergymen hope to see their home-missionary labours crowned with even a measure of success, they must, in some way, attempt to use the natural vehicle for instruction, which, in Ireland, and, indeed, everywhere, conveys so surely and persuasively whatever is intrusted to it,—we mean the language of the country; for unless they approach their countrymen with some such recognition of their common nationality,—some such abjuration of foreign oppression, they cannot expect to attract their sympathies, or gain their confidence. Surely they cannot,—surely every effort to save Ireland which neglects this point is vain, superficial, and decidedly opposed to the well-considered judgment of some of her wisest and best friends: to prove which we need not do more than mention the name of *Bedell*. Would that some of the wise measures of that good bishop were now more thought

Digitized by Google

of by the Church he so faithfully served! for, if they were, Ireland might once more raise her drooping eye with hope towards her moral and religious renovation, with all the social and political blessings which must ever accompany such a change. We do not say that such blessings would be obtained in twenty, thirty, or one hundred years; but we say that, sooner or later, they would come, if a sound ecclesiastical system was worked out in the country.

At present, we peculiarly desire to draw attention to some such views as these concerning Ireland, since, apart from them, it is not easy to see how the Irish clergy can endeavour to extend the reformation in Ireland, on sound and deep principles; or in a manner honestly and broadly separated from party feeling, individual or shifting authority, and the prevailing tendencies to low and vulgar expedients. We say this, also, the more earnestly, because of the many dangerous proselytising movements which have hitherto been soliciting notice in Ireland —movements which have been too much given up to the production of immediate results of *any kind*, and which have depended too much on popular tricks and expedients, to allow of our regarding them in any other light than as *irregularities*, permitted by Providence for the time, until men's minds were awakened to deeper and more solemn thoughts. They had their use, it may be, and served their generation; and there can be no doubt that the motives and spirit which originated them were fervent, and, in most instances, pure; but no thinking man ought to seek to push them further than this; for should men attempt to do so, there is great danger lest they themselves change their *real* opinions on the point in question, and so end, by defending as *best*, what they merely began by advising as *expedient*. Many wise and good men *have forced themselves* through this process before now; it is the case of the continental protestants; they *endured* their reformation at first, as the best they *could* have; now, they defend it as the best they *would* have. All men, therefore, should beware how they yield their judgment to the influence of their sympathies for irregular attempts to get rid of deeply-felt grievances, for, we may observe, that there is a providential and judicious arrangement in such cases, which generally leads those who act thus into a blind and obstinate adoption of conclusions the most remote from their professed principles.

There are two classes of objectors in especial, who are likely to dissent from what we have said concerning proselytism in Ireland; we mean those persons, who, on both sides of sound Church principles, are disposed to run into vicious extremes, and act on purely individual or human authority, in opposition to external divine authority, under which every member of a true national branch of the Church catholic finds himself placed

Digitized by Google

by God's providence, and to these we now desire to say a few words, before concluding.

It is but too true, we fear, both here and in Ireland, that there are some members of the Church, to say the least, who, either consciously or unconsciously, differ much on the two sides of latitudinarianism and superstition, from the received and authorized teaching of our Church—that is, there are some who are dissatisfied with their Church because "it goes too far," as they express it; and there are others, who (to use the same phraseology,) are dissatisfied with it, because "it does not go far enough." Now, we are far from attempting to say that it is not perfectly allowable for churchmen to hold, as private theories, on certain points not involving terms of communion, without teaching them dogmatically, opinions which so far differ from the teaching of our Church on these points, as is inseparable from their being further *expansions* of that *same teaching*—expansions, it may be, which were more generally recognised at one period of the Church's history than at another; and at present, without the express sanction of the Church, solely because of its national position, which, there can be no doubt, has in many ways given it an aspect of hostility towards tenets and practices which, most probably, nothing would have induced it to abandon except being forced to take up the offensive against many and grievous errors which had been associated with those tenets and practices —we say we can understand men holding their own opinions on these points, and pursuing various inquiries as to the judgment of our best divines on them, provided they are not contrary to the dogmas of our Church, but merely above and beyond it—a further carrying out of what is found essentially in these dogmas themselves.

In the same manner, also, we can understand men on the opposite side of Church principles—that is the lower side—endeavouring to reconcile with the teaching of their Church, tenets and practices which they never learned from her, but which, nevertheless, from the way in which they may happen to have received them, have been associated with some of the best and most lasting interests of their moral being—tenets and practices, which, most probably, they think our Church would have adopted and authorized, had it not been for some unhappy influence which at the time swayed her councils. We can understand this, we say, always supposing (as in the former case,) that the opinions of these private theorisers do not manifestly go against the plain and express voice of the Church; but are merely such as men may honestly adhere to, without in the least contradicting the directions of the ecclesiastical authority to which they have voluntarily submitted themselves.

In both these ways, then, we are far from attempting to deny any person that freedom of thought and action, which is,

Digitized by Google

perhaps, notwithstanding the blind zeal with which some contend for it, as the chief thing needful for their happiness, one of the most solemn and responsible privileges granted to man. What seems objectionable, in either case of supposed difference from our Church, is, men acting on those differences, in opposition to their Church, and obtruding as dogmatic teaching (and not as deferential investigations, if they are to be made public at all,) what may, for aught we know, from the nature of the case, rest exclusively on the dangerous basis of private fancy or caprice; and it is to such objectors as these that we now desire to offer a few suggestions as to the integrity and beauty of our Church, (so far as she goes,) and, also, as to her efficiency, if properly used, either here or in Ireland, for the banishment of all "error in religion."

Now one class of these supposed objectors, those who are below our Church, those who permit themselves to judge her according to their own preconceived theories on religious matters—those persons only tolerate her because they think they have discovered some ingenious system of interpretation, by which they are enabled to reconcile their own tenets with the spirit, if not the letter, of her formularies; for, in consequence of the long neglect of everything like Church principles in the country, through which many are disposed to regard a great part of the religious system of our Church as having become obsolete, either from voluntary omission on the part of Church authorities themselves, or because of the change which has occurred in the religious and political circumstances of the times; and, also, in consequence of revived religious sympathies having been connected, in most instances, (previous to the last ten years,) with a great deal that is opposed to the Church, and totally diverse from it, in principle; is it not the case, that, hitherto, the serious-minded portion of the community, in both England and Ireland, have been more accustomed to look upon the Church as a *name* than as a *reality?* In fact, has not opposition to its teaching, and a supposed kind of elevation above the formality of its doctrines, been too often considered as the test of what is denominated spiritual and evangelical religion? Men have used our Church, not as a machine instinct with life, and as the only compliment of their natural powers, which can give those powers a proper and wholesome influence, but as a clumsy instrument, formed too much on old precedents to make it generally useful, and, like the steps of a tread-mill, obliged to the observance of a great many hard conditions, which impede man's usefulness, and mortify his self-complacency. As a matter of course, therefore, persons who entertain sentiments such as these, must be incapable of judging as to the merits of any Church system of proselytism; they have their *own* way of doing the thing, which, in their estimation, is a vast improve-

Digitized by Google

ment on the Church way; and, in this way of theirs, we hear them talking a great deal about the importance of putting Holy Scripture into the hands of Romanists, and also about the presentation of certain abstruse doctrines to their minds; the only accompaniment with which they think it necessary to encumber the presentation of such doctrines, being a strong and indiscriminate censure of everything which they call Popery.

Then, again, as to the other class of supposed objectors which we noticed—those who are rather disposed to outstep Church principles—it will be generally found, we believe, that these persons are in the habit of looking at our Church and her formularies from quite a different point of view, so that they are induced, both by predilection, and likewise by the influence of associations, originated and strengthened in other ways, to give a far more generous and catholic interpretation to these formularies, than *perhaps* they were *intended* by our Reformers to possess. So far are they from thinking that an ecclesiastical system is an hindrance to those who wish to reform, that they cannot understand men dispensing with it; except when they intend destruction, not reformation. And, in addition to this, they see so many imperfections in the *practical* working of their own Church, and so much which requires correction, that it appears to them but a poor proof of charity, when any endeavour is made to reform others which has not for its first step a reform of ourselves,—a sentiment by no means devoid of truth. And, therefore, when such men are asked to sympathize with the Irish Church, in its labours among the members of the Romish schism in Ireland, it is quite possible but they may hold back, as not being quite sure whether the Irish Church is in a position to do anything except mourn over what she has lost, either through her own fault, or by the harsh treatment of politicians. Now, if there be persons who belong to either of these classes of supposed objectors, we would desire to suggest to them the following considerations:—

To the first class of supposed objectors, we would say, what in substance we have said before, How is it possible for any person to ensure the continuance of his own orthodoxy and usefulness, no matter how energetic and sincere he may be, unless his creed and practice are strictly and honestly connected with the sanctions and direction of a definite external authority? Are not these things, likewise, (which some allow themselves to speak of as hard and impolitic conditions,) are not they not merely wholesome and necessary conditions, in an expedient point of view, but the very *sine qua nons*, without which every attempt at religious education is a mere nullity, or worse? And, although churchmen will be found to be the last people in the world to deny the supreme importance of Holy Scripture in any educational system, and the value and need, in

Digitized by Google

the same way, of certain vital doctrines, (such as may be termed the fundamentals of Church communion,) yet still it remains to be asked, how best these Scriptures, and these doctrines, are to be presented to any mind, or used in any system, which professes for its object sound education and social reform,—must not some leading facts, touching Church authority, and the most prominent features in our ecclesiastical polity, be first made good, as the best, if not the only, preservation against the abuse of those Scriptures, and those doctrines?

To the second class of supposed objectors, we would say, likewise, In what is the Irish Church so deficient, as to incapacitate her for making good her ground in Ireland, against sectarians of every sort?—and is it not more than probable, we may almost say certain, that few things would contribute more towards her own reform, wherever she may require it, than a bold and authoritative assertion of her hereditary position, and an honest and unflinching use of all the functions of a true apostolic church, which she may exercise? As a national church, placed in the relation to the civil power she at present occupies, it would not be possible for her, perhaps, to be other than she is; and, without expressing any opinion as to the expediency of changing such relation, may it not fairly be asked, whether, even as things are, the Irish Church is not capable of meeting and cultivating all those high sentiments of devotion and piety, which belong to any real revival of religion?—may it not be asked, whether if the Irish Church was strictly acted out in practice, as she is in theory, there would be any cause to forbear calling her, a "Catholic and Apostolic Church?"

To both classes of objectors, then, and to all whose judgment is of importance, we candidly submit—that the Prayer-Book should be the measure and condition of the labours of all clergymen, both amongst those who are within the fold, and likewise amongst those who are without; and, also, that it should be the limit in practice, if not in theory, of every *individual* attempt at a restoration of what, as a church, we may have lost, as well as of every system of dogmatic teaching; and, even if it was not advisable, as a matter of prudence, ineffective of obedience to authority, that clergymen should acknowledge such a condition and limit of all attempts at reform, either amongst ourselves, or others, is it not, practically speaking, the case, that, so long as they continue ministers, not to say members, of the Church in these countries, they can act on no other hypothesis? for, although in proper ways, proper reforms may always be suggested by individuals, still, as individuals, they can do no more; but whether it be in the Church universal, or in a branch of it, it is only a proper representation of that Church, such as constitutes its legal legislative assembly, which can make any change in what itself has imposed: and whenever, in such

Digitized by Google

matters, we refuse to acknowledge this authority, or endeavour to act without it, (which, practically, is one and the same thing,) we have no hesitation in saying, that there is every reason to apprehend consequences fraught with the most destructive tendencies—there is every reason to apprehend that human authority will become paramount, and the whole of religion be resolved into an evidential, shifting system, from which infidelity and scepticism may follow, as readily as anything else. Are we not taught, then, by every obligation of duty, as well as by every consideration of prudence and expediency, that the Prayer-Book is our safest, our only interpreter of Holy Scripture, so far as dogmatic teaching is concerned (for we merely speak of it in reference to those necessary dogmas of religion, which must have some authority to rest on, and can never safely be rested on human authority)? or, if it be not, let us ask, what other interpreter in such things has secured the sanction of our branch of the Catholic Church?

And, if we look to the important matter with which the Prayer-Book is pregnant, shall we not find there a more or less distinct assertion of all the fundamentals of the Christian religion? Shall we not find there the principle of a divine commission, as connected with an apostolic system of Church polity, clearly laid down, even in the Thirty-nine Articles, which, according to the opinion of some, are less expressive of Catholic truth than any other portion of the volume in which they appear? Shall we not find there, likewise, those deep and solemn doctrines concerning the sacraments, the remission of our sins, and the increase of our spiritual strength and holiness, together with others of a similar description, which especially belong to, and depend on, that divine commission? And, if we turn, also, to the provisions for ordering her children's conduct, in the public and private service of God, which our Church professes in her ritual, shall we not find much of the strictness and dignity, which, it may be, we are sometimes tempted to think she might advantageously possess to a greater degree, as she once did, before human judgments and human *suspicions* were aroused? But, if it be the case, that there is deficiency in the circumstantial dignity of our religion, as well as in the severity of its discipline, may not we rest satisfied with the assurance, that the *germ* of everything which the most piously ardent mind could desire, is still amongst us? We have, as yet, *as a Church*, denied nothing which the most ancient, the most holy, and the most orthodox, defenders of our Faith would wish us to assert. Circumstanced, however, as every national church must be, which is divided from communion with nearly all the rest of Christendom, it would be almost impossible, from the nature of the case, to expect more, it may be to have more, than at present we enjoy; and if it be that the amount and kind of blessings which in other ways we possess, could not

Digitized by Google

have been purchased at a smaller price, should we not, on this account, prize these blessings the more highly, and learn to regard whatever provocation we may suffer because of them, as a judicial infliction, which may be reversed when we prove ourselves worthy of such a favour, by showing that we are faithful in the *use* of what we still have? If we are cut off from union with Christendom as it is, let us still keep up our union with Christendom as it was.

But if, beyond this limit, within which, we may say, it seems wise that the dogmatic teaching of clergymen should be confined, they desire to go further for instruction in, and illustration of, the principles therein contained, where, then, can they so well, or so safely, go, as to that learned and pious body of divinity which has been formed by the great doctors of England and Ireland, during the first and second centuries subsequent to the Reformation—a store-house from whence the Irish Church may draw advantageously, in all her controversial exigencies? and although, no doubt, we shall find some of the great and good men differing among themselves, in their private theories, and in their subjective views of many important details of faith and practice, still we pray to be informed by any man, where and how, *in the main*, they differed from each other, or from their Church, in their dogmatic teaching? They lived in different eras of our country's history, and, according to the influence of national character, and the peculiar bias of education, and political and other associations, they constituted a succession of men, who had different phases of the same truths occasionally presented to them, which would, we think, in any progressive movement of the mind of the individual, or the nation, adequately account for greater apparent variety, when speaking of these same truths, than is to be found even amongst them. Some of them admitted the influence of foreign Reformers and foreign tenets to a greater extent than others; some of them sympathized more with Puritans than with Romanists, and some more with Romanists than with Puritans; but, be this as it may, we find them, one and all, in the main, deferential to their Church, patient of its restraint, if not satisfied with it, and never disposed to imply, or express, material difference from its teaching, on any of those fundamental points, which both they and it, no doubt, considered settled, so far as a negative process could settle them, and which, most probably, they regarded as too momentous for a national church to venture to settle in any other way.

Is it not an axiom in theology, that everything new, everything novel, is to be distrusted? that is, everything which proceeds on principles of disrespect, or indifference, to Christian antiquity, and the sanctions of that divine authority, which, during the progress of centuries, we find, here and there, stamp-

Digitized by Google

ing with its warrant the devout and humble labours of man,—and if so, where can we so safely turn for instruction as to those who taught and acted on these principles, and were almost tempted to regard *novelty* as but another name for heresy? Would it not, also, in every instance, be a happy change for our students, both here and in Ireland, if they were turned to the sound learning and strong sense of our elder divines, from the superficial, fanciful, subjective divinity, with which most modern writers on religious subjects have deluged the country? Surely it would. Surely we might not in vain hope for greater unanimity amongst the clergy in Ireland, and more prevailing labours against their foes, if individual or human teachers were dismissed, and if all empty efforts at a combination, on *negative grounds*, of the various sects which are on the same side of popery, were at once and for ever abandoned. Let Irishmen be but true to themselves; let them only resolve to meet one another in faith, nothing doubting; let them confess but one external national standard, by which to measure all individual varieties; let them be content to believe that men may and must differ (so long as they are men,) on many points, and in many forms of expression—and it would seem that much might yet be done to realize the wishes of good Bishop Bedell, and reinstate the whole land in its ancient birthright of Catholic truth. But if men will be suspicious, will become judges where they ought to be learners, will enforce the tyranny of certain arbitrary forms of expression, as their *principium unitatis*, and will not labour to regain Romanists, as Bedell did, by obeying and exalting God's commission in his Church, we much fear that the difficulties and dangers of the Irish clergy will only be visibly increased, without any proportionate increase in their provisions for defence; and, in addition to this, the ranks of their opponents will be so rallied by their losses, that, if threatened storms without, and cold hearts within, can chill their love, and break their endurance, neither will long remain.

Does not all history teach Ireland, that union is its only strength? and that nothing more effectually paves the way towards a complete prevalence of scepticism and infidelity, with all their horrid train of political and moral woes, than religious dissensions among those who *ought* to be united? A national church rent with internal divisions, is a sure forerunner of the downfal of national truth, honour, and happiness!

Digitized by Google

1. *Pious Harriet, &c. By the Author of "The Retrospect," &c.* Nisbet and Co. 1829.
2. *Little Ann. By the same.* Nisbet. 1840.
3. *Food for Babes; or, the First Sermons that very little Children are able to understand. By the Rev.* D. Barclay Bevan, M.A. *Second edition.* Hatchards. 1841.
4. *Line upon Line, &c. By the Author of the "Peep of Day."* Hatchards. 1841.
5. *The Missionary Catechism, to help forward the Young Lambs of Christ's Flock in understanding and promoting the Heavenly Work of Christian Missions. Second edition.* Suter. 1837.

A beginner in Church History, approaching the records of the apostolical age, and that which immediately succeeded it, with the feelings and views of the nineteenth century, probably finds, in the whole picture presented to him, no phenomenon more utterly strange than Gnosticism in any or all of its varieties; and is apt, in all likelihood, to imagine that there have been few performers on this world's stage more unlike himself and the men around him than the Gnostics: and, certainly, in the bare statement of any of their marvellous creeds we see nothing but exploded absurdities, such as can hardly visit the earth again. But this is not the right way to look at Gnosticism, or any other great manifestation of man's perversity. In such cases, the actual creeds, even when creeds they really are, are but the accidents, and we must look deeper for the characteristic principle. The men, who, in the days of Irenæus, spoke swelling words about the Pleroma and the Æons, would, in the present day, have probably taken up with the reveries of German speculations; would have used christian phrases as good veils wherewith to wrap transcendental metaphysics, and substituted an inward pietism for the objective creed of the gospel. The manifestation would have been thus exceedingly different; but the men, their character, and their disease, would have remained the same. The men, who, in the former period, must needs ascribe the visible creation to a subordinate rebellious Demiurge, blaspheme the whole Old Testament as his work, and teach Christians to regard their own bodies as altogether polluted and cursed things, would now be found perhaps among the Quakers, perhaps among the school which considers the ordinary inflections of the voice as incompatible with Christian sanctification, which considers a rite or a duty satisfactorily set aside by terming it *a form*, with whom the whole question of a visible kingdom of God is sufficiently disposed of when it is pronounced a Jewish notion; the school that regards spirituality and immateriality as convertible terms, that can see little or no place for the Old Testament in a Christian mind, and that blasphemously denies God's power to

Digitized by Google

hallow his own creation, and make visible elements channels of invisible grace. For, the real characteristics of Gnosticism obviously are its placing the intellectual features of religion in the centre, and its want of faith in the redemption of our whole nature through Christ, of which latter its asceticism and its antinomianism are the two poles. How much the former perversion prevails in our own time we need not at present say; but we must pause on the latter, as lying at the root of the subject now before us.

That Christ has redeemed and consecrated the whole of man's nature; that every original property of that nature, and all its genuine relations, all that are appointed for it, not perversely chosen by the individuals who bear it, can now, in their several places, be used in God's service, and made to minister to His glory, is a truth which, however easily acknowledged in words, can be carried into steady and consistent practice only by a strong and well-ripened faith. There is, perhaps, no great principle of religion, the recognition and recollection of which are more absolutely necessary, in order that our minds may be clear, and our movements bold and free in every situation, and under every emergency, and yet none their glimpses of which beginners find more difficult to detain and fix—none which is more apt to escape us at the very moment when we need it.

Now, if this be so, if the practical recognition of this principle require in each individual a vigorous and ripened faith, it seems almost necessarily to follow that any imperfect apprehension of the Creed, or any distortion of heavenly truth, any want of harmony in our acceptance and application of its several features, must betray itself here—must have for one of its leading symptoms, the Gnostic misbelief of condemning or rejecting some part of that which Christ has redeemed and made holy. The more difficult it is practically to master any principle of the gospel, the more need we have of the whole harmony of the faith, in order that we may surmount such difficulty; and, therefore, in this age of one-sidedness, we fail especially in surmounting that in question; like the Gnostics, we come short of the great truth, that our whole being has been redeemed by Christ, and call that common which God has cleansed.

This practical error shows itself in many ways; but in none more conspicuously and painfully than in what concerns the religious education and development of children. The sequel, we trust, will explain our meaning.

In fact, the religious development of children seems to us one of the great problems we have got at present to solve,—one of the matters on which most of us at the present day are at sea,—on which neither parents nor clergy are guided by any consistent code or satisfactory canons.

And here we need not speak of actual doctrinal error con-

Digitized by Google

cerning the position and privileges of children in the Covenant of Grace, of the anti-Pædo-Baptist, who reasons as if our Lord had never said, "Suffer little children to come unto me;" or the still more inconsistent members of the Church, who seem to think that He said so to little purpose,—that it is right to bring infants to His holy Baptism, but that they are little the better for receiving it. A little thought will enable our readers to see how much both errors are to be ranged under the grand Gnostic one, and how the real confutation of each is the great principle that man's whole nature has been redeemed by Christ. We will, however, illustrate the prevalence of the latter even amongst those who may be unconscious of it, who never dreamt of denying baptismal regeneration, by means of an anecdote.

Some years ago, then, there was a family, the head of which took what is termed a very religious turn, and accordingly became careful to have his entire household modelled on the strictest principles of Puritanism. His children, of course, became the objects of his most anxious care in regard to the one thing needful, and were made to undergo the full treatment prescribed by the school; and one of the boys promised to reward this tendance, showing, it was thought, some decided promise both of gifts and graces. An aunt, more judicious than the family themselves, was in the habit of visiting them, and did her best to correct, in a quiet way, the mischiefs that seemed impending from so strained and misjudged an education in general, and the dangerous distinction that had been conferred on Tommy in particular. Now Tommy, with all his sanctity, was very passionate; and on one of the occasions on which, in some matter with his brothers and sisters, his temper had got the upper hand, and in which he was plainly in the wrong, his aunt remonstrated with him as follows:—"But I thought, Tommy, that you were a Christian; a Christian surely does not get into rages like that." "I'm not a Christian," roared Tommy, stamping vehemently: "I'm not a Christian; I won't be a Christian." "Oh! yes, Tommy," exclaimed the little band, "you are a Christian, you know; Papa, you know, always says he thinks there is a spark of grace in you."

Now were this anecdote repeated generally, we venture to predict, that, in nine cases out of ten, the censures on Tommy's education would not light on the right point, or at least not on the point most deserving them. Nine people out of ten would reflect solely on the injudiciousness of dubbing him a Christian; and, as regards the way in which it was done, they would no doubt be right. But how few comparatively would be struck with what was still more censurable, and still more awful, the allowing the others to view themselves as mere heathens, without even "a spark of grace" in them. Some, no doubt, would think all this doctrinally right; but of such, as we have said, we speak

Digitized by Google

not now. Take the common run of people, who have no conscious sympathy with the deniers of baptismal regeneration, and this point, vital as it is, will never strike them. There must surely be something very wrong here.

In truth, the most part have no belief that children have any religious capacities at all. If they see any manifestation of such, they never view it as according to the law of things,—"somebody has been putting it into the child's head." The father coming home from his day's business, expects a child after dinner on each knee, pretty much as he expects the dinner itself, or his arm-chair by the fire, and glass of wine at the close of it. The children, indeed, are the objects of feelings different from the other comforts, but still they are classed with those comforts. That anything they say, or do, or feel, can be a matter of serious consequence; that they are capable of faults, except such as infringe on the comfort or propriety of the household, he in nowise imagines; and as little that they can possess moral graces beyond good humour, a disposition to be pleased, and a readiness to do as they are bid. That laughter in connexion with sacred things, or irreverence of demeanour on sacred occasions, should be looked on with serious displeasure, is what neither parent believes: "In such a child what can it signify?" How little faith there is in the truth that their children have really received the christian calling, may be seen from the motives to which too many parents are contented in the management of them to appeal; from their teaching them to view the pleasures of the palate as worthy to be looked forward to, and perhaps laughing at any manifestation of peculiar sensuality in regard to those pleasures. How few even of the fondest parents seem to look on their children as sacred, to be awed at their development, at the dawnings of reason, affection, and will within them, to tremble at the fearful alternative which these are destined to bring with them. Would children be spoiled if parents felt, that, in addition to all its other evils, the doing so involved sacrilege?

But let us turn to those who make a juster estimate of their children's capacities, and who do believe them to be susceptible of christian influences, whether or not they trace such susceptibility to the sacrament from which it ought to be dated. Even here we shall, too generally, find a want of faith in the great principle which we have been laying down; and which, as it is the clue to our guidance of ourselves, is eminently the clue to our guidance of our children; even here we shall find a Gnostic rejection of part of our nature, as unredeemed and unconsecrated by Christ.

But how can this be, when the very case we are supposing is, that parents acknowledge their children to be the legitimate subjects of christian influences, and susceptible of christian

Digitized by Google

excellence? It may seem that these conditions do in themselves set aside the charge which we are preferring. But, however we may acknowledge the redemption and christian calling of our children, we do not very clearly see in what they issue, what are the spheres consequently provided for Christ's little ones. We admit that our children are made His; but we do not know how they are to feel and act as His. We confuse their condition with that of christian adults, not seeing that in consecrating children Christ has consecrated Childhood. For this is the result of His presence and touch, that whatever He has thus hallowed is to retain all its distinctness, nay, to be seen in fresh liveliness of outline, as being invested with new meaning, and connected with higher purposes than before. The universal dispensation has manifested its universality, not in the obliteration, but in the comprehension, of all natural boundaries and conditions. In the Catholic Church, families, kindreds, nations, callings, and ages, are not meant to disappear, but are to be visibly contained. The husband in rule, and the wife in subjection, are still to be presented to our view, although now "in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female," which great truth, instead of destroying, upholds and brings out the natural relation between them. And, exactly in the same way, if our children be, through Baptism, partakers of the heavenly calling, then the condition of childhood is not to be lost in the community of christian sentiment and experience, but to have its own place there, and to be seen more distinctly than ever.

This, however, as we have said, has been but little considered among us. We wish our children to be religious, but we do not see in what their religion is to consist. If they are to be religious, we cannot imagine their being so except after one particular type, and that the most foreign to their condition and wants.

It is true, indeed, that as God is one, the Faith one, and the Church one, so true religion (as we now-a-days call the obedience of faith) is essentially one also. But though renewal unto holiness be always the same in whomsoever we find it, its manifestations must necessarily be very different. Where the sins to which different people are tempted are unlike, their avoidance of them will be proportionably unlike; where duties are dissimilar, the doing of them must be dissimilar too; where the calling is different, the tone, temper, and general bearing must needs be different also.

In aiming, then, at the religious development of our children, we must carefully keep in mind what Childhood is. As we have seen, Christ has sanctified that state, and, therefore, instead of being more faintly, it is to be more distinctly, seen in the world of grace than in that of nature. If we keep this in mind, we shall be saved one or two great practical errors in regard to children.

Such notions of their religious development as have hitherto

Digitized by Google

had most sway among us are to be found in little tales, or biographies, meant to celebrate signal trophies of divine grace in early years. Two things are very observable in the generality of such compositions,—that they turn on conversion, in the modern sense of the term, and that the narratives represent their heroes or heroines as preachers, evangelists, or missionaries to the people about them. Both, we say, are founded on an entire misapprehension of what Christian Childhood is meant to be, and what alone it can suitably be.

With regard to the first, we partly intimated our mind on a former occasion. We then admitted the frequent existence of what is usually meant by conversion, as a fact, to which, like other facts, we have no wish to shut our eyes; nay, which we feel bound to look at, contemplate, weigh, and digest. We do often, as we then allowed, see persons who have long lived unchristian lives, graciously turned in the right direction at some definite epoch of their lives, and in connexion with certain revolutionary circumstances. Such a change must doubtless be very great. We would not have them forgetful of it; we would not have them look back to it otherwise than as to a great crisis of their lives. If it be right that those lives should be recorded, then such changes ought to be dwelt on in the records as among their most prominent features; nor do we object to their being called *conversions* in the sense sanctioned by St. James, (v. 20,) and so long as such use of the word is carefully distinguished from its primary and more catholic one, and is not permitted to disparage the benefit of Baptism. For, however frankly we may admit, and however gladly we may contemplate, that wonder of Divine Grace, whereby the man who has long wandered from his baptismal standing is brought back to it, we must never permit ourselves to view such cases as according to the general rule. In their way, they are anomalies, wonderfully illustrative, indeed, of the long-suffering of God, but not the unthwarted growth of His own plan of salvation, which, in the first instance, contemplates Baptism as the beginning, and then the christian character steadily growing out of that beginning. This, we say, is the Divine plan, as communicated to us; and, even could the cases in question be proved to be numerically the majority, they must remain ideally the exceptions. With these necessary limitations, however, we admit the fact as frequently occurring in the case of adults, its importance as a fact, and the propriety of occasionally recording and considering it.

But has it any place among children? So seldom, if at all, we answer, that it ought not to be presented to them. For, though children have the same evil nature, doubtless, as adults, yet that evil is in great measure undeveloped; and though, like adults, there is with them continually, first, the presence of sin, and

Digitized by Google

then of repentance, yet it is under some very different conditions from their grown-up brethren that this takes place in them.

One of the most prominent, and to us awful, differences between children and the grown-up, is, that the former have no history, and do not exist in protracted states of being, but are completely under the influence of each fresh impression. In infancy there is, perhaps, but a succession of sensations, perceptions, and emotions; in childhood, occupations and interests are added, but still, by the same law of succession, the past disappearing in the present, as that in its turn must give way to the future. Gradually, as years roll on, is the character, as we say, formed; gradually does the whole being cease to be projected upon each perception, enjoyment, or occupation; but a state is established into which these are received as they occur, and from which, with all their variety, they take an uniform tone. Then the manifestations of the human being, instead of varying with each successive hour, are made as it were in large masses; his history tends to a great and decisive unity, and he is choosing his portion, fixing in himself a permanent character, and enrolling himself among one of the opposing armies of the universe. Surely this is not the case in childhood; surely, putting doctrinal questions aside, nobody, in the practical habit of his mind, can consider the character of children fixed for good or for evil. Who would regard a child's faults with despondency? who would say that he had chosen his portion with evil? or who, even if a believer in final perseverance, would feel quite easy about a child, however satisfactory his religious state may appear in the meantime, supposing he were to be thrown out of the way of religious instruction and example? The very notion of religious and moral education has for its correlative the truth about childhood which we are trying to enforce.

If this be so, it is obvious that the notion of conversion, even when harmonized with catholic truth, has no place when we are dealing with children. Their existence is a succession of bright intense states; it has not yet shaped itself into large masses. Last year is nothing to them. They can, therefore, have no cognisable history, and cannot be called on to take the place of permanent penitents. We must get them to repent for the sin of each day, and to feel that they have a sinful nature, over which divine grace only can make them conquerors; but we cannot hope to make them livelily sensible of anything that is fairly past as still adhering and belonging to them. Alas! how does this preaching of conversion to them defraud them of their blessed privilege,—the privilege of knowing that they are lambs in Christ's fold, from which they need never wander,—that they may, if they please, go on steadily "from strength to strength," —that they may be "ever with" their heavenly Father, so that all which He has shall be theirs,—that they need never "know

Digitized by Google

that bitter thing to have the Lord their God,"—that there needs—

> ——— "be no dreary space
> Between their present selves and past,
> No dreary miserable place,
> With spectral shapes aghast;
> But the full graces of their prime,
> May, in their weak beginnings, be
> Lost in an unremembered time
> Of holy infancy."

This beautiful and cheering possibility, however, seems to have little charm in some eyes. Christian renovation is hardly recognised by such, when it appears according to this, its true and legitimate, course. The author of "The Retrospect,"—a gentleman who seems to have made it his business to dress up narratives of interesting children in various parts of England, whether he ever saw them himself or not,—was once, by his own account, standing by the death-bed of a child of eleven, whose spiritual condition struck him as eminently beautiful and satisfactory. With that we think he might have been well contented; but no—

> "I was anxious to know what book, or sermon, or individual had been first commissioned to arrest her mind; and by what means the work had been carried on in her soul to its then advanced state; and the more I inquired," &c.—*Little Ann*, p. 8.

And so, a child who seemed ripe for the other world, was called in her dying illness to the most unwholesome and unsuitable task that could have been proposed to her—the raking up by-gone reminiscences, and attempting to pronounce on by-gone states of being! And this not, we infer from the tone of the narration, at all to help a present self-examination, or merely to trace the ways of Providence, but to bring the case completely under the received rules. It never seems to have been doubted by this writer that a post-baptismal conversion there must have been.

This demand for conversion in children may easily be made to illustrate the practical Gnosticism to which we have so often referred. But it is still more manifest in another demand closely connected with the former, and made by the same parties—that for *experience*. Hear again the biographer of Little Ann:—

> "In the course of my different conversations with this child, I learnt that it was a considerable while ago since the Lord had more especially convinced her of her fallen and lost condition as a child of Adam. *She gave a very clear and Scriptural account of her experience.*"—*Little Ann*, p. 8.

According to the principles we have been laying down, a child cannot, except under very extraordinary circumstances, have any experience; but why this anxiety that one should have? Is it not from a defective apprehension of the extent to which

Digitized by Google

childhood is sanctified through Christ, and from a consequent wish to assimilate the piety of a child to what is conceived to be the only adult type? We must make them cease to be children before, forsooth, we can be satisfied that they are among Christ's little ones; we must strain their past history into an imaginary resemblance to that of the adult penitent; they must have had vicissitudes of feeling such as God has spared to their tender age.

One word in this place to prevent misapprehension. A consciously dying person of any age may have what is called experience; and a dying child is taken in many respects out of the category of childhood. But then one in so peculiar a situation ought not to be set before other children as a pattern. Supposing, indeed, such records to be faithful, they may sometimes be useful, not as presenting to the young pictures of a condition in which they ought, meanwhile, to be, but as specimens of the issue to which holiness, in any condition, and at any age, may come. The death-bed in this case will be viewed, not as the Christian course itself, but as its termination, and, in its striking accidents, distinct from it. But we see no sign of such discrimination in the biographies with which we are dealing.

And this confusion of a child's religious condition with that of an adult becomes very observable whenever the writers quit vague notions of conversion and experience, and apply themselves to any details of duty. Their children, as we have said, act as reprovers, teachers, preachers, and missionaries. They sometimes enter (witness the juvenile hero of "Judah's Lion,") into religious discussions, astonishing the company by pulling out their Bibles, and backing their opinions with chapter and verse. They go about doing good, turning the sinner from the error of his ways. Now any one of such incidents, sayings, and doings, may have been natural, and seemly, under some one set of circumstances; but that in combination or frequent occurrence they are features in the true calling and right character of children, we altogether disbelieve. It has been well observed, that we must do right before we venture on doing good; and, we may add, that we must first learn to do right before we can well know how to do good. Childhood is the season appointed for such learning, nor can it be safely broken in upon by the interposition of schemes for doing good?

To teach children, indeed, to exercise compassion, to practise self-denial for the good of others, to be "willing to give and glad to distribute," to teach them that they owe a debt of love to those around, and that in payment of it they must bear their share of other people's burdens, is necessary to anything even approaching a christian education. But where are such lessons to be learnt by them? Manifestly at home, in the relations of family life, in the regulation of their demeanour to their parents,

Digitized by Google

their brothers and sisters, their relatives, and the household around them. Then come school, and the sway of masters, and a narrow, yet unmistakeable, line of duties, in the observance of which may, by God's grace, be acquired the elements of fortitude, temperance, energy, concentration of purpose, and perseverance. Need we violate this order of providence? Need we infringe on what the unvitiated sight at once feels to be the proprieties of the childish age and condition? Need we try and imprint on them any peculiar character distinct from that of their fellows, and beyond what is implied in the fulfilment of their baptismal vows? Need we make them conspicuous by the adoption of fashions, or the entering into proceedings which cannot be necessary; can effect no good in the world that may not be supplied in some other way; can produce within them, at best, a questionable interest in divine things, are nearly sure to be felt either as an irksome restraint or as a too gratifying distinction?* Have we no fears on the score of endangering sincerity, the common possession, as it is nearly the brightest gem, of healthy childhood? Can we not believe that He who lived thirty years in the world before he entered on the work of His mission, and who during those thirty years consecrated by His participation and example each state of being, and its attendant duties which they brought with them, has, indeed, by His childhood, consecrated childhood; and that now the little duties of a child are invested with a meaning, a dignity, and a bearing on eternity which they could not otherwise have had? Can we not believe that their little humble self-denials may be practised for Christ's sake, that their parents may be obeyed in the Lord, that their masters may be submitted to as delegates of a Master in heaven, that their bright enjoyments may be accompanied with hearty thanksgiving, and their pains and sorrows to wear the mark of the cross? Cannot each little task be performed as the will of their Father who is in heaven? Cannot their natural affections be hallowed as fastening themselves on holier relationships than could be formed merely by the flesh? Verily, all this requires not the doing any great thing; the provision "Wash, and be clean," supplies us with all that we want here.

At present, however, we allow we have not yet got much beyond negations. In our next we propose to offer a few positive hints on the religious development of children. Even

* Our readers cannot have forgotten the Islington Children's Church Missionary Associations which we exposed last year, and one of the documents connected with which stands at the head of our article. We fully believe that such extreme absurdities are rare in any class; but we suspect that many, while with instinctive good taste they avoid them, know not how to ground their avoidance, and err after the same fashion in a less offensive way; or, if they do not, abstain with uneasy consciences: and to such we recommend the considerations which we have been enforcing.

Digitized by Google

then, however, we shall have a few more perversions against which to protest,—a few more errors to point out. Meanwhile we would wish to impress on our readers, that it is better, in such a matter, to be at a loss how to do all we wish, than to do anything injudicious or unsound; better to forego positive advantages till we know how really to make sure of them, and to be thankful for those ancient, tried, and trustworthy provisions of family life and family discipline, which, with or without any particular theory, christian parents can ever command

---

1. *Children's Employment Commission. First Report of the Commissioners. Mines. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.* London, &c. 1842. Folio. Pp. xii. 269.
2. *Children's Employment Commission. Second Report of the Commissioners. Trades and Manufactures. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.* London, &c. 1843. Folio. Pp. xvii. 228.
3. *Report, &c. from the Poor-Law Commissioners on an Inquiry into the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. With Appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, July,* 1842. London, &c. 1842. Pp. xxx. 457.
4. *Sanitary Inquiry: England. Local Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of England, in consequence of an Inquiry directed to be made by the Poor-Law Commissioners. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, July,* 1842. London, &c. 1842. Pp. iv. 444.
5. *A Plea for National Holy-Days. By* Lord John Manners, M.P. Second edition. London: Painter. Pp. vi. 40.

Every body knows who has tried it—and we trust that there are few so thoroughly debased and hardened as never to have attempted, at least, the practice—what a hard thing self-examination is. *Ce vilain fonds de l'homme*, as Pascal has it, is not attractive untilled. The dark corners of the soul require a stern effort to sweep and garnish; the more needful, therefore, and the more healthful this exercise, the rarer is it to begin, and the more difficult to carry through. For the most part, it seems that we go on not knowing much what we are, living in an unreal, hazy atmosphere, in a perpetual mirage, where truth and falsehood, health and sickness, heaven and hell, good angels and bad, sin and striving, brief repentance and transient good resolves, are mixed up confusedly and painfully, the sick man's vain dreams, ignorant alike that he is sick and dreaming. And what souls are states are: for it is a great Christian mystery, as

Digitized by Google

Shakspere* knew, that states are souls; that there is a national conscience; that we have a corporate existence as accountable in the aggregate as in the individuals; that God deals with peoples and kingdoms as such, and that we may collectively so grieve the Spirit of comfort, that He will, in the end, give us up to our own hearts' lusts; and that unexampled national prosperity, such as in this kingdom, in the way of temporal things, we have for nearly the last two centuries enjoyed, rather than be deemed a signal mark of God's favour, may possibly be the vial of His wrath; remembering in His dealings with His ancient people—in which He furnishes, at least, the lesson of His providence, written among the stars, for us in humility to read—that "when He gave them their desire, He sent leanness withal into their soul," (Ps. cvi. 15,) as though to exemplify the solemn warning, "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Perhaps it may be a tendency towards presumption to endeavour to identify too closely the hidden chain of events, which are God's great secrets, or to pronounce confidently this or that particular incident to be of His more especial direction—though we might religiously refer everything to His care without whom not a sparrow falleth to the ground—to the exclusion of other circumstances, which seem, and perhaps only seem, to be of minor importance. It were certainly safer to institute no comparisons; more reverent it may be to take the whole as of His appointment, and the details of which may be known only to the angels, certainly not to us: for, as things are, "the euphrasie and rue" have not touched our eyes, that we may "behold the mountain of the city of God, full of horses and chariots of fire:" we are are not yet fitted for the heavenly vision.

Disclaiming, then, both the desire or the capacity to say how far, or in what particulars, we may trace God's present judgments upon ourselves, we desire now rather to throw out certain hints, and to indicate some few lines of thought, which, if pursued and collected, may help us to the understanding of what we are, and to the healthful and subduing knowledge of our real state in God's sight; for, if personal self-knowledge is, as we have said, a difficult thing, a thousandfold are the chances increased that as a people we shall never gain that disclosure of our hidden state which, rehearsing as it were the day of judgment, shall be the sole hope of being permitted to repent and amend our ways.

Far are we from saying that we can, or are disposed to, exhaust this most momentous subject; nay, we ourselves are not fitted to praise and blame that to which every one's own unworthiness contributes more than he would dare to own; but so infrequent are the occasions, and so scanty the means, of gaining anything like a general and comprehensive view of any one age, or of society in the mass, that we most thankfully, however painfully, avail ourselves of such

* "There is a mystery in the *soul of state*,
Which hath an operation more divine
Than our mere chroniclers dare meddle with."—*Troilus and Cressida.*

Digitized by Google

opportunities as the publication of the reports named in our heading affords towards national self-examination. For, in truth, we know very little about the world; we are, the best informed of us even, but flies on the column; with very imperfect powers, even if we had the possibility, of extricating and evolving the tangled and intricate web of human things; the vapour and smoke of the world's delusions dulls our eyes; the din, and ceaseless and confused clamour, of populous cities stops our ears to the entrance of truth; we hail, therefore, such authentic accounts of our real state as our only hope; if we treat them as a voice from another world, if we hear that in such a state of things as that of which we form part,

"Our parting genius is with sighing sent,"

and that these solemn self-revelations may be the prelude of a more awful μεταβαίνωμεν ἔντευθεν; if we assure ourselves that as we are herein held up to our own view, such and still more frightful is the picture of once Christian England mirrored in the great "sea of glass, like unto crystal, before the throne of God;" then, but not otherwise, we may profit by them; and as such they have presented themselves to us. They are a rare call to repentance, these parliamentary reports; they were neither ordered, nor planned, nor prepared, as we fear, for a Christian end; their gloomy particulars are jotted down with the cool, business-like air of a grocer's day-book; but there they stand in scorching, withering words—of doom if we use them not as God willeth,—of mercy, if we take to ourselves confusion of face, and say, "Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer Thee? I will lay mine hand upon my mouth: once have I spoken; but I will not answer; yea, twice; but I will proceed no further."

We must then try to be permitted to gain some general and broad view of the condition of millions of baptized Christians in a land, which, more than any other, boasts of its civilization, advancement, the purity of its *national* Church, wealth, power, magnificence, ships, colonies, and commerce, empire, valour, and freedom, its glorious constitution in Church and State, its glorious Reformation, and glorious revolution, and ten thousand more glories which *nunc perscribere longum est*. In point of fact, we have had a complete plethora of glory; we have been stall-fed with successes; we have gone on growing and growing, till we have fairly burst with grandeur; we have strutted and swaggered through the whole world, crowing over every peaceful farm-yard, and bullying and roystering about with our hats cocked, and our hands in our pockets, insolently dashing our well-filled purse in the face of every poor suppliant, whom we fondly imagined was created only to be kicked by our most condescending foot. We are perfectly aware of the confusion of metaphors with which we are sporting; but designedly we have sketched a medley-monster,—like him who drew the devils in Mr. Williams' Baptistery, we are not ashamed to join the pot-belly of satiety, the peacock-plume of vanity, the goat-foot of lechery, the big boar's-tusk of cruelty, into one hideous whole,—such things are significant truths: and no compound can be too wild or startling to figure out

Digitized by Google

the pride and vanity and overbearing unchristian character of that impersonation of all that is selfish "John Bull." Cromwell boasted that he would make the name of Englishman as much respected as that of an ancient Roman. We have done more,—missing even such miserable credit as its iron and impressive dignity could confer—we have made the "tight little island" synonymous in every country under heaven, among Christians and heathen alike, with all that is covetous and irreligious and grasping. If we could but "see ourselves as others see us,"—not only as our fellow-sinners, which were much, behold us, but—and we now speak with all solemnity—as weeping angels look down upon us, we should be rather nearer to a true estimate of England's spiritual condition, than by turning over Mr. G. Porter's book on the fiscal state of the British empire. We take it that the prayers of the very pagans would be a blessing for us now.

The population of the three kingdoms is about 27,000,000; and what the proportion of rich to poor is, without troubling ourselves and readers with very accessible statistics, may be ascertained by a rough estimate, when we say that the poor—are the millions to the thousands of their more fortunate (?) brethren. Now, who knows anything about the poor? The Clergyman knows something, but much less than he fancies; and the doctor knows more; and the relieving officer knows most: but, after all, the higher and middle classes know next to nothing of what is the lot of poverty; it is not in their homes alone that we can estimate even the physical condition of the labouring and manufacturing poor; bad, and miserable, and most filthy as are their homes, these, with that mere instinct which all animals possess, are at least better than their state away from such homes: it may be only the natural magic which surrounds the word *home;* but there is always something worse than this to the poor. First, then, we desire to remark upon the universal ignorance of the state of the poor—which ignorance alone were a national sin of no light or trivial danger.

Attend, then, all ye who delight in May meetings, and who give your unsparing subscriptions to cultivate the swamps of the Niger and to introduce the gospel to the shores of the Yellow Sea, and learn what worse than heathen darkness is mantling over your own doors; ye who "pity poor Africans," have you no sympathy for those whose veins carry your own blood, and who are, in a nearer sense, men and brethren? Learn what ghastly shapes of misery and vice are stalking unobserved, and, we trust, in mercy, unknown, about your very thresholds; ye who ungrudgingly gave—and it was a righteous purpose!—twenty millions to annihilate a state of physical slavery which, perhaps, God sanctioned, and, it may be, might sanctify, remember that there is a darker slavery of the spirit, which has debased many millions of your own countrymen, here in boastful, privileged England, to a condition infinitely below that of the beasts who perish—which is daily consigning body and soul alike to hell—the sweet smile of innocent childhood, the maidenly proprieties of girlhood, the decent dignity of womanhood, those holy graces of sex, which, ever since He "abhorred not the Virgin's womb," it has been the especial dignity

Digitized by Google

of the gospel to exalt and purify; learn, we say, that these things are perishing from among us, and that heathenism, the very darkest and dullest, is a condition infinitely higher and more blessed than protestant England, with all its arts and arms—with all its Bibles—with all its schools and churches—with all its hospitals and charitable societies—with all its colonies and missions, now exhibits. If even pagan piety shrunk alarmed at the ghastly recollection of a time when a people could no longer support its own vices and their remedies, how shall we tremble at the awful picture of the results of our social sins and of our wilful blindness to duties which lie at our own homes? The lovely visions of our laughing villages and the homes of England so beautiful, are displaced in the eyes of a christian moralist, by the stern realities of our mines and factories and manufactories, than which Dante's hell never pictured so awful a scene of the uncontrolled triumphs of sin and sorrow in their wildest forms. Truth is more terrible than fiction, and it were worse than folly—it were tempting God—to think of enlarging our tents till conversion has began at our own Jerusalem. How dare we offer the gospel of peace to others, till we have shown that it has so far influenced our hearts as to remain no longer ignorant of what we are ourselves? Are we to plant the cross on the Himalaya, or to preach it in populous Pekin, while its sign is worse than unknown in Sunderland, and its doctrines trampled under foot and forgotten in London and Manchester?

We, at least, as *Christian Remembrancers*—and our title is a startling memorial of personal duties, from which we cannot shrink—desire this paper to be considered a solemn confession, at least on our own part, of unparalleled and continued national sins, and, in its measure, for ourselves and readers, a prayer to avert the coming judgments and wrath.

The two folio volumes of Reports are upon the employment of children, specifically, but they embrace our entire manufacturing system; and, being composed, for the most part, from the indirect testimony of unwilling witnesses, their evidence is the more trustworthy. We say this to avoid the not unnatural imputation of overstating the case. Few comments accompany them; they are naked truths, which he who runs may read. We hear much, and rightly, in these days, of baptism; let us see how we "suffer the little children to come unto Him," and how we "take care that they be taught, so soon as they shall be able to learn, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and christian life."

If there be one gift of God which, in this land, is supposed to be at the foundation of our national wealth and importance, the hidden strength of all our greatness, outweighing in value the gems and ores of all lands, it is our coal-field: we can recall with what nervous and not unnatural anxiety the learned have measured the contents, and calculated the resources of our fuel; as though, which were of course the truth, England's political sun would set when her furnaces were extinguished. Such is the virtue of this mighty agent, that Sir John

Digitized by Google

Herschel tells us, that the combustion of two pounds of coal, properly applied, would place a man on the summit of Mont Blanc; seven bushels of coal would swing the Menai Bridge aloft and whole into mid-air where it now stretches pendant six-score feet above the sea. The powers of coal are such that Archimedes' boast were the simplest of its efforts. It might have been anticipated then, that to attach a grateful value to this blessing, we should have at least acquainted ourselves with some of the details by which we gain this most powerful yet secret blessing: blessing, that is, if religiously received. But what are the facts?

"It was notorious that some of these occupations are among the most laborious in which it is the lot of human beings to toil; but no Committee of the House of Commons had instituted inquiry into the actual condition of this class of labourers; no Commission had been issued to investigate that condition; no attempt of any kind had hitherto been made to ascertain the ages at which the children in question really begin to work, the number of hours during which they labour, the exact nature of their employment, nor the immediate and ultimate effects of such employment on their morals and health." —Vol. I. p. 4.

Let us then follow this division, however confusedly:—

In South Staffordshire children are set to work in coal mines when between seven and eight years of age; in Shropshire as early as six: one case of a child of *four* years of age is mentioned; in Coalbrook-dale "there are *very few* (!!) under six who are employed *to draw weights with a girdle round the body.*" In Warwickshire and Leicestershire the same early age occurs. Of children in Yorkshire, W. Carter (p. 12) is a specimen; who says, with all the sad simplicity of suffering, "I went in at five, but it was a sad let-down to me in point of education;" but, perhaps, the climax occurs in the evidence of—

"Joseph Ellison, Esq. of Birkenshaw, near Birstall, says, 'I have been practically acquainted with collieries nearly all my life. I know it as a fact that a collier now living has taken a child of his own, who was only *three years old*, into a pit to 'hurry,' and when the child was exhausted it was carried home, stripped, and put to bed. This is a rare occurrence; but I can prove it, if required, by undeniable evidence, to have been a fact.' Another witness, John Ibbotson, aged forty-three, collier, examined at the same place, says, 'I have been forty-five* years in the pits. I knew a man, called Joseph Cawthrey, who sent a child in at four years old; and there are many who go to thrust behind at that time, and many go at five and six; but it is soon enough for them to go at nine or ten. *The sooner they go in the sooner their constitution is mashed up.*" —P. 12.

"Children, both boys and girls, of these ages are taken out of their beds at four o'clock, and brought to the pits."—*Ibid.*

Though, perhaps, in atrocity this instance may be excelled by

"One case which is recorded in which a child was regularly taken into the pit by his father at three years of age. 'It was made to follow him to the workings, there to hold the candle, and when exhausted with fatigue was cradled upon the coals until his return at night.'"—P. 14.

The diary of one of these little unfortunates is graphic:—

"The Sub-commissioner says, I visited the house of the parents of a little boy whom I saw keeping a door down Flatworth Pit, on the 20th of May; it was about seven o'clock on the Sunday evening, and the boy, Thomas Roker,

* [Here is some discrepancy in dates, which we do not profess to reconcile.—Ed. C. R.]

Digitized by Google

was in bed asleep. His mother said he was aged about six years and seven months, and that he had been down the pit about a month or six weeks. The boy was at school at three years old, and his father wished to make him a better scholar before he went down. Always put him to bed early, because he must get up every working morning at three o'clock: and he often rubs his eyes when he is woke, and says he has only just been to sleep. He gets up at 3 A.M., and goes down the pit at 4 o'clock A.M. He gets his dinner directly he comes home, about half-past 4 P.M. or a quarter to 5 P.M., and then he washes himself, and goes to bed between six and seven; so that he will never be up more than two hours from the pit for eating, washing, and playing. When his son gets a little more hardened to the pit, his father means to send him to night-school, and *stop an hour off his sleep.* Thomas generally goes down the pit in a corf, with a good few boys in it, and sometimes he goes up on his father's knee. It is a dusty pit, but he never complains, though he tells many a queer story of the pit. The pit does not hurt him, but makes him a little whiter, and perhaps thinner. He was a very fat boy when he was three years old. Johnny Fiddis was younger when he first went down; thinks people send their bairns earlier down the pit than they did."—Pp. 17, 18.

In Scotland the same state of things exists: in the Fordel colliery

"Girls begin to draw with the chain [of which more anon] from six years of age."

And in Wales and Ireland the same. The consequences are emphatically summed up by the Rev. W. Parlane, of Tranent (p. 19):

"Children of amiable temper and conduct at seven years of age, often return next season from the collieries, as an old teacher says, with MOST HELLISH DISPOSITIONS."

And small wonder, for the next section of the Report contains evidence which we dare not extract: suffice it, however, to say, and we trust that no false delicacy will prevent the truth from being fully known, that every order of nature is reversed; if girls work in boys' clothes such is a rare sight of decency, for the rule is for the men to work *stark naked* in the pits, with girls, not their own relations, naked to the waist, or with tattered rags "hurrying" for them, the trousers which such girls wear being usually in holes.

"Patience Kershaw, aged seventeen, Mr. Joseph Stock's Booth Town Pit, Halifax: 'I hurry in the clothes I have now got on, trousers and ragged jacket; the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting corves; my legs have never swelled, but sisters' did when they went to mill; I hurry the corves a mile and more under ground and back; they weigh 3 cwt.; I hurry eleven a-day; I wear a belt and chain at the workings to get the corves out; the getters that I work for are naked except their caps; they pull off all their clothes; I see them at work when I go up; sometimes they beat me, if I am not quick enough, with their hands; they strike me upon my back; the boys take liberties with me sometimes, they pull me about; I am the only girl in the pit; there are about twenty boys and fifteen men; all the men are naked; I would rather work in mill than in coal-pit.'—[Sub-commissioner: 'This girl is an ignorant, filthy, ragged, and deplorable-looking object, and such a one as the uncivilized natives of the prairies would be shocked to look upon.']"—Pp. 80, 81.

"Betty Harris, aged thirty-seven, drawer in a coal-pit, Little Bolton: 'I have a belt round my waist, and a chain passing between my legs, and I go on my hands and feet. The road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope, and, when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women.

Digitized by Google

and about six boys and girls in the pit I work in; it is very hard work for a woman. The pit is very wet where I work, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs: it rains in at the roof terribly; my clothes are wet through almost all day long. I never was ill in my life but when I was lying-in. My cousin looks after my children in the day-time. I am very tired when I get home at night; I fall asleep sometimes before I get washed. I am not so strong as I was, and cannot stand my work so well as I used to do. I have drawn till I have had the skin off me; *the belt and chain is worse when we are in the family way.* My feller [husband] has beaten me many a time for not being ready. I were not used to it at first, and he had little patience: I have known many a man beat his drawer.' "—P. 27.

Perhaps the abominations which the following reveals are actually among the least horrible:—

"Betty Wardle: 'I have worked in a pit since I was six years old. I have had four children; two of them were born while I worked in the pits. I worked in the pits whilst I was in the family way. *I had a child born in the pits, and I brought it up the pit-shaft in my skirt; it was born the day after I were married—that makes me to know.*' "—P. 27.

This "hurrying" varies considerably; in some, (and terrible wood-cuts represent the process with frightful accuracy,) the "hurriers" buckle round their naked persons a broad leather strap, to which is attached in front a ring, and from the ring runs a chain between the legs, which is fastened on to the "corve," or small waggon, which the hurrier, male or female, pulls along a passage so narrow, "in some cases from 16 to 20 inches in height," (p. 78,) that the work must be done on all fours; and in others, they push the corves before them. These corves sometimes weigh twelve and a half hundred weight, (p. 75,) the pit bottom is deep in mire, (p. 80,) and the distance traversed is often eight and a half miles per diem, (p. 89.) In order to illustrate the system, we make some random extracts.

"Alexander Gray, ten years old, pump boy,—'I am obliged to pump fast, or the water would cover us. The water frequently covers my legs.' (P. 61.) Janet Cumming,—'the water frequently comes up to the calves of my legs.' (*Ibid.*) Isabella Read,—'in the pits there is difficulty of breathing; the lights often go out.' (*Ibid.*) William Ghent is seven years old; 'is sure he has worked nearly two years; has to work nearly up to his knees in sludge all day.' "

We do not know that anything struck us more than this "one touch of nature" from S. Richards, who says, "*when beans are coming into flower, that's the awkwardest time for a collier,*" (p. 61.) Alas! poor soul! what for him are the sweet bean-flowers—the pleasant uplands—the thymey hills—the blue sky? His home is "in the pit, which is so hot that sweat and water are constantly running down his face" (*ibid.*); where "it rains from the roof," and where "they are very much put about by the *black damp*, which swells their bellies, and makes their heads ache," and where "men have been burned to death by the *wildfire*," and where "it is very 'smothery' and 'as hot as a stove,' " (*ibid.*)—where "a thick mist or fog pervades the whole pit," (p. 50,)—and where "the bottom is in some places near knee-deep in mud and water, full of holes, and most painful to walk, much more to hurry, in; so much carbonic gas is present, that the candles were repeatedly put out," (p. 54,)—where

Digitized by Google

"the salt-water-drops from the roof, and the heat together, strikes boils on the boys," (p. 59.)—[Egyptian plagues of "darkness that might be felt," and "boils and blains breaking out on man;"] which water is "exceedingly irritating," and produces specific "carbuncles," and "is more like the diluted brine of a pickle-tub," (*ibid.*); where "the *choke-damp* gathers in *soft* weather," (p. 61); where "Margaret Watson lost her brother by it; *for he sank down, and she tried to draw him out, but the air stopped her breath, and she was forced to gang*" (*ibid.*); where "fathers die of dropsy from sitting in damp work and bad air;" where "the place is always knee-deep in water, and sometimes belly-deep;" where "the pit is not above twenty inches seam, and has a foot of water in it,—a terrible wet pit,—the men sit on a board when they work, and lade out the water once in half an hour." (Pp. 55, 56.)

But of all the miserable estates, look, Christian mothers, at "the trapper." "J. C. Symons, Esq." is a limner as painful and twice as true as Sterne:—

"The trappers sit in a little hole scooped out for them in the side of the gates behind each door, where they sit with a string in their hands attached to the door, and pull it open the moment they hear the corves (*i.e.* carriages for conveying the coal) at hand, and the moment it has passed, they let the door fall too, which it does of its own weight. If anything impedes the shutting of the door they remove it, or, if unable to do so, run to the nearest man to get him to do it for them. They have nothing else to do; but, as their office must be performed from the repassing of the first to the passing of the last corve during the day, they are in the pit the whole time it is worked, frequently above twelve hours a-day. They sit, moreover, in the dark, often with a damp floor to stand on, and exposed necessarily to drafts. It is a most painful thing to contemplate the *dull dungeon-like life these little creatures are doomed to spend*—a life, for the most part, passed in solitude, damp, and darkness. They are allowed no light; but sometimes a good-natured collier will bestow a little bit of candle on them as a treat. On one occasion, as I was passing a little trapper, he begged me for a little grease from my candle. I found that the poor child had scooped out a hole in a great stone, and, having obtained a wick, had manufactured a rude sort of lamp; and that he kept it going as well as he could by begging contributions of melted tallow from the candles of any Samaritan passers-by. *To be in the dark*, in fact, seemed to be the *great grievance* with all of them. Occasionally they are so posted as to be near the shaft, where they can sometimes run and enliven themselves with a view of the corves going up with the coals, or, perhaps, occasionally with a bird's-eye peep at the daylight itself; their main amusement is that, however, of seeing the corves pass along the gates at their posts. When we consider the very trifling cost at which these little creatures might be supplied with a light, as is the case in the Cumberland collieries, there are few things which more strongly indicate the neglect of their comforts than the fact of their being kept in darkness—of all things the most wearisome to a young child."

"John Saville, seven years old, collier's boy at the Soap Pit, Sheffield: 'I stand and open and shut the door; I'm generally in the dark, and sit me down against the door; I stop twelve hours in the pit; I never see daylight now, except on Sundays; I fell asleep one day, and a corve ran over my leg and made it smart; they'd squeeze me against the door if I fall to sleep again.'—Sarah Gooder, aged eight years: 'I'm a trapper in the Gauber Pit. I have to trap without a light, and I'm scared. I go at four and sometimes half-past three in the morning, and come out at five and half-past. I never go to sleep. *Sometimes I sing* when I've light, but *not in the dark; I dare not sing then.*

Digitized by Google

I don't like being in the pit. I am very sleepy when I go sometimes in the morning.'—James Sanderson, eight years old: 'I am a trapper. I sit in the dark all the day, or I run to the bottom of the pit and come back.'—Samuel Hirst, aged nine years and four months, Jump Pit: 'I sit by myself. I never have a light. I sit still all day long, and never do anything except open and shut the door.'—William Martin, not ten years old, Messrs. Houldsworth's Colliery: 'I trap two doors. I never see the daylight except on Sundays.' "

"This occupation is one of the most pitiable in a coal-pit, from its extreme monotony. Exertion there is none, nor labour, further than is requisite to open and shut a door. As these little fellows are always the youngest in the pits, I have generally found them very shy, and they have never anything to say for themselves. Their whole time is spent in sitting in the dark for twelve hours, and opening and shutting a door to allow the waggoners to pass. Were it not for the passing and repassing of the waggons it would be equal to solitary confinement of the worst order."—P. 81.

If darkness be part of hell's punishment, well may the child pray,

ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον, ἐπεί νύ τοι εὕαδεν αὕτως:

and if we have sympathies for dead robins, have we no tear for poor little "Mary Davis, trapper"?

"A very pretty little girl, who was fast asleep under a piece of rock near the air-door below ground. Her lamp had gone out for want of oil; and, upon waking her, she said *the rats*, or some one, *had run away with her bread and cheese, so she went to sleep.*"—P. 31.

"The work [says Ann Eggley, aged 18], is far too hard for me—sometimes, *when we get home at night we have not power to wash us*, and then we go to bed. Sometimes we fall asleep in the chair."—P. 75.

"Fanny Drake, aged fifteen, says: 'I work with my head sometimes; it makes my head sore sometimes, so that I cannot bear it touched; *it is soft too.* I have often had headaches, and colds, and coughs, and sorethroats. I work for James Greenwood; he is no kin to me. The getter [*i.e.* the excavator of the coal] I work with, wears a flannel waistcoat when he is poorly, but when he is quite well, he wears nothing at all. It is about thirty-two inches where we hurry.' "—*Ibid.*

"William Varley 'has worked since he was seven years old—draws with the belt—his belt makes him smart again.' J. Wilson 'has pulled till his hips have hurt him so that he has not known what to do with himself,' and 'the belt chafes.' R. Clarke, 'until he is very sore.' "—P. 70.

"James Pearce, twelve years of age: 'About a year and a half ago I took to the girdle and chain; I do not like it; it hurts me; it rubs my skin off; I often feel pain. I have often had blisters on my side; but when I was more used to it it would not blister, but it smarted very badly. The chain was made of the same stuff as the rope that goes down the pit. I crawled on hands and feet. I often knocked my back against the top of the pit, and it hurt it very sore. The legs ached very badly. When I came home at night I often sat down to rest me by the way, I was so tired. The work made me look much older than I was. I worked at this drawing with girdle and chain three or four months. I thought that if I kept at this work I should be nothing at all, and I went and worked upon the bank. Many boys draw with girdle and chain now. There is not the railway and the dans. It is like drawing on the roads. I think it is a great hurt to a boy: it must be, to draw the same as a horse draws. A great many boys find that they are unable, and give over drawing with girdle and chain. It is very hard, very hard, sir. If they were to lay down rails, and push the coals on dans, it would be very convenient for the boys, though the expense might not be convenient for the masters.' Thomas Hale, between fourteen and fifteen years of age: 'I now draw a dan with a girdle and chain. I do not like it at all; it is hard work. I have marks on my side; it was cut by the girdle. The work is too low for dans; it is only three-

Digitized by Google

quarters high. I never saw any dans pushed; that would be a deal better.' Isaac Tipton, sixteen years of age: 'I next went to draw with the girdle and chain. I had a girdle round the middle, and a chain under my legs; it was very hard work. If I had a bit of time in the pit I laid myself down on my back. We had no time unless something was the matter with the engine. Long before night we were so tired that we could hardly walk home sometimes. The girdle often makes blisters. I have had pieces like shillings and half-crowns, with the skin cocking up, all full of water, and when I put on the girdle the blisters would break and the girdle would stick, and next day they would fill again. These blisters give very great pain. There is no railway in the pits in which they use the girdle and chain. In all the pits about this part they use the girdle and chain. Robert North: 'I went into the pit at seven years of age, to assist to fill the skips. We cannot stop at what work we like; we are shifted. I drew about twelve months. When I drew by the girdle and chain the skin was broken, and the blood ran down. I durst not say anything. If we said anything, they, the butty, and the reeve who works under him, would take a stick and beat us. Men could not do the work, and they compelled us. I have seen lads of nine drawing with the girdle and chain. I have seen many draw at six; but they were not able to draw the full day out. If they are put to do the work, they must do it or be beat.' "—P. 68.

"Isabella Reid, twelve years old: 'I carry about one cwt. and a quarter on my back; have to *stoop much, and creep through water.* When first down, fell frequently asleep, from heat and fatigue. *I do not like the work, nor do the lassies, but they are made to like it.*' (P. 29.) Helen Reid, sixteen years old, coal-bearer: 'I have wrought five years in the mines in this part; my employment is carrying coal. Am frequently worked from four in the morning until six at night. I work night-work week about [alternate weeks]. I then go down at two in the day, and come up at four and six in the morning. I can carry near two cwt. *on* my back. I do not like the work. Two years since the pit closed upon thirteen of us, and we were two days without food or light; nearly one day we were up to our chins in water. At last we got to an old shaft, to which we picked our way, and were heard by people watching above. Two months ago I was filling the tubs at the pit bottom, when the gig clicked too early, and the hook caught me by my pit-clothes—the people did not hear my shrieks—my hand had fast grappled the chain, and the great height of the shaft caused me to lose my courage, and I swooned. The banksman could scarcely remove my hand—*the deadly grasp saved my life.*' "—P. 29.

We never met with a more significant and pathetic phrase than that "deadly grasp." The frightful miseries of what we cannot, with faithfulness, omit, pass all conception of horrors.

"Jane Johnson, aged twenty-nine, draws coal: 'I was seven and a half years of age when my uncle first yoked me to the work, as father and mother were dead; it was at Sheriff-hall, and I carried coal on my back; I could carry 2 cwt. when fifteen years of age; but I now feel the weakness upon me from the strains. I have been married near ten years, and had four children; *have usually wrought till within one or two days of the children's birth.* Many women lose their strength early from overwork, and get injured in their backs and legs; was crushed by a stone some time since, and forced to lose one of my fingers.' Jane Peacock Watson, age forty, coal-bearer: 'I have wrought in the bowels of the earth thirty-three years; have been married twenty-three years, and had nine children, two dead born; thinks they were so from the oppressive work; *a vast of women have dead children* and false births, which are worse, as they are not able to work after the latter. I have always been obliged to work below *till forced to go home to bear the bairn*, and so have all the other women. We return *as soon as able, never longer than ten or twelve days; many less*, if they are much needed. It is only horse-work, and ruins the women; it crushes their haunches, bends their ankles, and makes them old women at forty.

Digitized by Google

Women so soon get weak that they are forced to take the little ones down to relieve them; even children of six years of age do much to relieve the burthen. Knows it is bad to keep bairns from school, but every little helps.' Isabel Hogg, fifty-three years of age, was a coal-bearer: 'Been married thirty-seven years; it was the practice to marry early; when the coals were all carried on women's backs, men needed us; from the great sore labour false births are frequent and very dangerous. I have four daughters married, and *all work below till they bear their bairns*—one is very badly now from working while pregnant, which brought on a miscarriage, from which she is not expected to recover. Collier-people suffer much more than others. You must just tell the Queen Victoria that we are guid loyal subjects; women people here don't mind work, but they object to horse-work; and that she would have the blessings of all the Scotch coal-women if she would get them out of the pits, and send them to other labour.' [Mrs. Hogg is one of the most respectable coal-wives in Penston; her rooms are all well furnished, and the house the cleanest I have seen in East Lothian.] Isabel Wilson, thirty-eight years old, coal-putter: 'When women have children thick (fast) they are compelled to take them down early. When on Sir John's work was a carrier of coals, which caused me to miscarry five times, from the strains, and was gai ill after each; *last child was born on Saturday morning, and I was at work on the Friday night.*' Elizabeth M'Neil, thirty-eight years old, coal-putter: 'Women think little about working below when with child; have wrought below myself till last hour, and returned twelve or fourteen days after. I knew a woman who *came up and the child was born in the field next the coal-hill.* Women frequently miscarry below, and suffer much after; vast of women are *confined before they have time to change themsel.*' Jane Wood, wife of James Wood, formerly a coal-drawer and bearer: 'Worked below more than thirty years. I have two daughters below, who really hate the employment, and often prayed to leave, but we canna do well without them just now. The severe work causes women much trouble; they frequently have premature births. Jenny M'Donald, a neighbour, was laid idle six months, and William King's wife lately died from miscarriage, and a vast of women suffer from similar causes.' Margaret Boxter, fifty years old, coal-hewer: 'I hew the coal; have done so since my husband failed in his breath; he has been off work twelve years. I have a son, daughter, and niece working with me below, and we have sore work to get maintenance. I go down early to hew the coal for my girls to draw; my son hews also. The work is not fit for women, and men could prevent it were they to labour more regular; indeed, men about this place don't wish wives to work in mines, but the masters seem to encourage it—at any rate, the masters never interfere to prevent it.' "—P. 30.

And, to crown all, there is one revolting page (32) of this Report which contains the details of the detestable abominations practised between the sexes in these hells upon earth, which far exceeds in atrocious horror all that we could have conceived possible. Otaheite itself is purity compared with "the abominations which they do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his" pit. One specimen, and that not the most awful, is—

"The case of a girl, being employed as a hurrier, having been attempted to be ravished frequently by her father-in-law [stepfather, we suppose], till at length she could not go down into the pit."—P. 32.

The hours of work vary, but "*universally the youngest children, the trappers* (suprà, p. 683), *descend into the pits first, and ascend last.*" P. 106.

In Derbyshire they work sixteen hours out of the twenty-four; the average in England is twelve hours; in the East of Scotland,

Digitized by Google

"on alternate days, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, and even eighteen hours out of the twenty-four" (p. 110); and in Wales from eight to ten hours. Night-work is very common (pp. 116—119); and of its terrific effects let us attend to—

"James Taylor, going in eleven years of age: 'Used to work at the pit he was last in in the night-shift, when it was his master's turn; when he had been working at night could not sleep in the day, not more than two hours, and then he ran a-playing him. Felt when he slept as though he were waggoning, and dreamt that the waggons were all coming on t'butty and him, that the roof was tumbling in on them, or that George Whitehead, his butty, was 'puncing' [kicking or striking him]. He was a wicked lad, and one time wouldn't let him eat his dinner. When he got up to run about th' loan [lane] after t' other lads, he felt queer, and kept shuttin' his 'een and runnin'. He couldn't feel well after watching all t' neet. Could keep awake all night, constantly working; for if he stopped work he would go to sleep, and then he would have a clout i' the mouth.' William Dronsfield, going in eighteen years of age: 'Worked night-sets in Mr. Wrigley's pits, which are still regularly worked by alternate night and day-shifts. Did not like the night-work, nobody does; would liefer work six days than five nights, for the same money. Felt always quite muzzy and sleepy in the night, when working.'"—P. 115.

"George Anderson, eleven years old: 'Has worked in the night-shift every other fortnight, almost all the year. In the night-shift, went down at four [getting up at three] P.M., and came up at about half-past four in the morning. Was often sleepy. Got his hammers twice [was beaten twice] for being asleep. The putters beat him with their soam-stick [handles], and hurt him and made him cry, because he did not open the door for them.'"—P. 116.

The meals are taken only by snatches; the children are, in many places, most brutally treated by the "butties" or overlookers: "the man threw me down, and put out two of my ribs" (p. 126); and, to select but one portion of evidence out of scores of instances,—

"Margaret Westwood, aged fourteen years and a half: 'I hurry for Charles Littlewood; *I am let to him.* He does not use me well. He pays [*i.e.* strikes me] a good deal, but has not lately. He hits me with his hand. Sometimes he hurts me. When we get to pit's bottom we have to wait sometimes for corves, and then he is angry, and that is what he pays me for.'"—P. 129.

Halifax seems to have a bad pre-eminence in this fiendish brutality.

"At Mr. Thomas Holmes's Shugden Lane Pit I remember meeting with one of the boys, crying very bitterly, and bleeding from a wound in the cheek. I found out his master at a remote heading, who told me, in a tone of savage defiance, 'that the child was one of the slow ones, who would only move *when he saw blood*, and that by throwing a piece of coal at him for that purpose, he had accomplished his object, and that he often adopted the like means.'"—P. 130.

"Margaret Gomley, aged nine: 'They flog us down in the pit, sometimes with their hand, which hurts me very much; Thomas Copeland flogs me more than once in a day, which makes me cry.' William Jagger, aged eleven: 'The men serve me out sometimes—they wallop me; I don't know what for, except 'tis when I don't hurry fast enough.' Harriet Craven, aged eleven: 'What made me cry when you came down was because Ibbotson had been braying [beating] me; he flung a piece of coal as big as my head at me, and it struck me in my back.'"—*Ibid.*

Digitized by Google

Nor is it much better in Lancashire.

"There is a lad called Jonathan Dicks, from St. Helen's workhouse, he gets thrashed very ill. I saw his master beat him with a pickaxe on his legs and arms, and his master cut a great gash in his head with a blow of a pickaxe, and he threw a hundred weight at him and swelled up his eye and made it blue.'—'Were there any other lads who get them?'—'Yes, there is another little lad, called Andrew, I don't know his other name; he is about eight years old; he is half-clammed, and many a time he comes without any dinner or anything to eat, and we give him some of ours.' Alice Singleton, aged twelve: 'Are you ever beaten?'—'Yes, I get beat sometimes.'—'What do they beat with?' 'With a pick-arm, or a belt, or a cut, or anything, just as it happens.'—'Are girls thrashed as boys are?'—'Yes. I have seen wenches thrashed very much; they will thrash a lass as soon as a lad.'"—P. 131.

"William Holt, aged eighteen, Red Delf Pit, Over-Darwen, Blackburn: 'Has been beat with pick-haum, hammer, and lumps of wood; never made any bruises; some as gets their legs broke with it, striking too hard, and [the striker] does not think of it; never seed any, but has heard tell of it; has seen when they gotten an eye knocked out by whizzing stones at them. Does not beat his drawers yet; does not mean to. Some as is great ones does it to some as is not their own.'"—P. 132.

Perhaps the unearthly ferocity of the following has been unparalleled in the world's history.

"Robert Tweedale, aged fourteen: 'The getter [who hews the coal] he thrutched for [carried for] was a wicked old fellow, named Charles Hill; *once he bit him by the thigh, and lifted him to the roof in his mouth;* many a time has he hit him on the side of his head. Worked with him a year, and has been with him four times over. He bit him because he had no strength to lift the tub on the rails when he came to them in the main-way. Because he could no' work with him 'gradely' [kindly], left him."—P. 132.

This monstrous deed occurred at Oldham. And, without sickening our readers with other and superfluous particulars, we rapidly group together—

"The chief accidents to which persons employed in coal mines are exposed are,—1, falling down the shaft, whether of a pit in work or of one now abandoned; 2, the falling of something on the head while descending or ascending the shaft; 3, the breaking of the rope or chain; 4, the falling of something from the roof of the mine; 5, the being drawn over the pulley and dashed to the ground or precipitated down the shaft from the neglect of the engine-man; 6, being crushed by a mass of coal unexpectedly falling while the hewers are 'undergoing;' 7, suffocation by carbonic acid gas; 8, suffocation or burning, or both, from the explosion of carbureted hydrogen gas; 9, drowning from the sudden breaking in of water from old workings; 10, minor accidents from falls in the mine and injuries from the horses and carriages."—Pp. 136, 137.

and the effects of over-working:—

"William Fletcher, aged thirty-three, collier, West Hallam: 'Considers the collier's life a very hard one, both for man and boy; the latter full as hard as the former.'"—"John Beaseley, collier, aged forty-nine, Shipley: 'He has known instances where children have been so overcome with the work as to cause them to go off in a decline; he has seen those who could not get home without their father's assistance, and have fallen asleep before they could be got to bed; has known children of six years old sent to the pit, but thinks there are none at Shipley under seven or eight; in his opinion a boy is too weak to stand the hours even to drive between until he is eight or nine years old; the boys go down at six in the morning, and has known them kept down until nine or ten, until they are "almost ready to exhaust;" the children and young persons work the same hours as the men; the children are obliged to work in

Digitized by Google

the night if the wagon-road is out of repair, or the water coming on them; it happens sometimes two or three times in the week; they then go down at six P.M. to six A.M., and have from ten minutes to half an hour allowed for supper, according to the work they have to do; they mostly ask the children who have been at work the previous day to go down with them, but seldom have to oblige them; when he was a boy he has worked for thirty-six hours running many a time, and many more besides himself have done so.'—William Wardle, aged forty, Eastwood: 'There is no doubt colliers are much harder worked than labourers; indeed it is the hardest work under heaven.'—Samul Richards, aged forty, Awsworth: 'There are Sunday-schools when they will go; but when boys have been beaten, knocked about, and covered with sludge all the week, they want to be in bed to rest all day on Sunday.' William Sellers, operative, aged twenty-two, Butterley Company: 'When he first worked in a pit he has been so tired that he has slept as he walked.'"

"*** *** engine-man, Babbington: 'Has, when working whole days, often seen the children lie down on the pit-bank and go to sleep, they were so tired.' John Attenborough, schoolmaster, Greasley: 'Has observed the collier children are more tired and dull than the others, but equally as anxious to learn.'—Ann Birkin: 'Is mother to Thomas and Jacob, who work in Messrs. Fenton's pits; they have been so tired after a whole day's work that she has at times had to wash them and lift them into bed.'—Hannah Neale, Butterley Park: 'They come home so tired that they become stiff, and can hardly get to bed. Constantine, the one ten years old, formerly worked in the same pit as his brothers, but about half a year since his toe was cut off by the bind falling; notwithstanding this, the loader made him work until the end of the day, although in the greatest pain. He was out of work more than four months owing to this accident.'—Ellen Wagstaff, Watnall: 'Has five children, three at Trough-lane and two at Willow-lane, Greasley; one at Trough-lane is eighteen, one fourteen, one thirteen years of age; and those at Willow-lane are sixteen and nineteen: they are variously employed; the youngest was not seven years old when he first went to the pits. The whole have worked since they were seven or seven and a half; they have worked from six to eight; from six to two for half-days; no meal time in half-days; she has known them when at full work so tired when they first worked, that you could not hear them speak, and they fell asleep before they could eat their suppers; it has grieved her to the heart to see them.'—Ann Wilson, Underwood: 'Is mother to Richard Clarke and mother-in-law to Matthew Wilson. Has heard what they have said, and believes it to be true; has known when they work whole days they have come home so tired and dirty, that they could scarcely be prevented lying down on the ashes by the fire-side, and could not take their clothes off; has had to do it for them, and take them to the brook to wash them, and has set up most of the night to get their clothes dry. The next morning they have gone to the pit like bears to the stake.'—Hannah Brixton, Babbington: 'The butties slave them past anything. Has frequently had them drop asleep as soon as they have got in the house, and complain of their legs and arms aching very bad.'"

"William Hawley, schoolmaster, Ilkeston: 'Has certainly perceived those children who work in the pits much more dull and stupid than the others, both at school and chapel; it is his opinion children are sent to work at the pits too young, and it is decidedly too long for children to work from six to eight; he has often to complain of the colliers' children's bad attendance on Sunday mornings, and the reply generally is they were so tired they overslept themselves.' Isaac Rowbotham, schoolmaster, West Hallam: 'Has observed boys who have been brought up in the free-school, and afterwards worked in a pit, and attended the Sunday-school, read much worse than they formerly did, appear duller, and more tired than other boys, although equally as willing to learn.' Samuel Brentnall, Kimberley School: 'Has been Superintendent more than six years; has observed the pit-boys much duller and more stupid at learning; they are very heavy and drowsy, and frequently drop asleep during

Digitized by Google

the service; has observed this much more so amongst the younger ones.' Daniel Hook, schoolmaster, Radford: 'Has often observed and mentioned it, that the pit-boys are anxious and willing to be taught, but he scarcely ever knew one but what was duller than the other boys in the school, and always appeared more tired and sleepy.'" [This opinion was agreed to by the other teachers.]—Pp. 174, 175.

of which one of the parents states—

"They come as tired as dogs, and throw themselves on the ground like dogs here, (pointing to the hearthstone before the fire,) we cannot get them to bed."—P. 178. "Girls of eighteen never wash themselves at night, they are so tired."—P. 177. Peter Gaskell used to "hear his sister complain of the boils on her back, and her legs all eaten with wales. She had to go through water to her work. She used to go out about four o'clock in the morning."—*Ibid.*

and the frightful diseases which their work brings on; such as "the muscles developed to an unnatural degree amounting to deformity: the muscles of the back and loins *stood from the body and appeared like a rope passing under the skin*:" the "thin and gaunt appearance of adults," "epilepsy arising from over-exertion," "*hemorrhagia purpurea* (a suffusion of blood under the cuticle) from the same cause," "stunted growth," "crippled gait, curvature of the spine, in-kneed:"

"The hair is very often worn off bald, and the part is swollen so that sometimes it is like a bulb filled with spongy matter, so very bad after they have done their day's work, that they cannot bear it touching." William Holt: "Some thrutched with their head, because they cannot thrutch enough with their hands alone. Thrutching with the head makes a gathering in the head, and makes them very ill."—P. 187.

nausea, vomiting, asthma, "that disease peculiar to colliers, called 'black spittle,' rheumatism, chronic diseases of the glands, local irritations, ruptures, premature old age," the "average duration of life reduced to 40," not "six colliers aged 60 in a population of 1000," and, last of all, the sad summing up.

"From a consideration of the whole of the preceding evidence it appears that persons employed in coal mines in general acquire a preternatural development of the muscles, especially about the arms, shoulders, chest, and back; that for some time they are capable of prodigious muscular exertion; that in a few years their strength diminishes, and many lose their robust appearance; that these then become pallid, stunted in growth, short of breath, sometimes thin, and often crooked and crippled, and that, in addition to several minor ailments, which, however, occasion no inconsiderable suffering, they are peculiarly subject to certain mortal diseases, the direct result of their employment, and of the state of the place in which they work."—P. 194.

To complete this picture of moral and physical degradation, we subjoin a finished study from "E. Waring, Esq.," Sub-commissioner in the Forest of Dean.

"John Harvey, thirteen years of age, a carter in Crown Pit (Mr. Waters's): 'Gets potatoes and butter, or potatoes fried with bacon, when he goes home from the pit; gets whatever he can catch; is always very hungry after work; seldom has as much as he could eat. Does not go to Sunday-school, because

Digitized by Google.

he has no clothes besides what he works in; cannot read; never had a pair of shoes or stockings in his life.' Sub-commissioner: 'This boy has evidently been stunted in his growth: I should say more from want of sufficient food than any other cause. He states that he has rarely as much as he wants, and subsequently acknowledged that he had sometimes gone without food for two or three days! He is straight, and not badly proportioned, but has altogether a melancholy and starveling appearance. Mr. Waters confirmed this boy's statement, on my naming his assertion of having gone without food for two or three days, saying that he learnt the fact too late to obviate such sad privation. It was named to him immediately afterwards, and he knows this poor little fellow did actually work in the pit for three days, without food, for sheer poverty, which should not have happened had he known in time that the boy was so badly off. He has a drunken father, and an improvident mother."

"This lad is a pitiable specimen of a much-enduring class of colliery boys, whose subsistence depends on their own exertions, often prematurely stimulated, either from being deprived of their fathers by death, or labouring under the curse of drunken, dissolute, and unfeeling parents, who would apathetically see their children enslave themselves, rather than contribute to their comfort by a single act of self-denial. These neglected beings turn out in the morning, taking with them a scanty bag of provisions, to be eaten in the bowels of the earth, where they toil out their daily dole of eight or ten hours; then return to a comfortless home, taking their chance of a good meal, a bad one, or none at all. For a bed they are content with an old coal-sack laid upon straw, or occupy whatever portion they can secure of a family bed, which must suffice for three or four other inmates. Groveling in their habits, depressed in spirit, and without any stimulus to improvement, these poor boys passively take such work, and wages, as they can most readily obtain; and if they can satisfy the cravings of hunger, seem to abandon all expectation of anything further, beyond the most sordid covering for their nakedness, and a place of shelter and repose. Some of them will eagerly ask permission to work by night occasionally, as well as by day, for the sake of a small addition to their weekly pittance.

"To these victims of ignorance and poverty the Sabbath is a day of wearisome vacuity, or reckless play. An act of worship is nearly as strange to them as to a Hottentot unenlightened by Christianity. Instruction they have no idea of, and, if they had, the want of decent clothing would keep them from mingling with their better-provided yoke-fellows at the Sunday-school. This is, indeed, the picture of an extreme case; but it is only too correct an outline which might be filled up with still darker colours in pourtraying the unhappy class to which Harvey belongs. It will be seen by the evidence that this half-fed and half-clothed lad—stunted in growth, so that his companion in carting, though two years younger than himself, is a full head taller—assists in drawing 2 cwt. of coal a distance of 160 yards in a tub without wheels. I did not ascertain how many tubs are carted by these two boys, one pulling and the other pushing behind, during their day's work; but, judging from the general practice, I should say from fifty to sixty. Even supposing them to be fewer, this is surely hard labour for the poor returns of 5*s.* 6*d.* weekly, that is, 3*s.* to Harvey, and 2*s.* 6*d.* to his helper.

"The other boy has a good and careful mother, who feeds him well, and keeps whole garments on his back; whilst Harvey's father is represented to be a drunkard, and his mother an improvident slattern. The poor little fellow told me he had never in his life possessed a pair of shoes or stockings. There is but too manifest a deficiency in nutritious diet and comfortable clothing, in the case of large families, where few are old enough to earn even the smallest pittance. Still the colliers, as a class, are considered better off than the agricultural labourers; and I have every reason to believe this to be the fact."

The appalling results of this inhuman course of life we learn from the second volume:—

Digitized by Google

"James Taylor, a clever, but, like his companions in labour, an uninstructed child, eleven years of age, 'Has heard of hell in the pit when the men swear; has never heard of Jesus Christ; has never heard of God, but has heard the men in the pit say 'God damn thee.' Does not know what county he is in; has never been anywhere but here, i' th' pit, and at Rochdale; never heard of London: has heard of the Queen, but dunnot know who he is.' Some of the better men in the same neighbourhood say: 'There are plenty of married up-grown men about here, of thirty and forty years of age, who cannot tell a word in the Bible, nor reckon the wages which they have to receive, and it is they who are the worst characters; they will swear very heavily, and drink terribly—drink what their families should have. Some of these declare their disbelief in a future state, and their opinion that they will die like a dog, and then be done wi'. When they miss Sabbath-school and week-day-school too, they become hardened, and they canna' believe, and will na' believe; such men are dirty in their habits and degraded in their conversation, delighting only in bawdy talk. They say their fathers disbelieved, and did as they do, and this is true, and from the same causes that are affecting the poor children now.

"Of the state of ignorance of the colliery children in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Mr. Symons gives, among many others, the following examples:—'Three girls (all employed in the pits), of the ages of sixteen, fifteen, and eleven, were examined, not one of whom could read easy words without constant spelling, and two of whom knew their letters imperfectly. I found two of these girls perfectly ignorant. They had no knowledge even of the existence of a Saviour, and assured both the curate and myself that they had not heard about Christ at all.' A girl eighteen years old:—'I never learnt nought. I never go to church or chapel. I have never heard that a good man came into the world, who was God's Son, to save sinners. I never heard of Christ at all. Nobody has ever told me about him, nor have my father and mother ever taught me to pray. I know no prayer: I never pray. I have been taught nothing about such things.' 'The Lord sent Adam and Eve on earth to save sinners.' 'I don't know who made the world; I never heard about God,' 'Jesus Christ was a shepherd; he came a hundred years ago to receive sin. I don't know who the Apostles were.' 'Jesus Christ was born in heaven, but I don't know what happened to him; he came on earth to commit sin; yes, to commit sin. Scotland is a country, but I don't know where it is. I never heard of France.' 'I don't know who Jesus Christ was; I never saw him, but I have seen Foster, who prays about him.' 'I have been three years at a Sunday-school. I don't know who the Apostles were. Jesus Christ died for his son to be saved.' The following children and young persons of all ages say that they don't know who Jesus Christ was, and have never heard of him."

"Similar are the answers given by the colliery children examined in the neighbourhood of Halifax:—'I don't know who God is. I have heard of God and Jesus Christ, but I cannot tell who that was. If I died a good girl I should go to heaven, &c. They told me that at the school yesterday. I did not know it before.' 'I don't know if he (the man for whom he hurried, was his uncle) is related to me; I don't know what you mean by uncle or cousin. I never went to day-school or Sunday-school. I cannot read or write. I never heard of Jesus Christ. I don't know what you mean by God. I never heard of Adam, or know what you mean by Scriptures. I have heard of a Bible, but don't know what 'tis all about. I do not know what would become of me hereafter if I am wicked; I have never been told. If I tell a falsehood or lie, I tell a lie: it may be good or bad, but I don't know the difference.' Employer:—'You have expressed some surprise at Thomas Mitchell (the preceding witness) not having heard of God. I judge there are very few colliers hereabout that have.'

"Of the young people examined in Cumberland, the Sub-commissioner states that the evidence of the child, John Holmes, is a very fair sample of the general state of education among these benighted children. 'I don't go to Sunday-school, because I don't like, and I'd rather play. I used to read the

Digitized by Google

Testament. I don't know who Jesus Christ was. I never heard tell of God neither. [One child said he had, for the men damned at him very often.] I am taught to say my prayers, and I say them. I don't know who I pray to.'" —Pp. 155, 156.

"A girl, eleven years of age, who states that she has been to a day-school and a Sunday-school, 'has never heard of another world, nor of heaven nor another life.' One young person, of seventeen years of age, did not know how many two and two made, nor how many farthings there were in twopence, even when the money was placed in his hand. Some boys had never heard of such a place as London, nor of Willenhall, which is only three miles distant, and in constant communication with Wolverhampton. Some have never heard the name her Majesty, nor such names as Wellington, Nelson, Buonaparte, &c. But it is to be especially remarked, that, among all those who had never even heard such names as St. Paul, Moses, or Solomon, there was a general knowledge of the characters and course of life of Dick Turpin the highwayman, and more particularly of Jack Sheppard the robber and prison-breaker.

"One boy, of sixteen or seventeen, could not tell how many twice two made, nor how much money four farthings made; another boy of seventeen told me that ten farthings made ten halfpence, &c.; and another boy, aged sixteen, stopped me short in some very simple questions as to how many ounces were in a pound, &c., by informing me at once that 'he was no judge o' nothin'.'

"Of the state of confusion, when not in absolute darkness as to religious subjects, in which the minds of these children are, even though they have been in regular attendance at Sunday-schools from five to seven years, the following are examples:—'Has attended a Sunday-school regularly for five years; does not know who Jesus Christ was, but has heard the name of it; never heard of the twelve apostles; never heard of Samson, nor of Jonah, nor of Moses, nor Aaron,' &c. 'Has attended Sunday-school regularly nearly six years; knows who Jesus Christ was; he died on the cross to shed his blood to save our Saviour; never heard of St. Peter or St. Paul.' 'Has attended the Sunday-schools of different kinds about seven years; can read only in the thin books, easy words of one syllable; has heard of the apostles; does not know if St. Peter was one, nor if St. John was one, unless it was St. John Wesley; does not know anything about Job; never heard of Samson,' &c. 'When the name of Jesus Christ has been heard, extraordinary desecrations or confusions, the result of ignorance, have been developed in the reply to any further questions. One boy, on being asked if he knew who Jesus Christ was, replied, 'Yes—Adam;' another boy replied, 'He was an apostle;' another that 'He was the Saviour's Lord's son;' and another, a young person of sixteen years of age, thought that 'Jesus Christ was a king of London a long time ago.'

"'Many of the children,' continues Mr. Horne, 'told me they always said their prayers at night, and the prayer they said was 'Our Father.' I naturally thought they meant that they repeated the Lord's Prayer, but I soon found that few of them knew it. They only repeated the first two words: they knew no more than 'Our Father!' These poor children, after their laborious day's work, lying down to sleep with this simple appeal, seemed to me inexpressibly affecting. *Having nothing but harsh task-masters in this world, or 'working under their father,' it was probably the only true sense in which they could use the words.*"—Pp. 170, 171.

Now, making allowance for the obviously stupid way in which these examinations were conducted, and for the boorish awe inspired in the hearts of these poor little "trappers," fresh, or rather bleeding, from the stripes of the brutal "butties," dazzled, like bats, by the glare of daylight, to which they had been long unaccustomed, and by the imposing pomp of the gentlemen Sub-commissioners, sitting at a green table, pen in hand, with questions ready to mystify their small

Digitized by Google

addled brains,—abating for such obvious *Joe Millers*,* recorded in our foot-note, with which one Mr. Grainger enlivens the painful catalogue of horrors—putting off the roll all the talk of a Dr. Becham (p. 165), who considers "the miners of the West of England a religious people," because they are fond of revivals, or, as he somewhat cumbrously expresses it, "they exhibit a tendency to enthusiasm, recurring in paroxysms," which he considers very delightful, and attributes to "the Celtic origin," of the Cornish-men, whereas, he might as well have assigned it to the influence of Tintagel Castle,—setting aside, with the contempt which it deserves, the evidence of a certain Mr. H. H. Jones (p. 159), who is permitted by the Commissioners, in detailing the triumphs of heretics in the Forest of Dean, to couple together, as the delightful evidences of their success, "the improved moral and religious habits of the people, and—*the desertion of the churches*," as well as another astounding proof adduced by Mr. Waring *(ibid.)* of the change effected by "those great reformers of life and manners, the celebrated Wesley and Whitfield, that many of the Kingswood colliers are now members of *various* religious societies;" which is expressed with a happy equivocation, as though the perfection of religion, in a Sub-commissioner's mind, were to belong to a dozen sects at once, or balancing these sneers at the Church by the admission of another Mr. Jones (p. 160), about "a local preacher who was sent to the House of Correction for stealing fire-wood;" from which he naturally enough deduces his persuasion that, "notwithstanding the numerous chapels [meeting-houses] of the dissenters, their frequent preaching, and Sunday schools, there is yet *something else* wanted, to remove the ignorance, and to raise the tone of morality, among the working classes of this district," (p. 160,)—we say, making allowance for all this, and for the high colouring which all "blue books" lay on, the residuum is enough to appal—would that it might soften—the stoutest christian heart. But we have not yet done with this hideous baring and laying open of our festering corruptions, which disgrace humanity in its rudest form.

Of Birmingham we hear that—

"As to illicit sexual intercourse, *it seems to prevail almost universally*, and from a *very early period of life*.—Of the total number of suspected thieves, one half were under 15 years of age: affection between children and parents is destroyed,—many will steal from their own parents: the latter are too often insulted and despised by the former." (pp. 176, 177.)

In Wolverhampton—

* "In the Birmingham district, as a specimen of the fitness for their office of the keepers of the schools to which the younger children are sent, it is stated that 'a mistress in one of this class of schools, on being asked whether she gave moral instruction to her scholars, 'No, I can't afford it for 3d. a-week.' Another, in reply to the same question, said, 'How is it likely, when they can hardly say their A, B, C?' Several did not know the meaning of the question; and of those who did, very few appeared to think it was a part of their duty to instruct the children in morals. Several have candidly owned that they lay under this impression. One, in particular, insisted, with much warmth, that to teach morals was the duty of the parents, not hers. Another observed that she did not presume to teach morals but she strove to *imbibe* good principles into them."

Digitized by Google

"The child instinctively feels that it is used as a mere bit of machinery,—all mutual affection in families is lost: children in all the innocent impressibility of tender years are thrown into the immediate society of adults, dissolute and depraved in the last degree." (p. 177.)

In Sheffield "youths and children spend the Sunday in gambling for halfpence. I counted 205 children loitering along one street, 500 yards in length;—dog-fighting is a common Sunday recreation."

"But it is stated by all classes of witnesses that 'the most revolting feature of juvenile depravity in this town is, early contamination from the association of the sexes;' that 'juvenile prostitution is exceedingly common,' and that this is proved not only by 'the language of the children, even in the open streets, which is often most disgusting,' but 'by the numerous instances of solitary companionship of children of opposite sex, which every one must encounter who walks out in an evening.' 'The outskirts of the town,' says one of the clergymen, 'are absolutely polluted by this abomination; nor is the vale of darkness nor seclusion always sought by these degraded beings. Too often they are to be met in small parties, who appear to associate for the purpose of promiscuous intercourse, their ages being apparently about fourteen or fifteen.' 'The evidence,' says the Sub-commissioner, 'might have been doubled which attests the early commencement of sexual and promiscuous intercourse among boys and girls.'"—P. 179.

"Their horrid words, their ferocious gestures, their hideous laughter, their brutal, bloated, mindless faces, appal and amaze the stranger."—*Ibid.*

At Sedgely, of the girls, Mr. Horne reports—

"Their appearance, manners, habits, and moral natures (so far as the word *moral* can be applied to them) are in accordance with their half-civilized condition. Constantly associating with ignorant and depraved adults and young persons of the opposite sex, they naturally fall into all their ways; and drink, smoke, swear, throw off all restraint in word and act, and become as bad as a man. The heat of the forge and the hardness of the work, render few clothes needful in winter; and in summer, the six or seven individuals who are crowded into these little dens find the heat almost suffocating. The men and boys are usually naked, except a pair of trousers and an open shirt, though very often they have no shirt; and the women and girls have only a thin ragged petticoat, and an open shirt without sleeves." (p. 181.)

Nor is this worse than heathenism confined to manufacturing districts; the herding together of young females in the lace-making and straw-plaiting districts is equally ruinous; of the latter we are told—

"Young persons of both sexes are engaged in it; and as in summer they take their work into fields and congregate much together, the usual consequence of such intercourse ensues, and chastity is at a sad discount, while prostitution is at a high premium. This was the opinion of every one I conversed with on the subject. The Rev. M. Payne, of Chesham, in answer to educational queries, says,—'I have already intimated, and I do it with regret, that the religious and moral condition of some of the youths in this town is painfully distressing; fornication is lamentably frequent.'" (p. 132.)

Indeed, the moral depravity of these classes of society is not to be wondered at, bearing in mind the miserable childhood which ripens into such adolescence as we have described.

And now, surely, we have gained the very portal of hell itself, if one mighty bard describes it*:—

* Inferno, canto. iii.

Digitized by Google

"Here sighs, with lamentations, and loud moans,
Resounded through the air, pierced by no star,
That e'en I wept at entering. Various tongues,
Horrible languages, outcries of woe,
Accents of anger, voices deep and hoarse,
With hands together smote that swell'd the sounds,
Made up a tumult, that for ever whirls
Round through that air with solid darkness stain'd:"

he might have added even to his list of horrors from the appalling Tartarus of our British manufacturing towns,—especially from the earthenware manufactory:

"The children most to be commiserated are those called 'jiggers and mould-runners,' who are employed by the dish, saucer, and plate makers. Each man employs two boys, one to turn the jigger or horizontal wheel, the other to carry the ware from the whirler to the hot-house on moulds. The children thus employed constantly work in a temperature ranging from 100° to 130°. A man frequently makes eight score-dozen saucers in a week, each dozen counting thirty-six pieces; each piece is carried twice to the hot-house, and weighs, mould and bat, 2 lbs.; but as two pieces are carried at the same time, they count but as one; that is to say, as 4 lbs. each trip. A child carries in the week, reckoning his working hours at seventy-two, 23,040 lbs., or 3840 lbs. each day. In carrying this weight he journeys 45 miles 1440 yards every week, or seven miles 1120 yards per day. Besides this, he has to mount one, two, or three steps, to place the pieces on the shelves, to wedge the clay in the yard, whilst his master is taking his pipe or his pot; to collect the half-dried pieces from the shelves; to come half an hour or more before his master in the morning to get coals in and ashes out, and to sweep and make the room ready, and to do anything else that may be wanted, having probably to walk a mile before and after his work. The men work by the piece, and, whatever the quantity of work to be done, they are usually idle during the early part of the week, seldom resuming their labour from noon on Saturday until Tuesday or Wednesday morning. On 'the middle days' they work extra hours to make up lost time. Then the child, instead of leaving off work at six at night, is obliged to continue his labour until nine or ten. 'The runner,' says John Johnson, a bowl and saucer maker, 'carries two pieces to the stove, twice over, to a distance, taking the average of stoves, of from five to ten yards; besides this work, he has at intervals, whilst the man is laking (idling), to wedge the clay in readiness for him, and to run up, in addition, two or three steps to reach the upper shelves, and to collect the saucers from the moulds when sufficiently hardened. Plate running is harder still, as the weights they have to carry are considerable. Many boys—my boys now—work from six o'clock in the morning until nine at night, making 15 hours a-day, deducting one hour and a half for meals, frequently working the best part of the meal-times; but this depends on the man, as to whether he is forward or not in his work."—P. 45.

or from the machine lace-making, in which "many women keep the children sixteen or eighteen hours a day at work."—P. 56.

"Among the small masters, who have each one or two machines, it is the custom for one set of children to work for two or three masters. The masters often live a long way from each other; children have often to go one or two miles; from Snenton to Radford is one mile and a half; from Snenton to Hyson Green two miles or better. They are always wanted when the machine comes off, whatever may be the hour of the day or night; they are required just as much by night as by day, unless the men will accommodate the children, which is very rarely done, especially when trade is good. When there has been a good pattern, and the machine in constant use, the children 'have scarcely a bit of peace,' they have no regular time for meals, 'no time

Digitized by Google

for nothing;' when one machine is off another is on. Was himself formerly a threader, and then a winder. Has often gone at six in the morning, and has had no time to get anything to eat, except a mouthful, now and then, till three or four in the afternoon. It is the same now, when trade is good. The children have no regular time for meals; they have their food sent to them, and they eat when they can; some have nothing but a bit of bread. There is no more regular time for sleeping than for eating; the children often lie down 'in the middle of the shop floor when it is warm.' Thinks hundreds have been sent to the grave by this work. It is enough to kill the children, going half fed and clothed to work in the night, at this time of the year."—P. 57.

or from calico-printing, which seems the very Moloch of our English idolatry;

> "Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice and parents' tears;
> Their children's cries unheard that passed through fire
> To his grim idol."

"Margaret Isherwood, eight years old, states that 'before she was six years and a half old she worked all night three or four nights a week.' Ralph Harmer 'has been at work about two years; has worked all night many a time.' John Monk, eleven years old: 'Began work when I was six years old; I have worked all night; I went at six at night, and worked while six in the morning; I worked all night not long since.' [Sub-commissioner: 'A very little boy in appearance, but I believe his statement was correct; the foreman was by at the time.'] Henry Hughes, nearly nine, teerer: 'I have worked all night many a time; I have worked all day and all night, too, without stopping, excepting for meals.' John Cunliffe, aged ten, teerer: 'I worked all night last week but one. I came on Friday morning at six o'clock, worked all day and all night until Saturday morning at six o'clock; I felt very sleepy; master did not beat me to keep me awake; I took snuff to keep myself awake, and once I washed my face.' Ellen Hughes, aged ten, teerer: 'I have worked at teering all night: I don't like it at all; I have to get out of my bed at twelve o'clock at night, and work till twelve o'clock next day.' Ellen Radcliffe, ten years old, hooker: 'I was once a teerer, but I could not stand the work. I once worked three nights teering blue colour, but it made me sick and giddy in my head, and I could not eat my meat.' Margaret Morris, going ten, teerer: 'Many a time I worked all night and all day too; sometimes I have gone at eight in the morning, worked all day and all night until eight the next morning. I have worked in the night only; then I used to go at twelve o'clock at night, and stay there till twelve next day at noon.' (P. 69.) Robert Kellat, block-printer: 'Has seen a child, named Hellin, seven years old, work from six in the morning until eleven at night, for a week together on an average. He teered for his father, who worked him quite beyond his strength. I saw him one morning, when his father had given over work at breakfast-time, fall fast asleep on the cold flags.' [Sub-commissioner: 'This child I saw when I visited that establishment; but, as his father was beside him, I could get no answers from him. He appeared very young. His arms were thin and emaciated.']"—P. 69.

"Robert Kellat, block-printer, states that on one occasion he worked thirty-four hours in succession with an interval only of five hours; that his own child worked with him all those hours, and that she was but eleven years old. 'She became very sleepy about nine o'clock, her usual bedtime, for she had never been asleep all the time we were at work, and we had very little time for our meals. I had to shake her frequently, and beat her a little sometimes if she made bad work. The following week I had to come at twelve o'clock at night and work until twelve o'clock the next day. *My child became ill very soon after we began working, and vomited every three or four minutes until about two*

Digitized by Google

o'clock, when I took her home and gave her some medicine, and brought her back again at five o'clock the same morning. She was not fit to come, but I was very much pressed, so she had to go on working until twelve o'clock." P. 72.

And of the general appearance of these human slaughterhouses, we may judge from this sketch, which is of adequate accuracy:—

"The rooms are all crowded with dangerous machinery, so close that you can scarcely pass; indeed, some operations have to be stopped, in order that you may pass at all, so that there shall be room for the body to effect its passage, a safe distance being out of the question. Not any of this machinery is boxed off, or guarded in any way. It is a frightful place, turn which way you will. There is a constant hammering roar of wheels, so that you could not possibly hear any warning voice. You have but once to stumble on your passage from one place to another, or to be thinking of something else, and you are certain to be punished with the loss of a limb. Little boys and girls are here seen at work at the tip-punching machines (all acting by steam power) with their fingers in constant danger of being punched off once in every second, while at the same time they have their heads between two whirling wheels a few inches distant from each ear. 'They seldom lose the hand,' said one of the proprietors to me, in explanation; 'it only takes off a finger at the first or second joint. Sheer carelessness—looking about them—entirely through carelessness!' [Evidence: 'At this manufactory fingers are pinched off at the tip-turning machine; punched off at the punch-engines; and smashed (perhaps the whole hand) by the tip-hammer.']" Pp. 90, 91.

The most ferocious cruelty is practised upon these poor little children, on whose blood their parents actually batten, and spend their miserable earnings in profligacy and drunkenness.

"In Sedgley they are sometimes struck with a red-hot iron, and burnt and bruised simultaneously; sometimes they have 'a flash of lightning' sent at them. When a bar of iron is drawn white-hot from the forge it emits fiery particles, which the man commonly flings in a shower upon the ground, by a swing of his arm, before placing the bar upon the anvil. This shower is sometimes directed at the boy. It may come over his hand and face, his naked arms, or on his breast. If his shirt be open in front, which is usually the case, the red-hot particles are lodged therein, and he has to shake them out as fast as he can. *The punishment of nailing the ear to the counter,* and of 'winding up' is stated on the authority of one witness only, a child of twelve years old."

"A few months ago an adult workman broke a boy's arm by a blow with a *piece of iron;* the boy went to school till his arm got well; his father and mother thought it a good opportunity to give him some schooling." P. 80.

"* * *, aged sixteen: 'his master stints him from six in the morning till ten, and sometimes eleven at night, as much as ever he can do; and if he don't do it, his master gives him no supper, and gives him a good hiding, sometimes with a big strap, sometimes with a big stick. His master has cut his head open five times—once with a key and twice with a lock; knocked the corner of a lock into his head twice—once with an iron bolt, and once with an iron shut—a thing that runs into the staple. His master's name is —— ——, of Little London. There is another apprentice besides him, who is treated just as bad.' —* * *, aged fifteen: 'works at knob-locks with —— ——. Is a fellow-apprentice with —— ——. Lives in the house of his master. Is beaten by his master, who hits him sometimes with his fists, and sometimes with the file-haft, and sometimes with a stick—it's no matter what when he's a bit cross; sometimes hits him with the locks; has cut his head open four or five times; so he has his fellow-apprentice's head. Once, when he cut his head open with a key, thinks half a pint of blood run off him.'" P. 81.

In short, we might reprint the whole Reports;—in every branch of

Digitized by Google

human labour,—in all that contributes to our comforts and luxuries, and wealth—in all that has spread the name of England and its manufactures beyond either pole, there is the most reckless and devilish expenditure of human life; infants' tears stiffen and defile our costliest fabrics; velvet and silk, purple and fine linen, all smell of blood,—"the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten them;" there is not a lady, however fair and gentle, who is not decked out in the pride of a ball-room dress but at the cost of unnumbered groans, and miserable broken hearts, and weeping eyes, and sleepless nights and cold, shivering walks, taken by half-starved, half-clothed, wan, sickly girls, creeping like evil spirits, vile, wretched, sinful, diseased, to their daily, nightly toil, polluted alike in body and soul.

"Nakedness, hunger, shortness of stature, filth, scrofulous tumours, all combine to render their youth the prelude to a vicious and wretched manhood. Without affecting particular sensibility, I must say that no man of ordinary feeling could pass down the Trongate last winter, with the snow frozen fast to the pavement, and meeting the cutting, piercing, east wind, without his heart aching at the sights he saw. Scores of children, of both sexes, were to be seen, in groups of two or three, scuffling along the snowy streets, with feet either quite naked or only protected by the remnant of a slipper, and mere rags over the rest of the body, the boys often without hats, and the girls with a sort of *mantilla*, consisting of a coarse bit of sackcloth hung over their heads, and held together beneath the chin, sometimes clothed in a large woman's gown cut short, with the original sleeves like bags on each side. The wind showed the lightness of the garments worn by others, and the ease with which it could pierce to their very bones." P. 114.

Oh could we but count up the souls which are damned for the fitting up of a single drawing-room! Could we but measure the sins which have been committed before a palace is filled! But our heart sickens at the bare recital of such countless horrors, or we could tell a worse tale than even these, of the sufferings endured by fair and delicate girls—often, alas! gently born—who, as milliners, and that at the age of seventeen or eighteen, for "*three months successively never had more than four hours' rest*," who have worked "from four o'clock on Thursday morning, till half-past ten on Sunday morning, *standing nearly the whole time to keep awake*,"—(p. 115:) who work '*for a month together with only two hours' rest*:" as whom "no men work so long,"—(p. 116,) and of whom Sir James Clark distinctly and emphatically pronounced that their work is more fatal than that "of any manufactory."

But we have done: and this, then, is Christian England! Is this the purest church upon earth, which has never yet, save in inaudible whispers, protested against this oppression and slavery, this wickedness and misery, unparalleled in extent and amount since the first cry of misery was heard upon a world of sin and sorrow? Is this the blessed constitution in which liberty is the very air which we breathe? Is this Charity's chosen home? Is this Faith's dearest temple? Is this Hope's greenest retreat? Is this the favoured home of all that is noble and beautiful, and honest, and chaste, and lovely, and of good report?

Digitized by Google

Instead of the daily intercessions of the land of saints rising like incense from our twice ten thousand altars to the throne of grace—

> "God hears a voice like charger terrified,
> Like hell's hoarse gate whose hinge grates thunder dire,
> Like iron plectrum on a brazen lyre—
> Harsh screams—tears—sobs—groans—curses multiplied,
> The chrism refused—and baptism's wave denied,
> Railing and oaths and blasphemies—and sighs,
> Fast eddying round one sea of human cries,
> By thousand echoes hurled what voice of woe?
> Alas! 'tis Earth and Man who weeps below—"*

Surely the last days are upon us, the "perilous times when men shall be lovers of their own selves; covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."

We talk much of the Bible, and we scatter it by millions—and these are the results—the knowledge of God, which shall only condemn us without upholding the sanctifying and controlling authority of His Church, which in all ages, and in all lands, save our own, has defended the poor and fatherless—has brought the "little children to Christ, and forbad them not;" has claimed Christ's poor as His most precious treasure and gift—has preached deliverance to the prisoner—peace to the weary—comfort to the afflicted—has fed the hungry—visited the sick—clothed the naked and forlorn. Until we have settled upon whom rests the awful responsibility of answering for all these iniquities, whether upon the consumers or manufacturers, or both—when we have "boldly rebuked sin" in our princely coal-owners and "millocrats,"—till we have denounced the pampered, selfish luxuries of every class of society which demands this stream of production—till we have realized the truth that other baptized Christians have souls for which *we* shall have to give account before the judgment-seat of Christ—till in our lives, and not only by our lips, we preach "Christ crucified," we dare not even hope.

England is, we are assured, under a judicial curse, and each sign of what the world esteems prosperity, is but the riveting of our chains—the nailing down of the bars which will enclose us in the everlasting prison-house of souls. It will not be well with us till we see the sacred value of national sufferings—we cannot be certain that God is with us until He deigns in mercy to scourge us. Every triumph of our arms and policy is but a pledge of our service to anti-christ—we are now beginning a new and strange and distant course of iniquities; by the most unrighteous war which ever disgraced a Christian nation, we have gained a footing in the farthest East—and

* Victor Hugo. *Fleurs d' Automne. Ce qu'on entend sur la Montagne.*

Digitized by Google

we are building up a new empire by injustice, violence, oppression, and wrong. How shall we dare to carry the cross with hands stained in unoffending blood? The miserable failure of our missions in India might teach us the folly and wickedness of attempting to preach the doctrine of the Crucified, when the lives of all our captains and representatives bear testimony to our rapine and profligacy? How can we ask a blessing upon what we have sinfully acquired?

Those very events which have seemed most profitable to us as a nation, and of which we boast in the loudest strains, are our heaviest crimes in God's sight. The great sacrilege of the Reformation period, (we are alluding only to the spoliation of holy property) which cut off our means of serving God with honour; the poor-law of Elizabeth, which sacrificed the principle of the charity of the Church, and that we had all things in common; the establishment of the funded debt, and the consequent rise of the manufacturing and selfish system under the Dutch rule, which is the incarnation of the worldly principle; and the Balance of Power which for ever pledged us against receiving the beatitude of peace upon earth and good-will towards men; the attempt, in our own days, of patching up our sins by encouraging education apart from the Church, and of colonization as only a drain for our surplus encumbrances; these things, and *above all the success of them,* are awfully significant.

We institute no comparison with other nations; could it be proved, which were doubtful, that our neighbours were tenfold more corrupted and guilty than ourselves, still *we are what we are:* and we say that to know a land in which there shall be no outward marks of our Christian faith; in which the ancient forms of religious reverence are, year by year, dying out; in which neither fast nor festival is honoured; in which the great council of the nation is building a sumptuous hall for its sittings, where God alone and His service have been forgotten; in which new churches are the meanest, and gin-shops the most sumptuous of our public edifices; in which temples are pulled down to build banks and exchanges; in which miles of new streets spread out, unchequered by a single steeple; in which the factory bell is hourly heard, and the church bell weekly; in which crime has been quintupled within twenty years, and in several counties decupled;* in which the problem is to be shortly solved how to pretend to serve Almighty God without making a single sacrifice or without *giving* a single penny (see Sir R. Peel's forthcoming Church-extension scheme) and how to impose the most productive income-tax to encourage free trade in brandy and opium, tobacco and silk; in which the grant to the Society for Propagating the Gospel has been discontinued, and the pilgrim tax to Juggernauth cheerfully paid; in which murmurs are made against conveying a bishop in a royal frigate, and the gates of a heathen temple are conveyed across a whole continent with the military pomp of a prouder than Roman ovation; in which the clergy reserves in Canada have

* See Parliamentary Report of 1828.

Digitized by Google

been stolen, and noble and learned lords and gallant dukes have openly disclaimed any desire to interfere with the "religious prejudices" of those who "worship devils;" in which we prodigally ennoble Jews, Infidels, and Heretics, and cautiously abstain from creating one additional spiritual lord; in which Mormonism is openly permitted to be preached in the streets of our capital, and where men claim to be thought religious by denouncing the daily service;—all this is to know a kingdom which is UN-CHRISTIAN AND ANTI-CHRISTIAN.

We have spoken throughout of the tendency—we fear the all but inevitable tendency—of our present social system, not of its completely developed results, though the actual vices of society as it is have brought us into dreadful proximity with such ultimate effects. Hitherto, we have been mercifully spared from actual national apostasy, a curse from which, humanly speaking, there remains neither appeal nor repentance. Like David, we have numbered the people: the array, not of "eight hundred thousand valiant men that draw the sword," but of untold millions of men and women, of bestial vices, leading godless and reprobate lives, is before us: are we content to listen to the prophet's voice, and, in submissive humility, to accept, nay, to anticipate, the punishment, and meekly to exclaim, with the heart-stricken king, "I am in a great strait: let me fall now into the hand of the Lord; for His mercies are great?" Anything—the famine, the flight, the pestilence—might now be welcomed, which should assure us that He yet remembers His people, even though it be in punishment. If, as a people, we have sinned, as a people we must repent and acknowledge our transgressions—and that publicly, emphatically, solemnly, as the Ninevites did, to avert God's outstretched arm, or the total withdrawing of His long-suffering.

It may be, indeed, (this shall be our only hope,) that the righteous remnant—the seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal—the continued prayers of the two or three gathered together in His name—the efficacy of the salt of the earth, which hitherto has preserved us from actual corruption, and the increased, and daily-increasing energy of the Church and its principles shall yet avail; but it can only be by the thorough preaching of that Church, by self-denial and self-sacrifice upon our own parts, and by the daily exercise of the largest humanity; by giving our artizans time to recreate their bodies, that so they may learn that they have souls, (and it is with this view that we hail Lord John Manners' appeal as so eminently seasonable,) by popularizing the hitherto too cold and exclusive working of the Church; by bringing out all its warm and attractive sympathies, by showing it as the universal brotherhood, where there is neither rich nor poor, bond nor free. For, be it remembered, that the question is not between the Church and dissenters, which of two antagonist systems has the strongest hold on popular feeling; this contrast has been tried—dissent has failed from

Digitized by Google

its inherent weakness and selfishness; *the masses are not dissenters, and never will be*—the cold, exclusive, hypocritical religionism of sects will not absorb the many: the Catholic Church alone can convert and retain the world. Our people are heathen; we have an open field and a glorious cause before us, and, if we are true to ourselves and to our heavenly principles of charity and love, we shall succeed; for the poor are not enemies, but strangers, to the Church, because it has never been fairly, generously, fully, adequately, brought before them.

We have omitted, in the above painful paper, the remarkable testimony which the second volume of the Reports contains to the complete failure of the Sunday-school experiment: such, at the best, was but an imperfect expedient, if not originating from, at least fostered by, sectarians, to supersede the catechetical office of the Church; and an attempt to educate with the least cost of labour and money to the parents: and the commissioners not being, as we, and we trust not uncharitably, conceive, religious men, indeed, being themselves, at least some of them, Dissenters, if not Socinians, their evidence is not biassed by any prejudices against Sunday Schools. We subjoin a few extracts on this head:—

"James Lavender has been about two months in the St. John's school; was at the Catholic chapel school before that; cannot read much; never was put to writing. Never heard of Jesus Christ; never heard the name. Has never heard of our Saviour—not as he knows on. Was at the Catholic school for about a year; did not learn much, though. Has heard of Jim Crow; heard boys sing him."—P. 126.

"It has been shown that the Sunday-school is the only instrument for the education of the children of the working classes at present in universal use, and that in all the districts it is the chief, and, in some populous localities, the sole agent depended upon. Of the efficiency of this instrument as a means of education, the following statements, among innumerable others to the same effect, may be cited, as conveying the opinion as well of those whose professional duties have made them best acquainted with the practical working of these schools, as of those whom a desire to promote the improvement of the people has induced to pay particular attention to the subject.

"In the returns from South Staffordshire, in answer to the query—Do you consider Sunday-schools sufficient to make up for the loss of instruction by early removal from day-schools?—the Clergy uniformly answer—'Certainly not;' 'Decidedly not;' 'By no means;' and the reasons they commonly assign are, the small number of hours in which it is possible to give instruction in these schools; the want, common to them all, of method and discipline; in many cases the ignorance of the teachers; in all cases the partial attention of the children, who, having been employed in labour all the week, naturally desire the rest and relaxations of the Sabbath; and the very few subjects on which it is even attempted to give instruction.

"Of the efficiency of these schools in Derbyshire, the Sub-commissioner gives the following practical illustrations:—'Has been three years at the Brinsley Church Sunday-school; cannot say his A B C.' 'Has been four or five years to Baptist Sunday-school; cannot spell horse or cow, and is otherwise very ignorant.' 'Has been to Calvinistic Sunday-school four years; can spell neither church nor house.' 'Has been at the Methodists' Sunday-school at Ripley five years; only reads a b, ab; cannot spell in the least; cannot tell what d o g spells—he says gun.'

Digitized by Google

"Mr. Symons states, that, on examining the children in attendance on these schools, he found them to be extremely deficient even in Scriptural knowledge; that the masters told him that they do not usually question the children on what they read, but that they merely teach them to read right on; and the uniform account of the Clergymen and other witnesses is, that the children forget what they learn on one Sunday before they next return to school, very few indeed retaining any kind of knowledge here acquired.

"'The greatest difficulty felt in the Sunday-schools, by those wishing to make them the instruments of as much good as possible,' states the Rev. W. F. Walker, minister of St. James's, Oldham, 'is the want of teachers; some are very good, but they are few. Some few persons of the higher classes have come to teach in them, especially in the girls' schools; but in the boys' schools it is difficult to find any to be teachers who have received other than Sunday-school instruction equally as bad as that which they are alone qualified to convey. Has often felt, with the boys' school, 'I am doing no good.' One effect of this reliance on Sunday-school instruction is, that it brings into the Sunday-schools large classes of children so young as to be fit only for an infant-school.'"—Pp. 153, 154.

"Such was their ignorance, obstinacy, and suspicion," says Mr. Leifchild, "that several young persons absolutely refused to make any statements whatever. Boys of seventeen or eighteen were repeatedly found to be either astonishingly ignorant or wilfully stupid, and could give utterance to nothing more than some sweeping condemnation of their labour, and clamorous declaration of the insufficiency of their remuneration, while the answers they returned to questions upon religious subjects were too profane to admit of publication, their only knowledge of sacred subjects being derived from their daily desecration in the works."—P. 155.

"But the total inadequacy of the instruction which the Sunday-school is capable of affording to the fulfilment of the ends of education is admitted, without any exception, by the parties, almost all of them clergymen or dissenting ministers, who have replied to the query on this subject. They have universally stated that they are not at all sufficient, by themselves, for effecting these objects, even with respect to those who habitually attend them, whilst a great number either go very irregularly or not at all."—P. 162.

"The usual salve to the conscience both of masters of works and of parents is the evening-school. Mothers, schoolmasters, physicians, clergymen, and the workmen themselves, all concur in testifying to the cruelty, as well as the uselessness, of forcing a child of tender years to attend a school for two hours at night after the physical exhaustion of twelve hours' activity during the day.'—P. 174.

And after all this the commissioners have the cool insolence, we should think in mockery, to talk about the influence of "Mechanics' Institutes," p. 190, and the Messrs. Chambers' "annual *soirée*, enlivened by music and *speeches from different individuals*." Did it ever suggest itself to these educational quacks to order daily prayers in every mine and factory in England, and to erect a thousand crosses in our streets,* and empower men of severe lives, commissioned by the Church, to preach from them, to these miserable and degraded beings, of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come?"

* Lest this word "crosses" should startle our readers, we desire to explain that we think, under present circumstances, a well-organized system of *street-preaching* would be most useful; we are not desirous to preach from tubs, and the affecting simplicity of a cross, stationary or moveable, would secure respect: the masses must be addressed as S. Charles Borromeo preached to the Milanese.

Digitized by Google

Note to our Article on "The Present and Prospective Results of the Lord Bishop of London's Charge," Jan. 1843, p. 113.

A VERY funny pamphlet has appeared, in reply to our January article on the results of the Bishop of London's Charge: its somewhat cumbrous title is, "A Letter to the Lord Bishop of London; being a brief examination of the strictures on the Rev. C. J. Yorke's late 'Respectful Address,' &c., in a reprint from the Christian Remembrancer for January, 1843, entitled 'Modern Puritanism; a review, &c. &c.'"—(Nisbet.) The author rejoices in the euphonious and truly classic appellation, Alethe Zelotes, and signs himself A. Z. His attic skill in coining compounds at least solves one riddle, as perplexing as the authorship of Junius: we have now no longer a doubt in whose mint were struck those charming words, Zeo Nectar, Hierokosma, and Kallitrichoplasme. The present performance requires no answer from us, for it really contains nothing; and the only noticeable point about it is, that the author, one, apparently, of Mr. Yorke's own flock, or in some way nearly connected with him, is compelled to admit "that he cannot possibly assent to Mr. Yorke's objections against the daily service," (p. 12.) This is thankworthy; when our opponents (alas! that they should be such) are thus driven from their posts one by one, we have cheering hopes that we shall find them at last to be one with us.

It may be well to remind Alethe Zelotes that he should be a little surer of his history before he crows so valiantly about our "ignorance of facts with which a schoolboy would be ashamed to confess his ignorance." The point is this: to assert, as we did, that Laud and King Charles were martyred for "preserving points in our ritual which have become obsolete," and to which Mr. Yorke objects, is thought by A. Z. to be disgraceful "blindness to facts." Well: let us see. Mr. Yorke thinks the Church, "*as to her constitution*, a human thing," and therefore alterable, and the order of Bishops non-essential by consequence. King Charles thought it, as to her constitution, a divine thing, since, at his very last conference with the commissioners, who urged "that whatsoever was not of divine institution might very lawfully be altered, for it had its *original from men;* and that episcopacy was such, and therefore it might be justly taken away;" the king "pressed them with those texts of Scripture which maintain the *jus divinum* of Bishops," and his parting words at this interview with his rebellious subjects were, "that necessity might justify or excuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the Church of God of an order instituted for continual use, and for establishing a succession of lawful ministers in the Church." (We quote Clarendon throughout.) We repeat, then, that King Charles maintained the Church to be, "in her constitution, a *divine* thing," and sealed his testimony to this great

Digitized by Google

principle by his blood, and therefore was a martyr to it; a principle which is directly and in terms contradicted by Mr. Yorke, who asserts the Church to be "in her constitution a *human* thing."

And now for Archbishop Laud. The general charge against this greatest of our prelates was high treason, of which "general charge," the "first specificall branch" was, "his trayterous endeavours and practises to alter and subvert God's true religion by law established in this realme, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstitions and idolatry, and reconcile us to the church of Rome, the particulars whereof are specified in the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, original, and 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, additional articles." (Prynne's Canterburie's Doome, p. 57.) The very first evidence to prove which "first specificall branch" adduced by that malignant blood-hound, was, to use his own frightful words, "his endeavours to set up and introduce all kinds of Popish superstitions, ornaments, furnitures, ceremonies in our Church, formerly cast out of it upon the reformation: in pursuit whereof they first trailed this Romish fox to his own kennel at Lambeth, when, having unkennelled, they chased him from thence, by his hot popish scent, to the King's own royall chapel at Whitehal, and Westminster Abbey, from thence to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; from thence to Canterbury, Winchester, and most other cathedrales in England, and from them to our parish churches and chapels, all which he miserably defiled and corrupted, with Popish *superstitions, crucifixes, altars, bowings, ceremonies, tapers, copes, and other innovations.*" (Ibid. pp. 58, 59.) And upon this very charge, supported by this very evidence, Laud was murdered on Tower Hill. Now, we ask, in common honesty, are not these "the points in our ritual which have become obsolete," and to which Mr. Yorke objects? And were we not justified in asserting that "to preserve these, blood, royal and sacerdotal, has been shed?"

Once more, then, we repeat, most advisedly, distinctly, and emphatically, that King Charles and Archbishop Laud were martyred for maintaining principles and observances, against which Mr. Yorke, of Shenfield, and the present body of non-conforming clergy object in common with puritans and regicides. "Shameful ignorance of the most common facts of English history" is an imputation, therefore, if Clarendon and Prynne are documentary authorities, which rests on other shoulders than those of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER; and were we inclined to triumph, or to speak boastfully, we should only ask for a hundred such answers (!!) as those of Alethe Zelotes: and here we take leave of an opponent as ignorant and unscrupulous in matter, as weak and uncourteous in style.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Letter to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of England, on the subject of reviving the Institution of Suffragan Bishops. By GEORGE D'OYLEY, D.D., *Rector of Lambeth.* London: Rivingtons. 1843. Pp. 19.

THIS *brochure* is published in probable ignorance, as there is not the slightest allusion to it, of Mr. Newman's able and learned pamphlet on the same subject, dated 1835. It is so consoling to find indications of a growing desire for the extended efficiency of the most sacred order, in whatever quarter, and we are so disposed to think with respect of Dr. D'Oyley personally, that, with no small regret, we condemn *this* scheme of suffragan Bishops *in toto*. To say the truth, the Rector of Lambeth has yet to learn what a Christian Bishop is: to believe in the Bishop as *the* guardian of the catholic faith—the impersonation of the Church to the one flock—the centre and earnest of Christian unity—standing in stead of our absent Lord: this, though it does not exceed the truth, is what we could scarcely calculate upon from the present writer: to bring down the function of the suffragan Bishop to a mere head-clerk to the Bishop of the see, in order to the saving of travelling expenses, and to administer the rite of confirmation more frequently, and, (p. 15,) "sometimes to permit him to consecrate churches and churchyards;" this would seem little enough, but to reserve "the power of conferring holy orders to the principal Bishop of each diocese" (p. 15); "not to call the suffragan by the name of any particular place," (p. 8,) in other words to make a Bishop without a bishopric, (though we have been taught that a Bishop and his see are correlatives,) and that "all his powers as a suffragan Bishop should be derived entirely from the Bishop who appointed him, and *should cease altogether when that Bishop required that they should cease*, and that the law should then restrain him from exercising any episcopal functions" (p. 9); this smacks more strongly of the German superintendent than of a successor of the Holy Twelve. We are aware that Dr. D'Oyley may refer us to more ancient and dignified authorities; that for part of his conception of a suffragan Bishop he may claim as precedent the *chorepiscopus* of the early Church. But that order,—anomalous, and hard to reduce into the catholic system, as it surely was,—probably had its origin in a set of circumstances very different from those which make a multiplication of Bishops absolutely necessary for us, and was not, as regards the points in question, the model proposed in the time of Henry VIII. What we want, and what we must have, is a multiplication of Bishops as fixed centres of unity, in whatever subordination to the existing Prelates compatible with this that may be wished or stipulated for. We are afraid that the air of Lambeth, from the palace to the rectory, is infected with a Prusso-mania, for king Frederick appoints this kind of functionary, and dubs him *Evangelischer Bischof*, one who assumes and lays down his office, according to orders from head-quarters, at Berlin or Potsdam. After this, we were not surprised at the suggestion "to pay this novel functionary some 200*l.* per annum, or to discover that he was

Digitized by Google

to be selected from those clergymen who had private fortunes or large preferment," (p. 11,)(as though these secular qualifications were guarantees of orthodoxy and spiritual gifts,) or to learn that, even in the case of a Bishop being disabled, by years or infirmity, for the performance of his office, the suffragan was not to assume the duties of a coadjutor, but that, under these circumstances, the temporalities were to be "confided to some *lay official* (!), and the patronage to the Archbishop of the province, assisted perhaps by two Bishops of adjoining dioceses, who still might derive most valuable information, to guide their judgment in the selection of deserving clergymen, from the local knowledge and experience of—*the suffragan*"!! p. 13. This did take us aback. Some fastidious persons might suspect that the holding this most eligible suffraganship *durante placito* of the Bishop κατ' ἐξοχὴν, would rather militate against the said suffragan's independency, and we can, therefore, quite understand what Dr. D'Oyley hints at when he says—

> "It is apprehended that by such an arrangement there could be no possibility of any suffragan Bishop not acting in perfect harmony with [in abject submission to?] his principal, or *endeavouring to exercise any powers or functions which that principal would not entirely approve*."—P. 9.

In a word, to give the general effect of the scheme, it is conceived under the influence of an excessive admiration of "*that form of church government* which is *established among us*," (p. 3,) with a wholesome reverence for "acts of parliament," *passim*, and "the wisdom of government, (p. 6,) with a careful proviso for securing "the consent of the Privy Council, or the minister of the crown," (p. 8,) to the proposed arrangements; the feelings of "the friends of the Church," (p. 10,) are studiously consulted, (though not a hint is thrown out of taking the advice of the Church in her corporate capacity;) the rights of the "Queen and parliament" are cared for, whatever may be the fate of the primitive rule; and a due disclaimer is inserted of the slightest wish, "in the appointment of suffragan Bishops, to interfere with the *just prerogative of the crown*, as to the free appointment of Bishops to the original sees" (p. 15); indeed, we are not quite sure that the *Rector of Lambeth* has not even consulted the learned and religious *Member for Lambeth*, Mr. Benjamin Hawes, the dissenting soap-boiler, before he put forth this very cautious and well-weighed ecclesiastical scheme, so admirably has he avoided anything like the announcement of a single sound and ancient principle, and so carefully has he suppressed the least assertion of the spiritual functions of the Church.

But, to conclude a painful subject seriously, so sensitively are we alive to the imminent danger, at the present critical juncture, of adding one single grain to the weight of our state-forged chains, or of compromising another catholic principle, especially in so delicate a matter as the highest order of the ministry, that we would as soon have "the Episcopate put into commission, and a general board formed to manage the ecclesiastical business of the kingdom,"—to use Mr. Newman's bitter words,—as live to see the office of a Christian Bishop maimed, mutilated, corrupted, distorted, and oppressed by the appointment of such suffragans as Dr. D'Oyley suggests, though we cheerfully acquit him, being a very respectable person, of any sinister

Digitized by Google

motives in mooting the point in the distressing way which he has adopted.

Nor are we, we confess, of those who shrink with such faint-hearted suspicion from claiming from the state an addition to one of the chief estates of the realm: while we boast much of our attachment to the constitution, we are apt to forget that it consists not, according to the vulgar error, of King, Lords, and Commons, but of the Lords spiritual, the Lords temporal, and the Commons, "*under* our most religious and gracious Queen in parliament assembled." Such of us as proclaim "reformation principles" must remember that, under Henry VIII., there were only thirty-six temporal peers; and, though he deposed twenty-eight mitred abbots and priors, he had a scheme for erecting additional bishoprics: and, in the ages of faith, when churches were built, and the catholic body was one, the preponderance of influence was, where it ought to be, with the clergy. Were we, therefore, to allow the state graciously to permit the Church to fulfil her divine mission, by consecrating a Bishop for Manchester, we should weakly, if not wickedly, compromise a privilege if we surrendered the new prelate's right to sit in the House of Lords. We claim this principle, not because the successors of the Apostles have not higher duties than to discuss turnpike-bills and the corn-laws, but because their presence hallows and purifies the assembled parliament, and, we trust, has hitherto preserved some portion of God's blessing upon their consultations. It is not to add honours to the Church, for she foregoes somewhat of her spiritual character by mixing with the rude world, but for the sake of the state, that we retain the privilege: to accept a seat in parliament is a surrender on the part of the Bishops, not of the Crown.

Sermons preached in Christ Church, Skipton. By RICHARD WARD, M.A. *Perpetual Curate.* Leeds: T. W. Green. London: Rivingtons. Oxford: Parker. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 236.

THERE is no class of literature in general so unworthy of serious attention as sermons. Evincing about an average power of thought, with an average facility of composition, and average intellectual acquirements, they seldom fall below, and as seldom rise above, that untangible, inappreciable, character which is only to be described by negatives. Even this, however, their best praise as literature, is higher than they generally deserve as theology; for in this they are, in most cases, meagre in the extreme, and in too many cases most unsound. And yet the degree in which they serve to indicate the tone of popular preaching, and to register the beat, if we may so speak, of the religious pulse of the passing generation, or of rival schools of theology, renders it very necessary to mark the prevailing tone of the aggregate mass of published sermons, little as is the importance and interest of the particles of which it is composed.

Of course we shall not be understood as classing with sermons, such

Digitized by Google

as we have described them, the noble effusions of high and highly-cultivated minds, warmed with some stirring subject, which now and then appear, as beacons and watch-fires in the lamp-lit darkness; and still less the sustained efforts of learned men, and learned theologians, in such volumes as we sometimes are favoured with, in which the several sermons are but portions of one great whole, or as the divided tongues of a fire instinct with one life and warmth. Such were, in former days, those sermons preached by Bishop Pearson in the church of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and now found, in the *Exposition of the Creed*, on every clergyman's table, and valued most highly by those whose judgment is the highest praise. Such have been of late the sermons of Newman, Manning, and Maurice, through which, various as are their subjects, one spirit is diffused, vivifying and harmonising the whole.

Perhaps, too, we may say, that not the individuals only, but the schools which these great names may represent, for our present purpose, are distinguished by a kind and degree of excellence which is not found elsewhere. There is of course great disparity; but everywhere there is, at least, the desire and aim to have a substance as well as light and colour,—to be religiously and reverently impressive, instead of merely eloquent. Two things one seems to see that the writers of those schools, respectively, have mastered before they presumed even to write sermons,—their subject and themselves. Mastered, not perfectly indeed,—for who ever perfectly mastered a single point in theology? who ever perfectly mastered his own spirit? but still, in comparison, this they have done, and the effect is visible in their published discourses: it is one of the signs of their prevailing temper, and has almost now become one of the signs of the times.

The volume before us is one example among many of this. There is a fulness of meaning, and a calm self-possession in these sermons, which indicate not merely a high mind, but, what is much better, a great degree of moral and intellectual discipline: at the same time they are very interesting, even to an ordinary reader, and to one who will but imperfectly enter into the qualities of head and heart in the author which have made them so. The fourth sermon, *On the love of the Brotherhood*, is pointed out by the advertisement as that which was most peculiarly designed to produce a specific effect; and certainly it does admirably expose that pseudo-charity, and factitious unity, which is found among "*Christians of all denominations*" in the present days of liberalism. We must be content with a single extract.

"He who hath given us a heart to crave support and sympathy from each other, hath also pointed out the way in which that craving may be sanctified and satisfied. He hath given us an object on which our affections may be set with most confiding tenderness,—without restraint, without uncertainty, without alarm: an heavenly object, visible on earth. He hath taught us not to place our hope of guidance and protection in this man or that, or in any number of men; but to look higher, and seek a nobler alliance, and make a more exalted choice. It is not the might, nor the strength, nor the multitude, nor the wisdom, nor the talent, nor the piety of men, which He hath set before us as the best object of our present love and confidence; but it is communion with Himself, our heavenly Father, and with the holy angels, and with the spirits of the just made perfect, and with all good men on earth, by the Holy Ghost, in the mystical body of Christ. Here is an object worthy of our hearts, and able to satisfy their wants: here is the brotherhood which St. Peter bids us love,—the great Christian brotherhood, the communion of saints, the Church of the living God."

Digitized by Google

The Christian Gentleman's Daily Walk. By Sir ARCHIBALD EDMONSTONE, *Bart.* Second Edit. revised and enlarged. London: Burns.

WE are glad to see that the public has done justice to this excellent little volume, by calling for a new edition of it. It is really a very valuable accession to a class of works in which are contained some of the choicest gems of English literature,—a class of which the "Country Parson" and Habingdon's "Castara" are the crowning glories. Sir Archibald Edmonstone has been careful that his book should possess one merit, the absence of which would have been most incongruous with its subject,—a graceful and pure English style: and we call attention to this, more especially, from having observed of late years an almost increasing deterioration in this respect. The following sketch, taken from the chapter, entitled "The Christian Gentleman in his Study," will please our readers:—

"What have been hitherto spoken of are of common pursuit to all who walk in the higher sphere of life, but he 'who has stedfastly set his face towards Jerusalem,' has objects of interest peculiar to himself, to which he directs as much time and attention as his other avocations allow. The Holy Scriptures are to him an inexhaustible mine, which he will be constantly exploring with equal delight and improvement. A critical examination of the text, perhaps through the medium of the original languages, will give him a closer insight into the meaning of the sacred volume: and while this renders him more independent of external help, it at the same time makes him freer from the entanglement of system, into which the narrowness of human teaching is too apt to run. Not that he neglects or lightly esteems that high class of labourers in the Lord's vineyard, who have particularly devoted themselves to theological investigation. On the contrary, the writings of not a few he reckons among the choicest fruit in the great storehouse of knowledge. And, especially, will he value those whom the concurrent sanction of successive generations more directly point out to hereditary veneration. Verily, among such doth he delight him to expatiate, as communing with the shadows of the mighty departed, that invisible portion of Christ's Church, which, true and faithful witnesses, have left their works behind them, and are now at rest. To the early Fathers he turns as nearest to, and most conversant with, the Apostolic age: at the same time that he is more anxious on points of interest and importance to arrive at their consentient voice, than to follow the divergements of individual opinion. But it is to our own native doctors that he chiefly directs himself—men of vast intellectual strength and stature—men of stedfast faith, and undaunted resolution, profound in all learning, holy in their lives, singleminded in their profession, confessors and martyrs in times of blasphemy and rebuke, and the honoured instruments of cleansing our Church from corrupt superstition on the one hand, and defending her from the assaults of destructive fanaticism on the other; it is with such, in his hours of studious retirement, that the Christian Gentleman finds his especial pleasure, enriching his mind, and strengthening his spirit. And privileged is that land, in no common degree, which can reckon not only among the chief ornaments in literature, but as foremost defenders of her national faith, the names of Andrewes and of Hooker, of Taylor and Hall, of Barrow and Bull, with many more of scarce inferior eminence; and happy will she be to her latest generation, if, while the Bible is in the hands of all, her ministers shall continue to teach as these have taught, to walk as they have walked, prepared to defend, through every extremity, the truth thus expounded, thus preserved, thus delivered!"

We agree with this. Some notion of what the fathers were the Christian gentleman certainly should possess; but we think our author right in pronouncing the great English divines, out of the Scriptures,

Digitized by Google

his best store-house of religious thought, on supposition of his not being engaged in any especial theological study.

God grant that this little work may be made conducive to its author's end,—that of helping to build up men called to the position of gentlemen in the character required for it; and so to multiply among us nearly the highest type of humanity the world affords. We cannot help hoping that the class of Christian gentlemen is visibly increasing amongst us, and that so we may indulge in the comfort suggested by the following paragraph:—

"In this still favoured land we may perhaps hope that such dreadful retribution will yet be averted: for, though the fallen Archangel, as he hovers over, marks not a few willing instruments in the performance of his behests;—though blasphemous tongues are heard in our streets, and the wise in their own conceit scoff at the Majesty on high;—though self-indulgence and luxury may have induced over the senses a sleep the more fatal as the more insidious, and the far-spreading influence of the unrighteous mammon has enclosed so large a portion within his net; a counter-spirit thanks be to God, is rife among us; a spirit of preparation and of exertion more and more increasing; and if ten righteous could once have saved the cities of the plain, may we not hope that enough can be found amongst us whose prayer of intercession may yet avail, and mount with acceptance to the throne of grace?"

Travels in New Zealand: with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of that Country. By Ernest Dieffenbach, M.D., *late Naturalist to the New Zealand Company.* 2 Vols. 8vo. London: Murray. 1843.

This is incomparably the best work upon New Zealand that has yet appeared. The first volume contains little more than a physical description of the country; the second, which is the most interesting, is full of information concerning the origin of the people, and the manners and customs which distinguish them. We prefer making an extract, however, upon a subject on which M. Dieffenbach is certainly not so good an authority as in natural history; viz. upon the success of missionary enterprise in New Zealand. We only say of his evidence, "valeat quantum valeat."

"Christianity has not failed to exercise its inherent soothing and pacifying influence; but the assertion is not quite correct that the missionaries have cleared the way for the settlement of Europeans, as, in almost all cases, they have been preceded by European adventurers, who dwelt in safety among the natives for many years before any missionary made his appearance. Their efficiency would, doubtless, have been greater, if they had shared the adventurous spirit of the settlers, and had lived among the interior tribes, instead of dwelling, many together, on the coasts and in harbours where so many things counteract their efforts. The New-Zealand mission having been first established as a trial of the so-called civilizing principle, many men were chosen, who, although otherwise respectable, would not, from their limited education and their somewhat low views of the apostolical character of their mission, be expected to dedicate themselves entirely to the business of their call. The consequence is, that many of these older missionaries have become landed proprietors; and many, by other pursuits, such as banking, or trading with the produce of their gardens or stock, have become wealthy men. Their influence upon the native character would have been the same if they had been sent out and supported merely as colonists, and with no higher pretensions than their station of life entitled them to.

"The acquisition of land by these individuals is the reason why the whole body has been so much abused, although the fault lay only with a few. It cannot be

Digitized by Google

doubted that, in a country where each strives to outdo his neighbour in the accumulation of worldly treasure, of the setting aside all other considerations, the missionaries should have endeavoured to counteract this tendency, by confining themselves to their proper sphere, as civilizers and instructors, especially as, in opposition to other Europeans, they professed themselves imbued with the highest Christian principles of humility and disinterestedness. They ought to have expected that to be seen foremost in mercantile pursuits would diminish their credit with the natives, and put a weapon into the hands of their adversaries. Nobody would have grudged them or their children the possession of as much land as they could possibly have required for their own use; but the belief prevalent in Europe that the missionaries cultivate the chief part of the land which they possess, is very erroneous; I do not believe that more than sixty acres are in cultivation by missionaries or their sons in the whole of New Zealand; and as that country is not a pastoral, but purely an agricultural one, the quantity of land which they have claimed as being requisite for the support of their families is infinitely too large. Eleven missionaries, the only ones who had sent in their claims to the land commissioners when I left New Zealand, demanded 96,218 acres! and four others had not yet submitted their claims, which, I doubt not, will be equally large. Some of these persons are now retiring on their property, and their sons have become so independent as to refuse lucrative situations under Government, for which they would have been peculiarly qualified, as being masters of the native language. . . . . Many of the missionaries are excellent and disinterested men; and, although only a few of them have had the advantage of a university education, yet they seem to be perfectly qualified for holy orders, and to officiate as clergymen.

"The Wesleyan missionaries are not allowed to purchase land, but are restricted to an allotment sufficient for the wants of their families. Their success among the natives has been quite as great as that of their brethren of the Church of England.

"The (Roman) Catholics evince in New Zealand, as everywhere, the restless spirit of proselytism; and then results from this the singular spectacle of a lively controversy on religious points being carried on amongst the Protestant and *Catholic* [sic] natives. The humble and disinterested manner of living of the priests, and the superior education which they have generally received, have procured them many friends, both amongst Europeans and natives, and also many converts among the latter."

Our stock of didactic fiction has lately received two very good accessions;—one entitled "Fables, Stories, and Allegories," (Burns,) selected from various sources with considerable judgment. We like the Allegories least. The other, "Stories of Cottagers," by E. Monro, M.A. (Burns,) possesses merit of a higher order. We are hardly entitled to speak of them as *fiction*, for the author tells us that they are true; still, we imagine that he has exercised some skill in adjusting them into shape, and clearing them of irrelevant matter. However, they are plainly facts, and facts of our own time, moreover. Indeed, one of them ends with an appeal on behalf of its heroine, who is at present a parishioner of Mr. Monro's; whose case certainly is a most touching one, and with which no one can pronounce himself unconnected, after having had to thank our author for his beautiful narrative of it.

"Short Reasons for Belief in the Divinity of Christ," by a Lady of Title, (Cleaver,) seems a well-meant little volume; but, though it contains one or two just and shrewd remarks, we must pronounce it a failure on the whole. We are sorry to learn from the preface that, whereas "formerly, men of this unhappy way of thinking, (i.e. infidels, for the book is not directed against Socinians), had the good sense, and the good taste, to confine conversations of this nature to those of their own sex, and of their own age, who were of their own way of thinking; and it was only before such that their opinion on this matter was uttered: lately, we have more than once been present when they promulgated their pernicious sentiments before the young of both sexes." We

Digitized by Google

never but once were so unlucky as to fall in with a gentleman who was willing to suggest doubts to "the young of both sexes;" but our authoress seems, from one or two other indications in her little book, to be in the habit of hearing the truth of our most holy faith made matter of discussion. We venture to suggest whether she may not be herself, in some measure, to blame for this? Anyhow, we cannot encourage her, nor indeed any Christian gentlewoman, to stir the muddy waters of infidelity. It is not work fit even for the most strong-minded and intellectual of that sex, and they are likely to do far more harm than good by attempting it.

The Rev. Frederick Dusautoy, A.M., formerly Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, has published a remarkable tract, entitled "The Jews." (Nisbet, Seeley.) It contains the substance, it seems, of some lectures delivered by him on "the Past History and Future Destiny" of that nation, and advocates the doctrines of their literal restoration to their own land, the pre-milennial advent of our Lord, and the collateral tenets. With all this we have nothing to do, having more than once expressed our desire neither rashly to embrace, nor more rashly to gainsay the expectations in question; but we are bound to say that Mr. Dusautoy's theology is in other respects very unsound. We cannot here enter on his general doctrines, which are the usual Puritan ones in a rather violent form. He has a curious genius for classification and enumeration, announcing to us that there are five covenants, and three justifications!

We are heartily glad, in a time of fierce controversy, to see appearing so many helps to private devotion. Two have just been published,—one a reprint of Kettlewell's "Companion to the Penitent," (Burns,) to which is prefixed a short account of the admirable author: the other is entitled, "Devotions for the Morning and Evening of every day in the week," (Burns,) and is compiled mainly from the Greek Devotions of Bishop Andrewes. We warmly recommend both.

"The Unbaptized Sceptic, a True Story, by a Clergyman," (Burns,) is well worthy of attention; and being not the reminiscence, but the actual journal of striking conversations, has a claim on our confidence, beyond what even good faith could otherwise have given it. Might not poor C.'s feelings about faith have been met by a judicious application of Hooker's extraordinary argument in his sermon on the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect, as to an earnest desire for, being itself a proof of, faith; an argument which, though most untenable as he has used it, is not without some value?

"Report of the Chester Diocesan Board of Education" is quite a model for such papers; it makes an important document, whose value is not a little enhanced by an admirable sermon, by Canon Slade, prefixed, which was preached in the Cathedral, on the opening of the Training College.

"The Moral Effects of Ritual Irregularity" is a tract reprinted from the last number of the Christian Remembrancer; its profits are to be given to the erection of a stained church window.

"A Plea for the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper" (Ward), is a very curious testimony to the practice of weekly communion, coming from a dissenting quarter; the author of which significantly remarks that "everything the Puseyites say or do must not on that account be condemned without examination." P. 56.

We are glad to receive "the First Report, &c." of the Lichfield Architectural Society (Rugeley, Walters). It contains a very judicious "Address," by Mr. Gresley.

We cannot but welcome a publication having on its title-page, "The Psalter Pointed for Chanting, and set to the Gregorian Tones." (London, Toovey.) This is one of the handsomest editions of the Psalter which we have yet seen; and there is an interesting Preface prefixed, by the Rev. F. Oakeley. We

Digitized by Google

cannot, without more minute examination, pronounce upon the merits of the arrangement; but we think we notice already that the Chants have been altered. Against this tampering with the Gregorian Chants we decidedly *protest.* We feel quite sure that Mr. Redhead cannot improve them.

"Two Letters from the Rev. H. H. Beamish to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D." (Nisbet), are not much worse than might have been expected. Mr. Beamish professes to have arrived at his results "after a *long and studious examination* of the *authentic documents* which issue from the Tractarian press." (The Italics are Mr. Beamish's.) As to the justice of the epithet *studious*, people must judge according to their own standards, that known to Trinity Chapel, Conduit-street, being, we should think, a very different one from Dr. Pusey's. The adjective *authentic* is introduced, we presume, in jest, as we find Mr. Beamish fortifying his statements against Tractarianism or Popery (we really are not sure which), by citations from "the Life and Defence of Bishop Bonner," a dull joke on the part of the anti-Tractarian press, which our readers may remember we exposed last year. Mr. Beamish seems equally gullible with a compatriot whose unlucky Exeter Hall adventure with a certain fictitious Papal Bull is not yet forgotten.

"A few pages on Hydropathy," &c., by a Clergyman, (Painter,) have not been presented to us in such a way as to recommend them to our favourable attention. Circulation by means of the Clergy List and penny post is in most cases associated in our minds with quackery.

We ought sooner to have noticed a useful and interesting piece of biography which came out last year,—"the Life of the Rev. Isaac Milles," (Burns,) a devout clergyman of the eighteenth century.

We have seen "A few Thoughts on Church Subjects, by the Rev. Edward Scobell, of St. Peter's, Marylebone," at least so our copy is entitled; but there would appear to be some mistake about it, the real name is "An Excuse for Disobeying my Bishop;" or, if it is not, it ought to be, for this is the gist of the pamphlet.

In completion of "the Art of Reading Church Music," which we noticed some time ago, there has appeared a set of "Exercises intended to accompany the Art, &c." by Wm. Marshall, Mus. Doc. Oxon. (Oxford, Vincent.)

Now that, as we trust, the value of that wonderful digest of Christian knowledge, the Church Catechism, is beginning to be felt, people must welcome the following cheap and useful little tracts:—"The Catechism, &c., together with Prayers for the use of Children, and an explanation of words;" and "The Church Catechism broken into short questions." (Burns.) They constitute a great accession to the teacher's resources, and the latter, we may mention, is considerably better than the broken Catechism in general use.

"The Glory due to God in His Courts," a sermon preached by Mr. Benson some time since at the opening of the Temple Church, is a production which we do not know how exactly to characterise, seeing that, in more parts than one, it says one thing, and seems to mean another.

Among single sermons we mention with approbation "The Church the Healer of the Nation's wounds," by Mr. Gresley, (Rivingtons;) "The Daily Service, preached at Walton-le-wold, by Mr. Hughes, the rector," (Louth, Edwards,) which is encouraging, not only because we fear that the diocese of Lincoln wants such examples, but because its effects, we understand, are already apparent; "Why not try the Weekly Offertory? by Mr. Eden, of Leigh," (Rivingtons,) who has already tried it, and with good effect.

Digitized by Google

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

By the Lord Bp. of Hereford, *on Sunday, April 9, at St. George's, Hanover-square.*

DEACONS.

Of Oxford.—A. Meriton, B.A. Worc.; S. W. Steedman, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. H. Skrine, B.A. Ch. Ch.; W. G. Holmes, B.A. Wad.; C. R. Bird, B.A. Exet.; T. H. Shepherd, B.A. Oriel; R. H. Crowder, B.A. Mert. (*l. d.* Bp. of Chester); J. Scotland, B.A. St. John's, and N. Lowe, B.A. Queen's (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter.)

Of Cambridge.—W. Martin, B.A. Fellow of Corp. Chris.; J. Griffith, B.A. St. John's; W. Leighton, B.A. St. John's; J. F. Haward, B.A. St. John's; B. Pidcock, B.A. Corp. Chris.; J. Bradshaw, B.A. Cath. H.; I. B. Turner, B.A. Trin.; E. W. Symons, B.A. St. John's; J. Rushton, B.A. St. John's; W. Rawson, B.A. St. John's; W. R. Bowditch, B.A. St. Peter's (*l. d.* Bp. of Ripon); A. B. Gould, B.A. Caius, and W. Calvert, B.A. Pem. (*l. d.* Bp. of Worcester); T. Whitehouse, B.A. Sid. Sus. (*l. d.* Bp. of Chichester); C. Gerard, B.A. Corp. Chris. and E. C. Wilshire, B.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter); F. Fitch, B.A. Christ's (*l. d.* Bp. of Norwich); R. Lloyd, B.A. Jesus.

Of Dublin.—W. Crockett, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Ripon); W. H. Evans, B.A. Trin. (*l. d.* Bp. of Clogher.)

Literates.—W. Cross (*l. d.* Bp. of Ripon); W. Kruse and G. Lolbe, for her Majesty's foreign possessions (*l. d.* Bp. of London.)

PRIESTS.

Of Oxford.—E. F. Snagdale, B.A. Magd. H.; J. Morris, B.A. Cath. H.; H. Pearson, B.A. Cath. H.; H. C. Claughton, B.A. Bras.; J. J. Reynolds, B.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Bp. of Exeter); J. M. Sandham, B.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Bp. of Chichester); E. Moore, B.A. Bras. (*l. d.* Abp. of Canterbury.)

Of Cambridge.—J. Fenwick, B.A. Corp. Chris.; W. Bell, B.A. Corp. Chris.; T. G. Ragland, B.A. Corp. Chris.; P. Browne, B.A. Corp. Chris.; J. Higgs, B.A. Corp. Chris.; C. H. Hosker, B.A. Queen's; J. Thompson, B.A. Queen's; W. C. Mee, B.A. Christ's; J. W. Hepworth, B.A. St. John's; J. Barr, M.D. Emm.; A. F. Boucher, B.A. St. Peter's; V. J. Stanton, B.A. St. John's (*l. d.* Bp. of London.)

Of Dublin.—F. S. Bradshaw, M.A. Trin.

Of Lampeter.—W. D. Rees and G. Griffiths (*l. d.* Bp. of Llandaff.)

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Oxford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 11.
Bp. of Exeter, *June* 11.
Bp. of Hereford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Worcester, *June* 11.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 18.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Barker, W.	Stainburn, P.C.	Ripon	V. of Kirkby Overblows	£66	290
Bennett, J.	Caversham, P.C.	Oxford	Ch. Ch., Oxford	116	1369
Bennett, W. J. E.	St. Paul, Knightsbridge	London	Bishop of London (not yet consecrated)	...	...
Bleaymire, T.	St. John's, Carrington, P.C.	Lincoln	...	...	...
Brooke, J.	Tythby, P.C.	Lincoln	J. Chaworth, Esq.	102	695
Cocks, C. R. S.	Neen Savage	Hereford	Lord Chancellor	394	450
Coldridge, T.	Allhallows, R. Exeter	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	66	420
Collins, R.	Kirkburton, V.	Ripon	Lord Chancellor	301	15731
Davies, T.	Trevethan, V.	Llandaff	...	...	...
Elliot, J. E.	Whalton, R.	Durham	A. Bates, Esq.	753	548
Fraser, Geo.	St. Mary, Wolverhampton, P.C.	Lichfield	Miss Hincks	...	...
Hughes, Jas.	Llanrhyddlad, R.	Bangor	Bp. of Bangor	530	939
Ingram, A. W.	Clifton-on-Teme	Hereford	Sir T. E. Winnington	172	488
Jackson, J.	Dodderhill, V.	Worcester	Mrs. Penrice	500	1792
Jeremie, J. A.	Winwick, R.	Peterboro'	Bishop of Lincoln	567	159
Johnson, W. C.	Taxham, R.	Norwich	Mrs. M. D. Johnson	722	505
Knight, C. R.	St. Bride's Major, V.	Llandaff	R. Turberville	176	923
Leach, J.	All Saints, Bolton-le-Moors, P.C.	Chester	T. Tipping, Esq.	128	...
Lee, B.	Warboys, R.	Ely	T. Daniel, Esq.	1250	1650
M'Call, A.	St. James, Duke's-pl. London	London	Ld. Mayor & Aldermen.	110	805
Malet, W. W.	Yardley, V.	Lincoln	D. & C. of St. Paul's	242	599
Master, G. F.	Baunton, P.C.	G. & B.	Miss Master	67	144
Meek, R.	St. Michael, Sutton Bonnington, R.	Peterboro'	D. & C. of Bristol	462	...
Morrell, H. C.	Swilland, V.	Norwich	Lord Chancellor	227	272
Murray, G E.	Southfleet	Rochester	Bishop of Rochester	523	624

Digitized by Google

PREFERMENTS—*Continued.*

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Norman, E.	Brosna	Limerick		...	...
Pearson, R. H.	Edston, v.	York	G. W. Dowker	188	156
Phelps, Jno.	Newinton, v.	Sarum	Rev. J. S. Stockwell	...	...
Pizey, E.	St. Peter, Saffron Hill, P.C.	London	Rector of St. Andrew	...	...
Price, G. H.	St. James, Heywood, P.C.	Chester		...	...
Radcliffe, A.	Newington, v.	Sarum	Rev. J. S. Stockwell	...	...
Repton, E.	Shoreham, v.	Pec. of Cant.	D. & C. of Westminster	371	1015
Simpson, G. P.	Corston, v.	B. & W.	Bishop of Bath & Wells	150	433
Sisson, J. L.	Coleford, P.C.	Gl. & Brist.	Bp. of Glouc. & Bristol.	150	2193
Stevens, T.	Bradfield, R.	Oxford	Late Rev. H. Stevens	788	956
Surtees, S. F.	Richmond	Ripon	Lord Chancellor	...	3900
Wade, F.	Goddenhill, P.C.	Lichfield	S. Child	...	...
Walker, W. H.	Hickling, R.	Lincoln	Queen's Coll., Camb.	400	529
Whalley, W.	Toddington, v.	Gl. & Brist.	Lord Sudeley	...	352
Whately, W. J.	Owersby, Kirkby, & Osgarby, v.	Lincoln	Lord Monson	373	757
White, F. H.	Pattishall, 1st Med., v.	Peterboro'	Lord Chancellor	...	...
Williams, H. B.	Llanrug, R.	Bangor	Bishop of Bangor	166	1204
Williams, W. L.	Llanberis, R.	Bangor	Bishop of Bangor	182	725
Wilmer, T. G.	West Coker, R. Som.	B. & W.	Rev. G. Jekyll	467	1013
Wilson, W.	Ryhope, P.C.	Durham		...	...

The Rev. John Philps has declined the living of South Newton, or Newington, to which he was recently presented.

APPOINTMENTS.

Brooksbank, C. — Chaplain of Blakeney.
Durham, E. P. — Government Chaplain, New South Wales.
Hancock, R. — Head Master of the Diocesan School, Bristol.
Heaviside, J. W. L. — Mathematical Examiner in University of London.
Hill, J. — Clerical Superintendent of the Training Estab., Manchester Buildings, Westm.
Hodgson, B. P. — Clerk in Ord. at St. George's, Hanover-square.
Hurlock, J. — Chap. to Sussex County Hosp.
Jones, R. W. L. — Chap. to Newcastle Infirmary.
Le Mesurier, J. P. H. — Archdeacon of Malta.
Medley, J. — Preb. in Lincoln Cathedral.
Wylde, E. C. — Morning Preacher at Orphan Asylum, Westminster-rd.

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Alexander, D., Vicar of Bickleigh and Sheepstor, Devon, 47.
Bailey, W., Vicar of Ulting.
Becket, G., Rector of Epworth and Vicar of Gainsboro'.
Browne, J. C., at Stretton-en-le-field, Derby, 76.
Creswell, S., Commissary of Bibury-cum-Winson, 57.
Fenton, G., Vicar of Roystone.
Gale, H. P., at Taunton.
Gibbs, T., at Shirley, Derbyshire, 56.
Goode, A., Vicar of Terrington, and Rector of Waddingworth.
Lewis, R., at Honiton.
Newton, T., Incumbent of Coxwold.
Provand, C. M., Incumbent of Cosley.
Pulley, W., at Hawnes Vicarage.
Ricketts, F., Rector of Eckington, Derbyshire.
Roberts, C., Vicar of Edston and Bugthorpe, Yorkshire, 82.
Scoresby, G. M., 27.
Stevens, H., Inc. of Alderbury, near Salisbury.
Wallington, C., Rec. of Hawkeswell, Essex, 93.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

The meetings of the National Society since the last announcement have been attended by the Lords Archbishop of Canterbury and York; the Lords Bishop of Chester, Hereford, Salisbury, and Sodor and Man; Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester; Lord Sandon, M.P.; Revs. H. H. Norris, H. H. Milman, John Jennings, and W. Short; T. D. Acland, Esq. M.P., and G. F. Mathison, R. Twining, S. F. Wood, Esqs.

Grants were voted in aid of building, enlarging, and fitting up school-rooms in thirty-seven places. Additional aid was also granted to the Factory School at Bingley, in Yorkshire; Staleybridge, in Cheshire; and St. Peter's, Leeds.

The Committee resolved to inquire whether all the sites for National Schools conveyed within the last twelve months, have been duly enrolled in Chancery.

The Rev. J. Hill, M.A. was appointed

Digitized by Google

Clerical Superintendent of the Training Establishment in Manchester Buildings, Westminster.

Applications for teachers were received from fifty-six places. Applications for inspectors from the Winchester, Lichfield, Cambridge, and Hertford Boards of Education. Applications for organizing masters from the Leicester, Bath and Wells, Nottingham, and Lichfield Boards. Three candidates for the appointment of Organizing Master were admitted on probation.

The General Annual Meeting of this Society will take place on Wednesday, May 17, in the Central School-rooms, Sanctuary, Westminster. The examination of the children will commence at twelve o'clock; and the Report of the Society's proceedings during the past year will be read at two o'clock precisely. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair.

Members of the Society and subscribers to its funds are requested to send their applications for tickets of admission, on an early day, to the secretary. An annual subscription of one guinea, or a donation of ten guineas, constitutes a member.

The annual meeting of the Treasurers and Secretaries of Diocesan and District Boards will be held at the Society's office, at one o'clock on Tuesday the 16th of May.

JOHN SINCLAIR, M.A.
Secretary.

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

We commend the following to attention:—

CHESTER.—*Destitution in Dukinfield.*—The sympathies and succour of the Christian public are earnestly solicited to the following case of unparalleled spiritual destitution:—The township of Dukinfield, in Cheshire, contains a population of 23,000 souls, chiefly manufacturers and colliers, for which there is only one church built, and consecrated in 1841, but no endowment, no parsonage-house, and no income except from pew-rents, which are almost entirely derived from the working classes, and by no means to be depended upon. In connexion with the church there is only one school-room, which is hired, and so small that hundreds have been, and are still, refused admission. The present object is to solicit aid for a school and parsonage-house. If 450*l.* be raised, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will give a similar sum, and build a parsonage-house. Also, by collecting 300*l.* it is hoped that, with the aid of the National and other Societies, a school-house for 800 children may be built. Subscriptions received by Rev. Chancellor Raikes, Chester; also in London, by Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, and Co.; Smith, Payne, and Smiths; and Bosanquet, Anderdon, and Co.—*To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.*

DURHAM.—*Tynemouth.*—*The Durham Advertiser* says that the Daily Service has been revived in the parish church of Tynemouth (North Shields), by the Rev. C. Reed, Vicar. This took place from Ash Wednesday last.

LLANDAFF.—*Monmouth.*—The Daily Service is now regularly performed in the church of St. Mary, Monmouth, at eight in the morning, and five in the afternoon.

LONDON.—*Consecration of the Chapel Royal, Buckingham Palace.*—It may not be generally known, that up to the present time, no edifice dedicated to divine worship was immediately attached to Buckingham Palace, and that her Majesty and suite, when in town, were consequently obliged to resort to the Chapel Royal, St. James's, for the purpose of attending Divine worship. In order, however, to remedy this inconvenience, which on many occasions was severely felt, it was determined to erect a chapel in the grounds attached to the Palace; and as the conservatory had been some time in disuse, its site was selected for the purpose. At twelve o'clock, the principal dignitaries of the Church, viz., the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Norwich, the Dean of Carlisle, &c. &c., having arrived at the palace, robed themselves, and taken their seats in the chapel beside the Communion table, the chief members of the household entered the chapel, and arranged themselves on either side. The Queen and Prince Albert, attended by the high officers of State, then entered their pew, which is placed in the western gallery, and the form of consecration was proceeded with. The prayers of the day were read by the Rev. Dr. Sleath, Sub-Dean, the Epistle by the Bishop of Norwich, and the Gospel by the Bishop of London. The Archbishop went

Digitized by Google

through the entire form laid down for consecrating a house of God, and, having given his blessing, the ceremony ended. Henceforth, the Court will not attend the Royal Chapel, St. James's. The chapel is erected on the site of one of the conservatories. The interior has a very light and elegant appearance; the side aisles are divided from the centre by two rows of fluted composite columns, supporting a painted ceiling divided into compartments, and ornamented in stucco. It is lighted by windows at the sides, finished with architraves, and surmounted by pediments. The Queen's closet is elevated on Doric columns, across the west end of the chapel; the altar fronts the Royal closet at the opposite end. The communion-table had a covering of crimson velvet embroidered with gold; the back of the altar, the seats, and the cushions, were likewise of the same rich materials. The front of the Queen's closet, the pulpit, and the reading desk, were also covered with crimson velvet, edged with bullion fringe, and bordered with gold lace. The Royal closet is lighted by a number of small circular-headed windows, and corresponding windows are also introduced at the other end of the chapel, over the altar. The pews in the side aisles, occupied by the lords and ladies of the household, and the seats in the middle aisle, were covered with crimson. After the ceremony, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Norwich, and the Clergy, and also the ladies and gentlemen of the household present at the consecration, partook of a *déjeûner* at the palace. [Whatever may be said of the propriety and taste of the style and fitting up of this Royal Chapel, the end of the whole business was not the spiritual feast of the Gospel, but the carnal feast of a *déjeûner* at the palace.]—*Church Intelligencer.*

St. Clement Danes.—The church of St. Clement Danes is likely to be no longer subjected to its annual or trimestrial celebrations of Reformation Societies, Fifth of November Sermons, Pastoral Aid and Protestant Association Clubs, for which it was so remarkable—I had almost said notorious. The new Vicar has very spiritedly dismissed that anomalous functionary, the Evening Lecturer, elected by the parishioners; and on the first Sunday of his incumbency, when a "charity sermon" was duly affiched to be performed by some "famous hand," he forbad the exhibition, very appositely thinking that if the alms of the faithful were required, their own pastor was the proper person to impress this and all other duties upon his flock. —*Correspondent of the "English Churchman."*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Churchmen *versus* Rebels. — The Government, we believe, are alive to the all-important subject of Education; indeed we hear from undoubted authority that disclosures have been made from the manufacturing and mining districts, which it is thought prudent to suppress for the present, relating to the respective conduct of Churchmen and dissenting ministers in the late disturbances and agitations, which have convinced even the most "*liberal*" among our statesmen of the *absolute necessity* for giving more power and efficiency to the Established Church, as the only means of saving the country from the most dreadful convulsions, and from ultimate anarchy. It is notorious that in the disturbed districts the maintainers of law and order, and the special constables, are commonly designated by the rioters as "*Here come the Churchmen.*"—*Hertford County Press.*

Ancient Music.—Motett Society. —"Sir, I find the following notice (or at least the following in effect) of the formation of a Motett Society in Paris:—'An Association has just been formed under the presidency of M. Le Prince de la Moskowa, having for its object to bring to light the *chefs-d'œuvres* of the ancient Italian composers, many of whose works are now but little known, and to *develop, at the same time, the sentiment of, and to cultivate the taste for, religious music.* It is said that a Hymn to the Holy Trinity, by some Italian composer whose name is unknown, has been discovered, the performance of which has excited great enthusiasm.' This notice is in the last number of the *Reveu des deux Mondes.* I think you will be pleased not only to learn the fact, but to record it as an encouragement to the Motett and other Societies in our country, which have similar objects in view.

"Yours, &c. D.

"*April* 18, 1843."—*English Churchman.*

The Motett Society (for the study and practice of Ancient Ecclesiastical Music) commenced its meetings for the season

Digitized by Google

on Easter Monday. The following is a list of the remaining meetings for 1843:

Proposed meetings of the Motett Society, season 1843, at the All-Souls' and Trinity School-rooms, Langham-place, from half-past eight to half-past ten P.M.

May . . .	1 . . .	15
June . . .	5 . . .	19
July . . .	3 . . .	17
August . .	7 . . .	—

Persons desirous of joining the Society should signify their intentions as soon as possible to the Secretaries or Treasurers, as above.

The following refers to a subject which has been commented upon more than once in the pages of the CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER:

"THE FESTIVAL OF 'SONS OF THE CLERGY,' announced to be held in St. Paul's Cathedral, on Thursday, the 11th of May.

"It is remarkable enough that this most offensive and irreligious announcement occurs in a week [Passion-week] wherein, amongst other the most sacred mysteries of our faith, we celebrate His awful cleansing of the temple. But one incident in His whole life (though twice repeated at the feast of the Passover, John ii. 18, and in Passion-week) changed His merciful and gentle human nature into the avenging and wrathful judge, that one was the pollution of the temple, when He "made a scourge of small cords, and drove them all out of the temple, and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables," as though He could endure the presence of all profanity but this, and reserve His sacred indignation for this especial sin. Now, we trust to awaken, in every christian reader's bosom, some spark of that "zeal of God's house" which so significantly consumed our Lord Himself. To believe that the cause of charity can be served by letting out a cathedral, God's most sacred house, where He and His angels dwell, to a parcel of profane and secular men-singers and women-singers, who, if there were any discipline in the Church, would never be permitted to set foot within the holy walls—to invite newspaper critics and reporters to exercise their craft, upon what is as notoriously as much a money-getting speculation as an opera at Drury-lane—actually to suspend, not for a single day only, but for weeks and weeks, the daily incense of prayer and praise, in order that a parcel of carpenters, with their hats on, joking and swearing about the church, may get up a boarded orchestra for the scandalous exhibition of musical trickery; and this orchestra, or platform of "reserved seats," erected exactly over the most holy place, where are celebrated the chief mysteries of the everlasting Gospel—to have the altar blocked up, planked over, trampled under foot by this Miss Squallini, and that Mr. ——, who, perhaps, is an adulterer and drunkard—to cover every town in the kingdom with bills three yards long, announcing the "Hereford" or "Norwich" Grand Musical Festival, only outrivalled in size and beauty by Van Amburgh's lions and Dr. Eady—to believe that this is serving the cause of charity, is a hypocritical lie; it is dishonouring and insulting to God's majesty, wherever and by whomsoever permitted, by whatever Dean or Bishop in England; and, if we would avert God's judgment, we are bound to protest against it.

"These musical festivals are irreligious, as we have shown. They are uncanonical, directly opposed to the spirit and letter of the 88th Canon; and they are illegal; because, 1. The Church only permits money to be collected "at the offertory for pious and charitable uses," and not at the doors, without any service whatever: and, 2. Because no man, be he rich or poor, may be refused admission into a cathedral church, because he refuses to pay a fixed sum for permission to enter it.

"We trust, that if this exhibition takes place, according to the advertisements, the question of legality will be tried. The course is this, we suppose: on the morning of the festival, let some one demand admission into the cathedral; a money-payment will then be asked, let this be refused; the porter, or verger, or policeman, will then deny entrance without it; let the applicant then force admission, he will of course be turned out by the official; and then he must bring his action for assault; which will bring the matter to an issue.

"Another course which we would suggest is, to present the Dean and Chapter to the Visitor, which is the Bishop, for suspending the daily service without good and sufficient reason."—*English Churchman.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

HAVING given more consideration to E.'s proposal, we are sorry to inform our correspondent that its execution is impossible.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

JUNE, 1843.

Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ. Editio emendatior et copiosior, consilio B. G. Niebuhrii, C. F. instituta auctoritate Academia Litterarum Regiæ Boruscicæ. Bonnæ. Various dates.

It may be deemed superfluous to attempt to rewrite that which the great historian of the Decline and Fall of Rome has already described; but, though Gibbon has given to each subject in his voluminous history, that space which is proportioned to the general limits and design of his work, he has left many and important portions of the history of Byzantium to the attention of others. The fall of the Vandal kingdom in Africa is one of these subjects.

With a knowledge of events beyond the ablest contemporary writer, we may now review with calmness, and deplore with reason, the results of the victory of Belisarius over the Vandals. Had Africa been defended by the successor of a race of conquering kings, and not by the subordinate of a falling empire, the tide of Mahometanism might have here broken backward from the Vandal bulwark. Some new Genseric might have confined the hordes, that in after years overran fair Spain, and carried their victorious arms to the banks of the Tiber and the Loire, within their native deserts; the Vandals, like their neighbours the Goths, might have renounced their heresy; and Africa might, in common with the other provinces of ancient Rome, have enjoyed the blessings of Christianity.

Age and imbecility paralysed the sovereigns of Byzantium and Carthage. In the capital of the empire the sceptre that weighed down the hand of the weak old man was supported by his nephew, Justinian, content to rule in the form of a servant. It was not so with the Vandal. In the hands of Hilderic, the son of Hunneric, the power of the Vandals was departing. Gelimer, the next heir to the throne of Carthage, could dare to rebel, could aspire to rule, but his nature was ill-favoured for craft or dissimulation. And whilst the wily usurper of the empire could wait until resignation or death should leave the throne to him and his licentious partner, the bold Vandal hastened to ascend the royal dais over the shackled or dead body of his predecessor.

Digitized by Google

National defeats hastened the deposition of Hilderic. The general of the Vandal king led back the ever victorious troops of the nation, from the Moorish war, dispirited and diminished in numbers. "It was not so," murmured many a veteran; "it was not so when Genseric, or Gundamund, led the nation to war, and the brave Leuds of the clans followed the battle-axe of the king." Gelimer marked the rising discontent. "What!" he said to the murmuring soldiers; "what! cannot the son of Hunneric lead you to the war? Has age then chilled his heart, and stiffened his limbs? Can he no longer chase the flying Moor, or meet hand to hand the armed legions of the Roman? Yet surely he will obtain for us the aid of our brethren, the Goths of Italy. Theodoric gave his sister to king Thrasimond, and will the Goths refuse to aid the Vandal who slew the Queen Amalfrida, the sister of the great Goth? Perhaps he will beseech his priests to seek a blessing on our arms,—a blessing from *their* god,—a blessing on the followers of the holy Arius, whom they persecuted." The insinuations of the proud noble were too consonant with the feelings of the nation not to find an echo in the breast of every Vandal soldier as he leant on his broad axe, and thought of the retreat of his comrades from the face of the Moors. Emboldened by the timidity of their king, and moved by the words of Gelimer, they rose in arms against the weak old man, consigned Hilderic to a dungeon, and raised Gelimer on their shields as lord of the Vandal nation.*

The death of Justin had raised his nephew to the empire, when it was told at Byzantium that Gelimer had usurped the throne of Africa. Shocked at the open rebellion and usurpation of the Vandal chief, and prepossessed in favour of the old king, as the favourer of the Catholics amid a nation of Arians, Justinian made an attempt to rescue him from his dungeon. "Against the laws of God, and the testament of the mighty Genseric," he wrote to Gelimer, "thou hast imprisoned thy nearest relative, dethroned thy king, and seized on that sceptre which, ere long, must have been thine by right. Stay, then, thine hand from any further wickedness; restore to the poor old man the name and semblance of king, and do thou retain the reality of power until death gives thee a right to the name. Do this, and deserve our friendship and the blessing of the Almighty."† To the messenger of Justinian Gelimer deigned not an answer, but he pleaded the prospect of a conspiracy for the closer confinement of the king, and the cruel blinding of his last and most faithful follower.

Justinian appealed again to Gelimer, but his words were weaker: "We thought that thou wouldest have listened to our advice. We were deceived. Rule, then, as thou desirest; but send to us Hilderic, the blinded Hoamer, and his brother, that we may console

* Procop. vol. i. p. 352. Bell. Vand. lib. i. sec. 9.
† Procop. vol. i. p. 353. Bell. Vand. lib. i. sec. 9.

Digitized by Google

them in their misfortunes. Yield with readiness, or we will compel thee by arms. Yea, in despite of the treaties with thy predecessor, Genseric, for we shall not wage war against a legitimate successor of that king, but against an usurper." The Vandal refused the demand, and replied to the letter: "I have neither usurped the throne, nor injured my relation. The nation of the Vandals has thought fit to depose Hilderic for his errors; my age, and my prerogative, claim for me the vacant throne. It is wise to rule one's own kingdom, and not to interfere with that of others. Thou errest, therefore, as an emperor, in busying thyself with other kingdoms. When thou breakest the treaties of thy ancestors, and invadest us, we will call to witness the oaths of Zeno, through whom thou now rulest, and meet force with force. Farewell." Thus wrote Gelimer to Justinian; and from that time until his successes in Persia, and the renewed tranquillity of his empire, enabled him to take decisive measures, the emperor brooded over the insult which the letter of the Vandal had inflicted on his imperial dignity.

The few partisans of Hilderic who had escaped to Byzantium were ceaseless in their efforts to keep alive the anger of Justinian. Peace was signed with Persia, and the time for vengeance was at hand; the victorious troops of Belisarius were destined to avenge the insulted pride of Justinian, and the imprisonment of Hilderic. But the projected invasion was far from popular. The rabble, indeed, safe at home, and seeing the war in its triumphs, alone applauded the design of the emperor. The soldiers remembered their labours in the east, and the failure of the expedition, years before, under the Emperor Leo; this new summons to arms would debar them of all domestic happiness, subject them to a naval expedition—perhaps a naval engagement, their direst fear, and transport them from the east to the unhealthy land of Africa. The financiers saw, in the new project, another drain on the treasury, and feared that the renewed demand for money might endanger the discovery of their own peculations; whilst one alone of the generals of the empire, the hero of the Persian war, did not shrink from the dangers and difficulties of the projected invasion. It was in vain, however, that John of Cappadocia, and the majority of the council, spoke and intrigued against the war; the emperor was determined, and his faithful allies, the catholic priests, were not behind-hand in aiding their patron's wishes. It was in vain that John, the financier, magnified the dangers and length of the passage from Byzantium to Africa, and applauded the bravery of the Vandals, and feared the treachery of the Moors. At the right moment an eastern bishop entered the council, full of a dream which was pregnant with wished-for success. Justinian seemed on the point of yielding to the united wishes of his council. "Forbear," said the new counsellor. "Stand forth as the champion of the catholic faith against the heretic Arians; yea, but lately the Lord appeared to me in a vision. 'Go,' he said, 'go tell the great emperor that I will march before him in his battles, I will make him sovereign of Africa.'" No

Digitized by Google

one dared reject such an open manifestation of God's goodwill to the favourer of the catholics, however much they might suspect the legend. All doubts were removed, the war was approved of, and the command assigned to Belisarius, the conqueror of Kobad, the Persian king.

Small, indeed, was the army destined for the invasion of Africa; less than a sixth of that which Basiliscus had expended in his unsuccessful attempt during the reign of Leo. But there was much to compensate for the smallness of the host; the greater part were the veterans of the Persian war. In their general, the army had unbounded confidence. The empire of the Vandals was already crumbling away. Ere the expedition sailed in all its pomp from the harbour of Byzantium, Tripoli had revolted from Gelimer, and placed itself under the rule of Justinian. And now came a letter from Godas, to whom the custody of Sardinia had been committed. "I have renounced my obedience to the Vandal," wrote this man, "not indeed from ill-treatment or neglect, but that I may not incur "the blame of his cruelties towards his opponents. It is better to obey "a good emperor than a bad tyrant. See, then, that you aid me in "my wish, and send me men to oppose my enemies." The wished-for aid was given, and not only was any assistance from Sardinia thus cut off, but five thousand of the flower of the Vandal troops were drawn from the defence of Africa in attempting to recover the revolted colony.*

Under such auspices the fleet sailed from Byzantium early in the June of the seventh year of Justinian's reign. In the front of the imperial palace lay the general's bark, there the emperor paid his last visit, and the patriarch gave his parting blessing. The villany of the contractors, the negligence of the emperor, and the natural fears of the soldiery of a naval encounter, delayed the progress of the expedition, and afforded time for report to travel to Africa. But it was not so to be. Gelimer knew not of the approach of the enemy, until, loosing from Malta, Belisarius landed his troops within fifty leagues of Carthage, and defied, in his entrenched camp, the roving bands of the natives. The situation of Gelimer was truly perilous; with but few followers he was staying at Hermione, and Belisarius and his army were between him and his hardly defensible capital. The ruthless policy of Genseric in ruining the fortifications of all the African towns, that the people might not have a rallying point, was now to accelerate the fall of his successor's empire. Vengeance on the reputed instigators of the invasion was Gelimer's first care, and before Belisarius had advanced one step from his camp, at Caput Vadia, the old king, in whose behalf he had come, had fallen beneath the sword of the executioner. The Roman general had not heard of the murder of Hilderic and his adherents, when he issued his circular to the African chiefs from his first conquest—the

* Letter from Godas, 1 Procop. p. 357. Bell. Vand. i. 10.

Digitized by Google

town of Sullecte. "We come not to wage war with the Vandal nation,"—so ran the imperial letter,—"we come not to break the peace we have sworn with Genseric. We seek to punish your present tyrant, who, in despite of the testament of Genseric, keeps your king in fetters, has slain those of his relations whom he most abhors, and will not permit death to relieve the rest from the horrors of the blindness with which he has tormented them. Assist us, then, in our measures, and with united exertions break the tyrant's yoke, and enjoy that peace and freedom which we, with God for our witness, promise to afford you." The strict discipline enforced by Belisarius, the fair promises of the emperor, and the courtesy of the general, won the native Africans to his party; and the march of the army from Sullecte to within fifty miles of Carthage, through the gardens and vineyards of the domain of Gelimer, and the fruitful fields of the neighbourhood, was such as they would look for in their native country.*

His passion satisfied with the murder of Hilderic, the king of the Vandals prepared to meet force with force, and stratagem with stratagem. His enemy was between Carthage and himself, and he hoped to surround his forces at the narrow defile near the tenth mile-stone from the capital. Able as were his designs, Gelimer had much to contend with; not only was his opponent a consummate master of the stratagetic art, and fully aware of what the Vandal's tactics ought to be, but his own troops were neither the flower of his nation, nor well affected to their leader. The useless conquest of Sardinia occupied five thousand picked and faithful adherents, and the garrisons from Tripoli to Tangier held many troops in useless inactivity. This was his design. Marching from Hermione with such troops as he could collect, he would close on the rear of the Romans, whilst Ammatas and Gibamund, issuing from Carthage, were engaging the vanguard and extreme left of the invading forces.

When the Roman army arrived at the village of Grasse, some four days' march from the place of the expected encounter, the scouts discovered the approach of Gelimer, and communicated the tidings to Belisarius. The general paused not; parting from his fleet, which he entrusted to the treasurer, Archelaus, with orders to double Cape Bown, and hold off thirty miles at least from Carthage, until he heard good news from the army, Belisarius continued his march towards Decimum. Hardly had the vanguard of the Roman forces entered the village of the defile, ere Ammatas, too imprudent to abide his time, or to wait for all his own troops, dashed upon the Roman cavalry with a handful of men. It was in vain that Ammatas displayed his prowess in slaying twelve of his antagonists with his own hand; broken, cut to pieces, his followers wavered, and, when their leader at last fell, fled in confusion from the field, and carried with them, in their flight,

* Proclamation of Belisarius, 1 Procop. p. 380. Bell. Vand. i. 16. Designing the Vandals as our chief objects we have here omitted the details of the voyage; for which see Gibbon, vol. vii. c. 41; and Lord Mahon's Belisarius. cap. iii.

Digitized by Google

the reinforcements from the capital, now on their march to support him. The flight was not yet over; hardly had the broken horsemen of Ammatas galloped within the gates of Carthage, ere a few wretched fugitives, bleeding from many wounds, and pale with terror, proclaimed the almost entire destruction of the two thousand whom Gibamund, with equal courage and imprudence, had led against the six hundred Massagetæ, who composed the extreme left of the Roman forces.

Unaware of the successful skirmishes of his troops, Belisarius was marching onward, five miles in the rear, with the main body of his forces, from the temporary camp which he had raised in the plain, about two leagues from the defile where he looked for the approach of Gelimer. Leaving his infantry and baggage in the camp, Belisarius prepared to move forward, and thus anticipate the surprise intended by the Vandal chieftain. Ere he moved out of the camp he addressed his troops,—"Comrades," said the conqueror of Kobad, "comrades, the hour of battle is at hand; even now is the enemy approaching, and our fleet is far away. In our own hands, therefore, all hope of safety is placed; for we have neither city nor fortress to rely on. If we do but bear ourselves like men, of a surety we shall be victorious; but once begin to falter, and, like cowards, ye will perish miserably. Many are our incentives to victory. Right is on our side; for we do but seek to recover our own. A tyrant rules over the enemy, and they hate him. God ever defends the right. What disaffected subject fights to the death for his prince? Have we not conquered the Scythians and the Persians? Besides these Vandals, unarmed Moors alone oppose our progress. Be not careless. To be perfect in any science, we must be diligent. Idleness is the mother of ignorance. The bulwark of our camp will hold all our baggage and heavy arms, whilst we march forth; and when we return to it we shall not lack supplies. May God recall to each man's thoughts his former prowess—his happy home! Think on these, and forward!" *

With these words Belisarius commenced his forward movement; in front marched the northern confederates, whilst the Roman cavalry and the general's own guard brought up the rear. The van soon reached the field where Ammatas had fallen, and learnt the event of the battle. They were yet contemplating the relics of the fight, when a heavy cloud of dust rose on the south, and disclosed by degrees the van of Gelimer's army. Misled by the intricacy of the passes, the Vandals had passed the camp of Belisarius and the advancing troops, and entered the pass in advance of the vanguard of the confederates. Hastily dismissing messengers to Belisarius for aid, the leaders of the confederates fell to words as to their future conduct; at length a detachment of the Vandals made for a hill that commanded the pass; the confederates saw the advantage of the post

* 1 Procop. p. 387. Bell. Vand. i. 19.

Digitized by Google

and advanced to anticipate the movement; one charge of the Vandals broke the confederate line, and instead of a trial of speed in gaining the wished-for post, the contest was who should reach first the outposts of Belisarius. It wanted but an immediate following up of the defeat of the vanguard, to have greatly compromised the safety of Belisarius, if not, indeed, to have scattered the entire Roman forces, and brought the expedition to as ill an end as that of Basiliscus. The fraternal feelings of Gelimer lost him his kingdom: "as he descended from the hill," says the secretary of Belisarius, "on to the plain, where Ammatas had fallen, he saw the dead body of his brother, and learnt for the first time the death of his kinsman Gibamund, and the defeat of his projects. For a time he wept over the corse, and then consumed the favourable opportunity in celebrating the funeral rites over his brother's body." Belisarius, ever cool in difficulties, soon rallied the defeated confederates, strengthened his front by advancing his own guards, and prepared to meet the enemy. Ere long he reached the field where Ammatas had fallen. The Vandal army was hardly arrayed before the forces of Belisarius had charged their line; dispirited, dismayed, the Vandals did not contest the battle for a long time, but sought safety in a rapid, yet bloody, flight, until night intermitted the slaughter. With a few faithful followers, the Vandal king turned towards the deserts of Numidia, well aware that the half-ruined walls of his capital could not resist the victorious troops of the invader.

On the day of St. Cyprian the ancient prophecy was fulfilled—the Beta had expelled the Gamma.* The Arian priests fled from the churches, and the Catholics occupied their seats. The Vandals of the city received pardon in return for allegiance; the loyal Africans praise and reward for their loyalty. The change was conducted without violence, nay more, without disorder. The soldiers marched to their quarters as if from a field-day; business was not suspended; peace was restored to Carthage. Before his defeat, Gelimer had sent an embassy to the Visigoth king, Theudes, for aid; before he gave his reply, the fortunate arrival of some merchants from Africa informed him of the capture of Carthage. "Return," said Theudes, "to your country, oh, ye ambassadors, and learn how your affairs stand." As they entered the port of Carthage they became the prisoners of the Roman conqueror. Zazo, the brother of Gelimer, had been victorious in Sardinia, and he wrote to his brother to apprise him of his success. Ignorant of the result of the battle of Decimum, the messenger sailed into the port of Carthage, and became a prisoner of the Romans, whose defeat he had expected to participate in: but let us return to the fugitive, Gelimer.

In the plains of Bulla, on the confines of Numidia, about four days' journey from Carthage, the defeated Vandal was endeavouring

* *ελεγον δε τι και λογιον παλαιον εν καρχηδονι προς των παιδων εν τοις ανω χρονοις ειρησθαι, οἷς το* ΓΑΜΜΑ *διωξει το* ΒΗΤΑ, *και παλιν αυτο το* ΒΗΤΑ *διωξει το* ΓΑΜΜΑ." Genseric defeated Belisarius, and now Belisarius defeated Gelimer.

Digitized by Google

to reunite his scattered forces; his numbers rapidly increased, and he looked forward with hope to the next engagement with the enemy. Some of the Moors, who had strayed from the camp of Belisarius, informed him of the capture of the messenger from his brother Zazo, and told the rumours of the capital as to the success of the expedition against Sardinia. It was no season for distant conquests, and the presence of Zazo's contingent was essential to the defence of Africa. "It was not Godas, oh, my brother," wrote Gelimer to the conqueror of Sardinia, "but some power from above inimical to our nation, that despoiled the house of Genseric of its wealth, when it allured thee and the flower of our people from our shores. It was not to recover Sardinia for us, but to restore Africa to Justinian that thou didst sail hence. Our present calamities make Fortune's plans evident. Few, indeed, were the forces that Belisarius led against us, but the Vandals have lost their valour, and with it their happiness. For by their cowardice fell our brother, Ammatas, our kinsman, Gibamund; by it, our enemies possess our horses, our ports, our capital, yea all Africa. Still do they remain unmoved; unmoved though they compromise their wealth and the liberty of their families. What, then, remains, oh, my brother? Nothing, but the field of Bulla, where the hope that thy valour inspires yet detains me. Haste thee, then; waste not thy strength in the destruction of the tyranny of Godas, or in the recovery of the island; hither with every ship, with every man—hasten. When danger is imminent, what is it but certain destruction to consume our strength in foreign conquests? On these plains will we unite our forces; on these plains will we conquer together, or together endure our adverse fortune."*

Zazo received his brother's letter at Cagliari; concealing its import and his own feelings from the natives, lest he might shake their recent fidelity, he hastily embarked his troops, and in three days landed on the confines of Mauritania, and reached, by forced marches, the plain of Bulla. The two armies looked on in silence, as their leaders met in the space between their front ranks—a long embrace, mute, except by tears, declared the feelings they dared not to utter. No one asked the followers of Zazo of their victories; no one dared to inquire of the troops of Gelimer where those wives and children were, whose absence too dearly declared their death or captivity. Short was the space that could be given to grief, for it was the day of action, the time for revenge; his troops, now swelled to nearly a hundred thousand—ten times the numbers of his opponent—Gelimer hastened to bring on a battle; still, however, he neglected not to tamper with the forces of his enemy. The Huns deplored their long absence from their wild steppes, their distance from their huts, and readily listened to the words of the friends of Gelimer. Success

* 1 Procop. p. 407. De Bell. Vand. i. 25. Though Gibbon is wrong in representing this letter as written in answer to the intercepted letter from Zazo, the tenor of Gelimer's letter warrant us in supposing that he had heard of his brother's success in Sardinia.

Digitized by Google

might detain them as guards of Africa; defeat would release them from the present hateful service. They promised to turn against the Romans in the approaching battle. The Arians, too, of Carthage would lend their aid. Conspiracy within the city would distract and divide the weak forces of Belisarius. The plans of the Vandal were well devised, and counterplotted with equal ability by the Roman general. The dreadful punishment of impalement inflicted on one of the leaders of the Arian plot, terrified the conspirators; and well-distributed presents, promises, and praises, led the Huns to confess their meditated treachery, and to promise fidelity; a promise, with the mental reservation of remaining neutral until the victory appeared evident for one party. The capital thus secured against internal discord, its walls and fortifications restored, and a garrison of five hundred assigned for its defence, Belisarius prepared to meet the Vandals. He called upon his soldiers not to enumerate the forces of their enemy, but, like the Romans of old, to disdain to count their opponents: he bade them remember that on victory depended their existence, as terror alone would restrain the people from revenge: he called to mind their former victories in Persia, and bade them remember the field of Decimum. With these words Belisarius led his troops to the plain of Tricameron, where the Vandals were gathered, and prepared to fight on the banks of a small tributary of the ancient Bagradas, that ran through the plain some thirty miles from Carthage.

On the day after the approach of the Romans, Gelimer prepared for battle. Placing all the women and children with the waggons in the camp, he drew out his forces on the plain, opposing the victorious troops of his brother to the guards of Belisarius, who occupied the centre of the Roman line, and distributing the rest of his people on either wing, leaving the Moors as a reserve. Ere he led on his troops, Gelimer endeavoured to raise their valour by his words: "Think not, O Vandals!" said their king, "that to-day ye fight merely to recover your glory or your power, and that without either we might live peaceably in our homes and on our lands. No! unless ye conquer, this day ye resign to your enemies your wives, your children, and your possessions, and retain for yourselves slavery—yes, slavery, increased in misery by a perpetual contemplation of your losses. Let us conquer, and regain our wealth, our power, and our prosperity. Charge, then, for life—for liberty! Care not for your bodies; we fight not to live, but to conquer; with defeat we must couple death. Remember not our former defeat; fortune, and no fault of ours, was the cause of that calamity, and fortune ever changes. Are we not as brave, yea, braver than our enemies? Do we not exceed them, yea, ten times in numbers? Remember the glory and the power your ancestors left to you; left to you to retain, not to lose. Shall I speak of our wives, our children, of their tears, their supplications?—I cannot. Forget them not; be men, and debase not the glory of our nation." The address of Zazo to his followers spoke not of fears, or previous defeat; he appealed to their former

Digitized by Google

prowess, to their deeds in Sardinia, to the overthrow of Godas and his adherents; he called on them to show their previous valour by excelling their comrades in the approaching contest.*

The mid-day meal was hardly concluded in the Roman camp, when the forces of Gelimer approached the rivulet. The troops of Zazo were the aim of Belisarius; twice did a portion of his guards cross the rivulet, and charge the conquerors of Godas. Casting away spear and javelins, their powerful swords drove back the guards in confusion. A third time the guards advanced, the standard of Belisarius was borne before them, as with a united charge the entire body-guard swept over the rivulet: the opposition of Zazo was useless; at last he fell, and with him his chosen soldiers. All was now confusion; the centre fled, and the wings, without a cast of a javelin, or crossing of a sword, fled in disorder to the camp, pursued by the Romans, and the confederate Huns, who now could not doubt for whom their neutrality should declare itself. Still the camp was defensible, and the flight had been too rapid for the slaughter to be great; but the courage of Gelimer deserted him, and Zazo lived not, to confirm him in his despair. Ere he reached the camp, he turned his horse's head towards the desert, and left his dispirited followers to make the best resistance they could without their king.

The flight of the king was soon imitated by his dispirited troops, and at the first onset the camp and treasures of the Vandals fell into the hands of the Romans. The rapidly-approaching darkness did not permit the Roman officers to restrain their troops, and under its friendly shade every enormity that unbounded spoil, and unprotected beauty could prompt, was perpetrated with impunity. Had Gelimer rallied but one squadron of his mighty army, and charged the plunderers, the day would have been retrieved; but he was far away, fleeing for five days and nights before the party of John, the Armenian, and only saved from instant capture by the accidental death of that leader, by a random arrow from a drunken comrade. On and on went the royal fugitive, until, in the far eastern extremity of Numidia, the lofty and almost inaccessible mountain of Pappua received him, among a savage, but loyal, tribe of Moors. Belisarius was hard on the track of Gelimer; but, when he learnt of his concealment at Pappua, and regarded the mountain fastness, on whose top the rude Moorish village received the fugitive, he committed the blockade to Pharas, the Herulian, and led back his victorious forces to the capital.

The Moorish huts were a safe, though rude, retreat for the royal fugitive; once, indeed, did the impetuous Pharas urge his Herulians to the assault, and attempt to scale the rugged sides of the mount of Pappua. The falling rocks, the steep ascents, and the flights of light arrows from the well-protected defenders of the hill, soon convinced the chief of his imprudence. Man after man fell before the

* 1 Procop. pp. 417—419. De Bell. Vand. ii. 2.

Digitized by Google

sharp shower, and little injury could be wrought on the besieged. The struggle was short, severe, and decisive; that day the blockade commenced.

A century of conquest had gradually enervated the rude Vandals; allured by the warmth of the African climate, and the profusion and beauty of its fruits, its wines, and its flowers, they had gradually thrown by their ancestors' rude manners, and preferred the couch and the embroidered robe to the soldier's bed on the tented ground, and the rough cloak for the midnight watch. Then came beauty with her bright eye and her seducing smile, and the bold warrior laid down his battle-axe to toy with the mistress of the distaff. Freely did the wine-cup circulate at their banquets, where the soldier's fare was changed for every delicacy that sea and land could furnish. How changed was the scene! Instead of the noble palace, with its cool halls for the summer's heat, and its warm apartments for the winter's cold, the fugitive king lay in a narrow hut, sultry in summer and pervious to snow and rain in the winter. The bare ground was his bed, and bread and wine were not known among the Moors of Pappua. Pharas endeavoured to take advantage of the sufferings of the besieged, and to turn the murmurs of the Vandal nobles to his purpose: he proposed a capitulation. "Barbarian as I am," wrote the Herulian, "and ignorant alike of the delicacies of speech and the ornaments of writing, Nature bids me write to thee, O Gelimer, those things of which necessity makes all men scholars. Why is it, O Gelimer, that you have involved yourself and your followers in such misery? For fear of slavery—for the sake of liberty? Is not this your boast? Are you not a slave to abject misery among these Moors? Which is best, to submit to the Romans, or to rule and be tyrant of Pappua and these Moors? You disdain to be a fellow-servant with your conqueror; cast away such thoughts. Do not we, as well born as thou, rejoice in being the servants of the emperor?—Nay, does not Justinian wish to reward thee with gifts, and to promote thee to great honour, as a patrician? Is it wise, O king, to refuse the benefits as well as the ills of fortune?—for so do the unwise." Thus wrote the Herulian, and Gelimer, when he read the epistle, wept bitterly, and applied himself to reply.*

"I thank thee for thy advice," wrote Gelimer to Pharas, "but slave of an unjust enemy I can never bear to be. With God's help, I will avenge me on him, who, never injured by word or deed of mine, has taken a pretext for this war and brought me to this present misery, by the aid of this Belisarius, summoned from whence I know not. It is not improbable that the emperor, as a man and as a prince, may suffer those very evils he now dreads. I can no more. My distress affects my mind. Farewell, my friend Pharas, and send me, I beg, a harp, a loaf of bread, and a sponge."† To taste bread once more, to sing his death-song, and to relieve his eyes from the

* 1 Procop. pp. 435, 436. De Bell. Vand. ii. 6.
† 1 Procop. p. 437. De Bell. Vand. ii. 6.

Digitized by Google

effects of the exposure, the Vandal solicited those three gifts. Pharas consented to his wishes, increased the severity of his watch, and trusted to famine to reduce his prisoner to submission.

Day after day passed, and still the fugitives held out. It was mid-day as the king sat in his gloomy hovel, brooding over his broken fortunes; his hostess was slightly baking over the fire a mess of unhusked corn, half pounded and mixed into a coarse dough, and on the hut-floor sat two children, the king's nephew and the hostess's son, anxiously watching the operation. Hot and glowing from the coals the Vandal seized at the precious morsel, and ere he could swallow the smallest portion, the young Moor set upon the famished noble and tore the cake from his mouth. The scene had its effect on Gelimer, he relented, and determined on submitting to the terms of Pharas. "My friend," he wrote to the Herulian, "if ever man, after enduring the bitterest suffering with the greatest determination, repented of his opinion, it is I. Your advice has conquered, and no longer can I wisely despise it. Here ends my contest with fortune and with fate; henceforth I follow wheresoever they lead. Strive thine uttermost to obtain from Belisarius the terms you lately offered me; obtain but the emperor's promise, and I and my few followers will submit to you."*

The terms were soon obtained, and Pharas led his friend to Carthage. As they entered the suburb of Aclas, the conqueror met his captive opponent and greeted him with generous kindness; the rude laugh that burst from Gelimer on the approach of Belisarius, told a mournful tale of the effect of distress on a mind weakened and enervated by luxury. Gelimer's course was nearly run; one more exhibition of his slavery, and then in private life he might think on the dangers of sovereignty. The conqueror of Africa led his captive to Byzantium, and the stately triumph awaited his coming. Leading a crowd of noble captives, Gelimer, in his regal robes, marched into the Hippodrome, to witness the treasures of his people laid at the feet of Justinian and the daughter of the actor. Side by side with his conqueror, the Vandal fell at the emperor's feet, and besought his mercy. Neither tears nor smiles had disgraced his progress, but he oft repeated to himself, as he looked round on his brother captives, the words of the inspired monarch—"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." After the show of the day, the captive king retired to his estate in Galatia, and the last of the Vandals was gathered to his fathers without a bard to sing his death-song, or a scribe to tell posterity how Gelimer the Vandal died.

---

* 1 Procop. p. 439. De Bell. Vand. ii. 7.

Digitized by Google

Third Report of the Society for Promoting the Increase of Church Accommodation, and the Endowment of Churches, in the Diocese of Ripon. Leeds. T. W. Green.

The ephemeral reports of Societies, however admirably they may be adapted to their purpose, can scarcely be subjected to review as literary productions; but when they are made to stand as representatives of the societies of which they are the voice, they may give occasion to very serious and interesting questions. The mere fact of the existence of associations within or without the Church, in subservience to her, or against her, for moral and religious purposes, should make us look fearfully, as well as inquisitively, for their origin and remote causes. Why have we *Temperance Societies*, when the baptismal vow marks the Church as the great temperance society of the world, and the baptismal cross is, at the same time, a token of membership, and a sign and instrument of mortification? Why have we *Missionary Societies*, when the Lord of the Church hath constituted it, by His divine charter, the only evangelizer of the nations? Why have we *Sunday-school Societies*, and *Christian-influence Societies*, and *Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, when the Church is the teacher of little children, and the city set on a hill, and the depository and the dispenser of all saving truths, and the guardian of all Christian doctrine? These, and many like questions, (for each society suggests its own doubts and difficulties,) would lead us back to first principles, and to general truths, upon the nature of the Church, and its duties and offices, and of the lawfulness or expediency of the very existence of societies *at all* for any such purposes; and many are the humiliating lessons which we should learn by the way. That we must conclude *either* that the Church has deserted her office,—*or* that the general population of a Christian nation has repudiated her authority and sanctions,—*or* that all such societies are mere and unwarrantable upstarts, and unhealthy excrescences,—that we must necessarily arrive at one or other of these conclusions, each painful, and each bearing with it reproach and warning, is in itself sufficient to make us approach such a subject with humility and fear.

There is another class of societies which rather direct our thoughts to accidental circumstances, and occasional relations of the Church and her children, than to the deeper principles just glanced at. For instance, *The Society for the Employment of Additional Curates in Populous Places* leads, by its very existence, to the question, What is there in the comparative characters of the large town, and of the retired village, which should make it especially necessary to aid the former in spiritual things? And again, *Church-Building Societies*, all of recent date, force upon us the ungrateful question,—When our land is studded with the churches of former times, of which there were far more than enough, according to our present estimate of necessary

Digitized by Google

church-room, and all of which were built without a thought of associations,* or without bazaars, without charity sermons, or charity balls, without penny subscriptions, and without begging letters; without even church-building societies,—why is it that we require all these aids? Is it for lack of money, or because it is more equally distributed, so that there are no rich merchants, or nobles, to make the costly offering? Is it for lack of piety, is it for lack of consideration, is it for lack of wisdom,—or of what,—that we must now call in the aid of church-building societies to do but ineffectually what our ancestors did abundantly without them? We do not hint at what may be the proper answer to these questions. We only say that they arise necessarily out of the very existence of these societies; that an answer they must have, in the depths of eternal truth, whether or no we find it out—and, what is more, whether or no we would accept it, or reject it, if uttered with the authority of a divine oracle.

But though the very existence of church-building societies evinces a most unhealthy state of religion, or of morals, or of civil polity, or of all at once, yet they are necessary, and therefore the praise is all theirs, and the dispraise, which must fall somewhere, leaves them unscathed. The plain, simple fact is this: by some means or other, thousands and tens of thousands of persons in this Christian land, are frequently congregated together by circumstances over which they have themselves but imperfect control, and over which the church and the state have refused to exercise, or have been unable to exercise, any adequate influence; and they are thus collected together in places where there is not, perhaps, a church within a long distance, or in which there is room in the church for not one-twentieth of that part of the people who ought to worship in the sanctuary. Individual devotion has refused, except in comparatively a very few instances, to make the oblation,† which used to be no infrequent one, of a church

* Of course the Freemasons, who were in fact a society of ecclesiastical architects, come under a very different class from any of which we are speaking, though their influence is happily conspicuous in the structure of the churches in the middle ages. It is curious to note, that the Freemasons were fully established in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when church-building occupied so great a portion of the attention of Christians; and that now again we have architectural societies springing up just in time to avert impending ruin from the works of the elder association, and to exert a happy influence on the ecclesiastical structures called for so loudly by the present wants of the people of England. An architectural society is an excellent auxiliary to a church-building society; and the Ripon Church-Building Society is not without its appropriate handmaid. "The Yorkshire Architectural Society," says the Report, "will, when brought into active operation, be found a useful ally to the Church-Building Society, by directing becoming attention to the ecclesiastical character of the churches, which it either assists in erecting or enlarging—a matter of no trivial importance, when it is remembered how intimately the decent and reverent performance of Divine Service is connected with the architectural propriety of the buildings in which it is solemnized. Your committee, therefore, shall always have great pleasure in carrying out, as far as they are able, any suggestions with which the committee of the Architectural Society may favour them."—P. 21.

† And it is a strange sign of the times, that in many cases where the *liberality* has not been wanting, and a building has been erected at a *great cost of money*, for the performance of the church-service, for the benefit of the increased population, the

Digitized by Google

sufficient for the wants of those thus collected together. The church, in the sense of the body of people possessed of, and in any degree accountable for, the property of the church, (although we ought, perhaps, to except the lay impropriators, who might be expected, now and then, to give proportionate alms out of such a fund, if perchance the rest might be clean unto them,) the church, or the hierarchy, is utterly unable to meet the demands of the rising population; and most opportunely, most piously, and with the happiest effect, such societies as that, whose report is made the occasion of this article, are called into being, and hasten to relieve the crying want of the people.

But such general statements convey a very inadequate notion of the state of things in the more populous districts of England; and we cannot take a better example than the more populous part of a diocese, lately formed out of that of York, on account of its overwhelming population. In his charge to his clergy, in 1840, the excellent Bishop of Ripon thus sums up the wants of his flock, in the single article of Church-accommodation:—

"The present amount of the population of the Archdeaconry of Craven * can hardly be estimated at less than 700,000 souls, while there is church-room provided for no more than 140,000 of that number; so that, after deducting one-third as the probable number of absentees from necessary causes, such as age, infancy, or sickness, there will still remain above 300,000 persons in that district totally destitute of church-accommodation.

"Nor are the wants of the Archdeaconry of Richmond of insignificant importance. Although the total amount of population in that district is much less, it is more scattered, and the distance of many hamlets from the parish church renders their separation from the communion of the Church as complete. There are also many small Incumbencies in the North, as well as the West Riding, deprived of the blessing of a resident minister, from the want of a Parsonage-house, while the income of several pieces of preferment in each district is considerably below £100 a-year.

"From statistical calculations which have been made since my last Circular was issued, I find that there are thirteen parishes, or districts, in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, containing 13,499 souls, with *not one* free sitting; and that in the Archdeaconry of Craven there are thirty-five parishes, or districts, containing an aggregate of 181,405 souls, with *not one* free sitting."

The Report from which this statement is extracted, adds—

"Such, then, is the state of the diocese generally. For the sake of affording some idea of the condition of particular portions of it, it may be added, that in the Bradford District, containing a population of 123,992 souls, there is church-accommodation for not more than 17,144." †

The report of the condition of particular places would only impress our readers still more deeply with the general fact of the enormous

---

devotion and *self-sacrifice* have been wanting to perfect the oblation, by procuring the consecration of the edifice. There is a hankering after authority in the choice of ministers, which defeats, in some degree, the worthy intentions which led to the provision of room wherein to worship.

* This calculation was made on the census of 1831. The population, and, therefore, the deficiency, are now much increased.

† Report, pp. 20, 21.

Digitized by Google

disproportion between the population and the church-room; and if it were noted how great was the excess of appropriated over free sittings, in places where the labouring classes preponderate almost beyond calculation, the picture would be painful in the extreme. To take two instances, occurring next to one another, in the table of places to which grants have been made by the Ripon Society, in aid of church-accommodation. In Denby, a population of 2000 had but 200 sittings, of which not one was free: and in Keighley, with a population of 13,000, out of 318 sittings, only 36 were free; that is, only 36 persons, of all the 12,182, who did not claim a right to a closed seat, could obtain admission, according to the present system, to the ordinances of the church, which are in theory, and ought to be in fact, as free to all as the light of heaven.

And this, with a comparatively slight variation of numbers on either hand, is no uncommon case.* And yet it is but very lately that such things have caused any thought at all in the wealthy part of the population, and in those who have been the means of bringing together such huge masses of people; and, now that the subject is forced upon us by the dreadful consequences of our past neglect, the exertions and self-denial of all but a very few are utterly inadequate to remedy the evil, and are shamefully incommensurate with the wealth of the country, and with the energies which are ever ready to be called forth by some political bubble, or mercantile speculation.

Indeed it seems that scarcely any one thing is more perfectly forgotten, more systematically and industriously kept out of mind, than the moral responsibility of those who bring together, for purposes of their own, large numbers of their fellow-creatures, whose welfare, both spiritual and temporal, is most seriously affected by the circumstances in which they are thus placed. Merchants and manufacturers erect their mills and warehouses, and establish their mart, in some place which the bountiful hand of God has blessed with the fair stream, or the precious vein of minerals: an immense capital is instantly circulated—a large number of artizans, who move with their wives and children, are collected together—the little shop, and the three or four wretched beer-houses are not far behind; and the whole moral aspect of the place is as much changed as the fair face of nature—and, unhappily, as much deformed. A single factory often employs more men, women, and children, than are found in a large village; more than are ordinarily placed within the influence of several persons of rank and fortune, and are employed by two or three hundred respectable masters, and committed to the charge of a

* In the town of Leeds (excluding the suburbs) there is a population of 82,120, with church-room for only 13,235; and this, although several churches have been very lately erected, and the parish church has been rebuilt, so as to contain a thousand more than it would in its former state. In this case the proportion of free kneelings is greater than in most instances, for the whole of the body of the parish church is free: and by the provision of the founder, the kneelings in St. John's church are also free; but in this latter case they have become shamelessly appropriated by mere usurpation.

Digitized by Google

single pastor.* And all these, actually and morally, are placed in their altered circumstances, whether for good or evil, by the single fellow-creature who is making a profit of their labour; towards the artificial centre of population which he has created, they throng together from distant parts; by him they are hired from time to time, and by him kept together; and for his profit it is that they thus seek another atmosphere to dwell in, that they acquire new habits, and fall under, and adopt into their way of life, circumstances altogether alien from the natural condition of man, and from the sacramental state of Christians.

Such is the necessary consequence of the working of a single factory of any extent, for a few years; but when the factory has become a town of factories, and instead of hundreds there are thousands and tens of thousands congregated in the same way, and the habits adopted by a former generation have become the heritage of children and children's children, it is still more appalling; all the evils are multiplied, and there is found no counterbalance in the sound religious education of the people. Shameful as it is, (and wherever the shame should rest,—and this we will not determine,—it cannot be slight,) the conventicle is added to the beer-shop, long before the church is seen calling the people to fountains of living water. We will conclude this picture in the words of "a factory mechanic:"—

"Many of our fellow-workmen wear long beards, to show they are disciples of Johanna Southcote, and expect the coming of Shiloh. We had also a 'Devil's Chapel' here, and a Chartist parson, whom they call the 'Devil's Chaplain.' One of Joe Smith's missionaries was here two months ago, with the Book of Mormon, and he persuaded some folk to follow him to Nauvoo. We have plenty of tracts among us, read at public-houses and beer-shops, that tell us everything that is wrong. Somebody is always leading us into some scrape. As it is, neither church nor chapel has any chance with the ale-house and the gin-shop; and Sir James Graham seems to know, that when we next have a holiday we shall understand our business a little better. In the meantime, the ale-house keepers, to cheat us from the church, have organs in all their taverns,† where they play godly tunes and jigs by turns all Sunday, lest we should take a fancy to leave our ale to listen to the church organ. These ale-house keepers are very much afraid of the church; so it seems are our masters, who are Dissenters; and in their fears, lest we should fall into the hands of the church, they are prepared to run all other risks."

And what shall be the end of this? What its general influence in the church, and on the state? What is the responsibility, and how shall it be measured of those for whom such things are done and perpetuated? These are grave questions; but it would be great cowardice, or great dishonesty, to refuse to seek for their answer.

* One thousand or fifteen hundred persons must very commonly be collected together by the erection of a single factory, and in many instances the number must be much greater; and a thousand is the very largest flock that a pastor, of the best health and abilities, can well watch over. A good water-power, or the vicinity of a canal, or of a coal-mine, determines the site of a factory, without any reference to a church or a pastor, as if the artisan could bring his body away, and leave his soul to worship where his fathers worshipped.

† Church organs stolen by the Puritans were put to the same purpose.

Digitized by Google

Of the effects of the crowded atmosphere of factories, with the wretched influence of several processes carried on in them, on the health and comfort of the artizan and his family, we should not speak, unless they formed really an item in the responsibility, moral and religious, of the master. However necessary they may be to the carrying on of the several works, such intolerable burdens as have been put upon their children, female children especially, in the coal-mines, cannot leave their employers without the necessity of asking, How far are we justified in this conduct; and, if justified at all, what is the compensation which we should make to our fellow-creatures for such usage; and is it to be measured only as wages, by the price of labour, or as a debt to the fellow-christian, and by the scale of christian love? If it be necessary, which it is difficult to believe, but if it be necessary that mills should be kept so constantly at work, that children must labour in them by rotation day and night without intermission; and that the girl who leaves her work must rest for a few hours in the bed warm from that one who takes her place at the wheel, the responsibility seems to be increased by the very necessity of this, and not to be avoided by the doling out of the lowest rate of wages that is consistent with the existence of the victim of such necessity. If there be any processes which are so detrimental to the health of those employed in them, that they almost certainly limit the term of life to a very few years,* will the price of blood (and it is the price of blood) be so easily reckoned, as the price of the food and raiment with which the Christian workman is content, and which the unchristian cannot exceed, though he bear his penury with less patience?

But there is another view which we may take of these baneful effects of the aggregation of such multitudes, and of the processes in which they are engaged: it is a fair type of the religious condition into which they are brought. We have before remarked that the church is too often the last thing seen as the hamlet rapidly increases to a village, and the village to a crowded town; and when it does appear, its meanness often witnesses, together with its tardy appear-

* Our most ordinary comforts are, in fact, purchased at this price. There is a part of the process of the making of china called scouring; it is the work of women, and those who are engaged in the scouring of china live only about three years at it. The scouring raises a cloud of dust from the surface of the unglazed ware, which dust is partly flint, and insoluble; this being taken into the lungs produces pulmonary consumption; of which they die.

The fine particles of steel disengaged in the process of pointing needles produces the same effects.

The great heat of glass-houses makes the labour of the workman so unhealthy, that it is purchased at a very high rate. A man can earn in two or three days enough to live upon for a week; and many of the artisans do this, giving the rest of their time to dissipation. In some glass works, which we once visited, it was proposed to give an allowance to the widows of those who fell a sacrifice to the baneful process, instead of raising their wages to a degree which gave them a command of money seldom employed to their ultimate advantage; but the proposal was rejected: they who had become reckless of their own life and comfort, could not be expected to be very provident for others.

Digitized by Google

ance, the comparative importance assigned to man's eternal and temporal interests. Men, who think it always too late to be getting rich, think it too soon *yet* to be religious: they who never hope to be wealthy enough, tremble lest their dependents should be too good. And too true it is, that the absence of religion in the hearts of the servants is often proportioned to the sad neglect of the masters. We do not deny (God forbid!) that beneath

> "The wreathed smoke afar,
> That o'er some town, like mist upraised,
> Hangs, hiding sun and star,"

there is often much and deep piety, and such Christian devotedness, as might shame the "vernal green."

> "There are in this loud stemming tide
> Of human care and crime,
> With whom the melodies abide
> Of th' everlasting chime;
> Who carry music in their heart
> Through dusky lane and wrangling mart,
> Plying their daily task with busier feet,
> Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat."

But still the natural effects will follow from their proper causes; and the effects of such things as we have spoken of, do not fall short of deep moral and religious injury. It would be expected, *à priori*, and it follows in fact, that the crowding together of large masses of people, for worldly purposes, and with no common religious object, and no holy bond of union, is subversive, to the last degree, of piety, of religion, and even of the very lowest of the moral virtues. Such is the natural waywardness and depravity of man's heart, that he requires all the influences of good with which he is surrounded in the happiest circumstances, to uphold him in his sincere, though imperfect, integrity; and still, day by day, the Christian, even the most perfect and matured Christian, must pray to his heavenly Father—"Deliver me from evil; lead me not into temptation." But let us look at all the parts and accessories of a crowded factory, and say whether it is not enough almost to subvert all piety, and all purity of heart and life. Then let us follow the crowds who rush out at their stated hours to their homes, and we shall see that the result naturally to be expected has indeed followed. Let us just apply to the state of things which we shall there find, one of the commandments,—the foundation of all discipline and obedience: "HONOUR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER, THAT THY DAYS MAY BE LONG IN THE LAND WHICH THE LORD THY GOD GIVETH THEE:"—what is the effect of such systems on the habits of obedience to this the first commandment with promise?*

* Ephes. vi. 2.

Digitized by Google

This is the plain state of the case. From the universal use of machinery, the value of a child's labour is as great as that of a man; in some cases it is even greater. The children soon come to be of more importance to their parents, in a worldly sense, than their parents are to them. They support their parents, or, at least, have it in their power to do so; but then it follows that they have it also in their power to let them starve, for the parents cannot, in very many instances, support themselves. The natural order, the order which God hath appointed and sanctified to high moral and religious uses, is reversed: and what follows? The children are filled first with a spirit of independence, then of opposition; by and by they break out into open rebellion; they feel their power, and they use it most heartlessly: at length they leave their parents' roof, and purchase liberty at the expense of duty. It cannot but be that a curse goes with them; and they fall from one degradation to another, until the divine authority of the commandment is fully vindicated in the wretched effects resulting from their disobedience.

But even here the evil does not stop. Obedience to parents is the spring and principle of all obedience; and the fifth commandment teaches us not only "to love, honour and succour our father and mother," but also "to honour and obey the king, and all who are put in authority under him: to submit ourselves to all our governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters, and to order ourselves lowly and reverently to all our betters."* Now it would be waste of time to prove, what all see and feel, that every part of this rule of duty is forgotten by those on whom the unnatural subversion of the relative position of parents and children has worked its full effect. The evil has, indeed, gone farther than the mere and habitual *neglect* of the rule; it has gone so far that the rule itself is *actually questioned.* There are not only men who disobey the powers that be, and are ordained of God,† but who dare to deny that obedience is due to them: that there are not only occasional impulses of violence and lawlessness in populous districts, and outbreaks of a rebellious spirit against the wholesome restraint of law, but that there are teachers of sedition, and men whose Satanic‡ business it is to preach rebellion.

All these consequences follow, by no remote process, from the repugnance between the manufacturing system, as it is usually wrought out, and the single principle of obedience consecrated in the fifth commandment to so high place and influence in the heart of man. How sadly is the character of the child altered from that of which our blessed Lord speaks, when he says, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, *for of such is the kingdom of God,*" by a system which calls into so early play the first

---

* Church Catechism. † Rom. xiii. 1.

‡ If the term sounds harsh, the very classes to whom such persons appeal show that its justice is felt, by calling them "the devil's chaplains."

Digitized by Google

productive energies of the child, and renders him independent of his parents without providing religious privileges to counteract the evil! Surely the state of things which is so utterly subversive of the character of children that it can no longer be said of them, "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God *as a little child*, he shall not enter therein,"* cannot be accounted a blessing; and one who, to the full, works out such a system, brings on himself tremendous responsibilities, and a most imperative claim to counteract its effects, so far as he can. And we are bold to say that he has but one way of doing this, that is, by giving his people A CHURCH. We do not mean merely the fabric of stone, but that for which the fabric may stand in a figure:—an opportunity of finding all the ordinances of the Church, in every need, and at every age. The cost of a single water-wheel, or of a single steam-engine, thus expended, *at the right time* (for too soon all the mischief is done), might entail greater blessings on a manufacturing district, and ultimately on the character of its population, than all the bales of cloth that fill the towering warehouse, and all the hard-earned wages that circulate in the little cottages beneath it.

But we will not forget the plea, not wholly unjust, by which the individual shifts the responsibility from his own shoulders to society in the mass. The individual merchant puts it off upon the present state of trade, and says, with bitter truth, I cannot otherwise compete with my neighbours in the market, and must be ruined! Thus is the burden shifted upon the state;—but the state also has a moral personality, and a responsibility which she labours to cast off. She cannot, she says, otherwise compete with other states in the foreign markets; and she must, therefore, make merchandise of her own sons and daughters, of their comforts, of their health, of their morals, of their religion. Let us argue, for an instant, on the supposition that it is the chief good of a state to supply all the markets of the world with its home productions, as we have suffered the merchant to argue as if it were the chief good of the individual to accumulate hoards of wealth; and what then? It does not make the unnatural system any other than a curse, the immoral system any other than a crime, the irreligious system any other than a tremendous sin before God. It only makes the world—the whole civilized world—the delinquent, and teaches us to tremble for the whole earth, as well as for a particular nation, city, or individual. It only suggests the solemn question, Will not God be avenged on such a generation as this?

But, in very truth, wealth and trade are not the true greatness of a nation, nor its best *materiel* of happiness. The holy Scripture saith, that "*Righteousness* exalteth a nation:"† and when the Almighty promised to Abraham that he should become a great and mighty nation, that in him all the nations of the earth should be blessed, it was not for his wealth or influence with the states around

* Mark x. 14, 15. † Prov. xiv. 34.

Digitized by Google

him, but because, said the Lord, "I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment." * "The crowning city, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth," † was nevertheless cast down; and the pride of the whole earth, its lofty imaginations, and its glorious creations of magnificence and show, will not ward off revolutions and penury, or check the hand of the destroyer.

To ourselves, the word of holy writ is worth volumes of reasoning; but some, perhaps, will only take them as giving point to vague and unmeaning declamation. But they, too, out of the things before their eyes, and which they cannot but feel and confess, must arrive, if they will think soberly, at the same conclusions.

There was a time, within the memory of many a merchant who is now trembling for the fortunes which were made in days of less excitement, when the great branches of home manufacture which now give the murky atmosphere, and the unnatural character to Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the West of England, were carried on within the houses of tens of thousands of respectable and thriving families. When the loom was suspended in each artizan's cottage, and the children worked with, and under their parents, in harmony and subordination, fewer yards of calico, fewer pieces of broadcloth, were doubtless made within a given time, and fewer thousands of pounds passed through each merchant's hands: but we may defy the greatest stickler for machinery and for the aggregation of vast multitudes in crowded factories to say, that any class of people were then less prosperous, less happy, less moral, or less religious, than now; and if, perchance, the foreign markets were less glutted with English produce, and foreign merchants were less suspicious of English honesty, England, at any rate, was not less respected abroad, or less truly great at home. Some few there were, who, even in the first stimulus occasioned by the introduction of machinery, and the consequent breaking up of the domestic system, saw through the promises of enormous wealth, to the very state of things which we are now deploring; and then it might require some courage to express a conviction, which now no one can help admitting, that the whole system is false in theory, and has led to most ruinous results. The merchants themselves, after they have reduced their workmen to the lowest wages, and raised the perfection of their machinery to the utmost, and learned to produce the finest materials in the largest quantities, in the smallest possible space of time, and at the lowest cost, yet do not find themselves nearly so prosperous a body as their fathers and grandfathers were.

It would, then, almost seem as if England had made a false step, even politically speaking, in sacrificing all to present gain; and that, if it were possible to recall the last sixty years, it would be wisdom to

* Gen. xviii. 19. † Isa. xxiii. 8.

Digitized by Google

check the use of machinery at all hazards, and to accept the probable consequence of our being under-sold in the foreign markets, as far preferable to ruin and demoralization at home: to prevent, by all possible means, the enormous aggregation of people in the manufacturing districts: and to encourage that domestic system, which made the merchants rich, without disturbing the home, and breaking up the natural affections and relative position of the poor. But it is the law of God, that in such matters we must continue in the direction in which we have been moving; and that to retrace our steps is impossible. The evil could not now be cured by any direct effort, without a maddening accumulation of ruin upon tens of thousands. But, indirectly, much may be done to modify the evil,—much, of course, politically, but of this we are not here led to speak; much religiously, and through the ordinances of the Church of Christ. If those who were making the pastoral charge over their dependents difficult in the extreme, had felt their responsibility, and given the church and the pastor, as they might have done, to the increasing flock, the evils had certainly been diminished; a blessing had gone with them and theirs, and comparative health had smiled over the land. Now the fairest time is past for the offering; for it will be attended with less visible fruit, and it no longer bears the aspect of a free gift. Now the church *must* be erected, or all the bonds of society will certainly be burst asunder, and he who has already periled the souls of men, will find that he has put his own property and existence in jeopardy.

And most thankful should we all be to societies, such as that whose report is lying before us, for stimulating the people to the necessary exertion. But to what extent is the aid of the wealthy necessary,—of those we mean who are implicated in the evils, who are accessories to the curse?—for how can we use milder terms. Is it a subscription of one guinea a-year? Is it a subscription of ten, twenty, fifty, a hundred pounds a-year that will meet the demand *on their consciences?* No. We must be understood as speaking with every allowance for evil times, and as judging no individual, because there are too frequent proofs that those who seem most wealthy may be, in the present state of things, ill able to do much; but, say it we must, —there are hundreds of men who ought *to build each one a church;* not as a free gift, not as a simple oblation, not as a thank-offering, but as a *trespass-offering:* and there are hundreds and thousands who ought to deny themselves, sensibly to themselves, and visibly to their neighbours, to give, not nominally, but effectually to such societies, or to such individual bishops, or priests, as will apply the money in the erection or endowment of churches; and this not merely because it is a good thing, and a great privilege, to forward so good a work; but something upon the principle of Zacchæus, who stood forth and said unto the Lord, "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and *if I have defrauded any, I restore fourfold.*" *

* Luke xix. 8.

Digitized by Google

Not that we speak as if nothing had been done. The Bishop of London's noble proposals for erecting fifty new churches in the metropolis, are worthy of the man and his office: and the intended addition of ten churches to those already existing in Birmingham, follows the greater example in due proportion. Nor are there wanting instances in which merchants and manufacturers have, as individuals, evinced their sense of their responsibility, by great efforts to improve the condition of their people, through the sanctifying influence of the Church. One (and we mention actual instances, well assured that there are many of the kind,) has built a church at his own cost amidst his people: another has provided an additional curate for the district to which his mill adds a large number of inhabitants: another almost makes his factory a church, by the judicious, and strictly religious, care which is taken of all who are employed in it: and church-building societies are everywhere offering themselves as stewards, for the proper application of the smaller sums, which less wealthy persons are able to bestow, and which become great by their numbers. If we take the operations of the Ripon Diocesan Society as an example, we find that the sum expended by that society, within three years,—

"Amounts to no less than £19,924 10s., exclusive of a grant of £1,000 made to the Incorporated Society for Building Churches. By the judicious and careful expenditure of this sum, the Society has been instrumental in erecting twenty-five churches; in increasing the accommodation of seven others; in the purchase of two buildings, since converted into chapels; in increasing the endowment of thirty-five small incumbencies; and in the building of fourteen parsonage-houses. To say nothing, therefore, of the advantages afforded to numerous parishes, by enabling the Clergy to reside in them in comparative independence—which, before the Society's grants, could scarcely be said to be the case, the average annual income of each Clergyman not exceeding £34,—besides these benefits—the increase of church-accommodation afforded by the Society, in conjunction with the Incorporated Society, her Majesty's Commissioners, and the benefactions of private individuals, amounts to 16,754 sittings, 9,067 of them being free, and including 4,251 reserved for the accommodation of Sunday-school children. So that, applying the usual formula of calculation in these cases, the Society has been instrumental in affording church-accommodation for no less than 50,262 persons."—*Report*, pp. 18, 19.

And now we are brought back to the point from which we started, and to the questions suggested by the existence of Church-Building Societies. That they are really necessary in the present state of the Church and State cannot be denied, and the churchman will give them no niggard or unwilling praise for their timely exertions. But *why* are they necessary now, when in days past, a poorer people could more than overtake the wants of the population by individual devotion, or by the exertions of religious bodies? It is impossible to escape from the conclusion, that we are a less devout, a less liberal, a less self-denying people than of old; and that we care less what is the state of the souls of our fellow-creatures. And does this blame fall on the Church? We must distinguish. On the Church, in the truest sense of the word, it does fall; for the whole body of the people, clergy and laity, are the Church; and it may be that if the laity have been unjust and niggardly, it is because the clergy have

Digitized by Google

been supine, and backward to stimulate them to a better course. The Church, then, has grievously failed; but the Church, as an hierarchy, has been pillaged and spoiled until it *could not* do anything, or, at least, could do but little (and that little it has done) out of its own resources: and though, as before God, we should not dare to call them acquitted, so long as there is a luxury uncurtailed in their dwellings, and on their persons; yet, as before men, certainly the Clergy have nothing to answer for, if churches have not everywhere been built and endowed, and sufficient pastors engaged, wherever the present state of things has collected together an overwhelming population.

Still the Church, that is, the whole body of clergy and laity, has much to answer for, and is happily being aroused to a sense of its responsibility. Evils, it is true, have accumulated, till it is not merely a want that must be supplied; and the task is very different from what it would have been a hundred years ago. Now, the strongholds of dissent have to be beaten down, as well as those of open blasphemy and vice. Yet still, we know of no other remedy for the case as it is; and this remedy we ought to apply in faith, and in humility, and in a spirit of penitence: in a spirit of penitence, because we deserve the difficulties we must meet, and should recognise in them the rod of the Almighty; in humility, because we have so great a mass of evil in our own body to overcome; but in faith, since thus, and thus only, we are applying a divinely-appointed remedy to the accumulated evil.

Organic Chemistry, in its Application to Agriculture and Physiology. *By* Justus Liebig, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Giessen. *Edited by* Dr. Lyon Playfair. Second edition, 1842. Taylor and Walton. 1 vol. 8vo. Pp. 400.

The word "Chemistry" first occurs in Suidas, according to whom it denoted the art of preparing gold and silver. At a very early period, Chemistry became connected with the science of medicine, and under this form was sedulously cultivated by the Arabians; among whom the first place must be assigned to Geber, a Sabean, of Harran in Mesopotamia, who lived during the eighth century, and whose real name was Abon-Mussah-Dschafar-Al-Soli. Geber is the only Arabian writer whose chemical works deserve notice; for Avicenna, notwithstanding the extensive sway which he so long shared with Galen over the medical faculty in Europe, cannot take rank with Geber as a chemist. Spain was the channel through which this stream of Oriental wisdom flowed into Europe. The Saracens having overthrown the kingdom

Digitized by Google

of the Goths in that country, and made themselves masters of the fairest portions of the Peninsula, raised their several states to an extraordinary height of prosperity and glory, in population, manufactures, commerce, science, and literature. Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Murcia, became seats of learning, to which the curious flocked from all parts of Europe. Here those whose inclinations turned their researches in that direction, studied the pharmacy of the Arabians; which differed from that of the Greeks and Romans by containing numerous chemical processes and chemical medicines.

Chemistry now began to degenerate into Alchemy. In our number for October, 1841, (vol. ii. pp. 256—264,) we have given an outline of the history of this perverted science. The restoration of Chemistry to the object for which it had been originally cultivated by the Arabians, namely, the preparation and improvement of medicines, is due to Basil Valentine, of Erfurth, who experimented and wrote about the middle of the fifteenth century. But the person who shook the throne of Galen and Avicenna to its foundation, and transferred their sceptre to his own hands, more skilful to snatch than to retain, and who vindicated the right of Chemistry to rule over large and important departments in the province of medicine, was Paracelsus. Succeeding chemists, less known to fame, but far more worthy men, devoted themselves to chemical remedies. Among these may be mentioned Libavius, of Halle, whose system of Chemistry was published at Frankfort, in 1595; Angelus Sala, of Vicenza, and Van Helmont. But Francis de la Boé Sylvius, who was born in 1614, must be regarded as the real founder of the iatro-chemical school. Sylvius carried the peculiar dogmas of this school to the absurd extent of attributing all diseases to the superabundance of an *acid* or an *alkali* in the blood. The acid diseases, accordingly, were to be cured by the administration of an alkali, and the alkaline diseases by the administration of an acid. The first effective blow against this sect was struck by Boyle, in his *Sceptical Chemist*, published in 1661. Boerhaave completed its destruction. Chemistry now began to be prosecuted as an independent science. *Inorganic* chemistry became the almost exclusive field of experiment and research; and in this, all the great chemists, from Boerhaave to Davy, achieved their greatest triumphs. It is in reading the history of this department of chemical science, that we encounter the names of Glauber, Kunkel, Lemery, Homberg, the two Geoffroys, Beccher, Stahl, Black, Cavendish, Priestley, Bergman, and Lavoisier. When Sir Humphrey Davy wrote on agricultural chemistry, *organic* chemistry was almost unknown. Since the time of our illustrious countryman, no one has devoted himself to this interesting department of science so signally or so successfully as Professor Liebig, who deservedly enjoys, in this respect, a high European reputation. The work before us presents an admirable summary of his profound researches into the chemistry of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; the subject being pursued in a second work, which we hope to bring under the notice of our

Digitized by Google

readers, upon the publication of the next edition, which is now in the press.

The object of Chemistry, in general, is to examine into the composition of the numerous modifications of matter which occur in the organic and inorganic kingdoms of Nature, and to investigate the laws by which the combination and decomposition of their parts is effected. The peculiar object of organic chemistry is to discover the chemical conditions essential to the life and perfect development of animals and vegetables, and generally to investigate all those processes of organic nature which are due to the operation of chemical laws. Out of fifty-five elementary bodies known to modern chemists—that is to say, bodies which have hitherto resisted all analysis or resolution into other matter,—only four are found in organic substances; namely, carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen.

"The substances which constitute the principal mass of every vegetable, are compounds of carbon with oxygen and hydrogen, in the proper relative proportions for forming water. Woody fibre, starch, sugar, and gum, for example, are such compounds of carbon with the elements of water. In another class of substances containing carbon as an element, oxygen and hydrogen are again present, but the proportion of oxygen is greater than would be required for producing water by union with the hydrogen. The numerous organic acids met with in plants belong, with few exceptions, to this class.

"A third class of vegetable compounds contains carbon and hydrogen, but no oxygen; or less of that element than would be required to convert all the hydrogen into water. These may be regarded as compounds of carbon with the elements of water, and an excess of hydrogen. Such are the volatile and fixed oils, wax, and the resins. Many of them have acid characters.

"The juices of all vegetables contain organic acids, generally combined with the inorganic bases, or metallic oxides: for these metallic oxides exist in every plant, and may be detected in its ashes after incineration.

"*Nitrogen* is an element of vegetable albumen and gluten; it is a constituent of the acid, and of what are termed the 'indifferent substances' of plants, as well as of those peculiar vegetable compounds which possess all the properties of metallic oxides, and are known as 'organic bases.'

"Estimated by its proportional weight, nitrogen forms only a very small part of plants; but it is never entirely absent from any part of them. Even when it does not absolutely enter into the composition of a particular part or organ, it is always to be found in the fluids which pervade it.

"It follows from the facts thus far detailed, that the development of a plant requires the presence, first, of substances containing carbon and nitrogen, and capable of yielding these elements to the growing organism; secondly, of water and its elements; and, lastly, of a soil to furnish the inorganic elements which are likewise essential to vegetable life."—Pp. 6, 7.

The atmosphere and the soil are the two sources from which plants in the normal state of growth, derive nourishment. The two great constituents of atmospheric air are oxygen and nitrogen, in the proportions, by weight, of 23.1 and 76.9, or by volume, of 21 and 79. So extensive is the range of affinities possessed by oxygen, that were it not checked by the presence of a very large proportion of nitrogen, a scene of universal destruction would ensue. These two gases are intimately mixed by virtue of the general property of all gases to diffuse themselves equally through every part of another gas,

Digitized by Google

with which they are placed in contact, without entering into chemical affinity. The negative properties of nitrogen in this respect render its presence in atmospheric air highly valuable. The atmosphere also contains watery vapour and carbonic acid gas; nor must ammonia be excluded from the number of its constituents.

With regard to the *carbon* of plants, the general opinion of writers on vegetable physiology, and of practical agriculturists, has been that it is derived from the substance called *humus*, or vegetable mould, which is present in all fertile soils, and is simply the decayed remains of former vegetables.

"This peculiar substance appears to play such an important part in the phenomena of vegetation, that vegetable physiologists have been induced to ascribe the fertility of every soil to its presence. It is believed by many to be the principal nutriment of plants, and is supposed to be extracted by them from the soil in which they grow. It is itself the product of the decay of vegetable matter, and must therefore contain many of the constituents which are found in plants during life."—P. 10.

Professor Liebig then proceeds, in an able chapter "On the Assimilation of Carbon," to prove that plants derive their carbon, not from humus, but from the atmosphere.

"The *humus*, to which allusion has been made, is described by chemists as a brown substance easily soluble in alkalies, but only slightly so in water, and produced during the decomposition of vegetable matters by the action of acids or alkalies. . . . The modifications of humus which are soluble in alkalies, are called *humic acid;* while those which are insoluble have received the designations of *humin* and *coal of humus*. . . . Chemists have been in the habit of designating all products of the decomposition of organic bodies, which had a brown or brownish-black colour, by the names of *humic acid* or *humin*, according as they were soluble or insoluble in alkalies. . . . Not the slightest ground exists for the belief, that one or other of these artificial products of the decomposition of vegetable matters, exists in nature in the form and endowed with the properties of the vegetable constituents of mould; there is not a shadow of proof that one of them exerts any influence on the growth of plants either in the way of nourishment or otherwise."—Pp. 11—13.

For the proofs of these positions, we must refer our readers to the treatise itself. We pass on to the more interesting section of the chapter under review, in which Professor Liebig proves that *plants receive their carbon from the atmosphere;* thus establishing two remarkable natural phenomena, which, by their reciprocal and uninterrupted influence, maintain the life of the individual animals and vegetables, and the continued existence of both kingdoms of organic nature. The first is, that the quantity of oxygen contained in atmospheric air is invariable. The air now respired by the citizen of London, or that blows across the southern downs, or that wafts the adventurous seaman over the bosom of the pathless deep, contains as much oxygen as that found in jars buried in the mysterious graves of Herculaneum and Pompeii. And yet one man consumes by respiration 25 cubic feet of oxygen in 24 hours; 10 cwt. of charcoal consume 32,066 cubic feet during their combustion; and—

Digitized by Google

"A small town like Giessen (with about 7000 inhabitants) extracts yearly from the air, by the wood employed as fuel, more than 551 millions of cubic feet of this gas."—P. 21.

Again: What becomes of the carbonic acid, which is produced during the respiration of animals, and by the process of combustion?

"It is quite evident that the quantities of carbonic acid and oxygen in the atmosphere, which remain unchanged by lapse of time, must stand in some fixed relation to one another; a cause must exist which prevents the increase of carbonic acid by removing that which is constantly forming; and there must be some means of replacing the oxygen, which is removed from the air by the processes of combustion and putrefaction, as well as by the respiration of animals.

"Both these causes are united in the process of vegetable life.

"The facts which we have stated prove that the carbon of plants must be derived exclusively from the atmosphere. Now, carbon exists in the atmosphere only in the form of carbonic acid, and therefore in a state of combination with oxygen.

"It has been already mentioned, likewise, that carbon and the elements of water form the principal constituents of vegetables; the quantity of the substances which do not possess this composition being in a very small proportion. Now, the relative quantity of oxygen in the whole mass is less than in carbonic acid; for the latter contains *two* equivalents of oxygen, whilst only *one* is required to unite with hydrogen in the proportion to form water. The vegetable products which contain oxygen in larger proportion than this are comparatively few in number; indeed in many the hydrogen is in great excess. It is obvious, that when the hydrogen of water is assimilated by a plant, the oxygen in combination with it must be liberated, and will afford a quantity of this element sufficient for the wants of the plant. If this be the case, the oxygen contained in the carbonic acid is quite unnecessary in the process of vegetable nutrition, and it will consequently escape into the atmosphere in a gaseous form. It is therefore certain, that plants must possess the power of decomposing carbonic acid, since they appropriate its carbon for their own use. The formation of their principal component substances must necessarily be attended with the separation of the carbon of the carbonic acid from the oxygen, which must be returned to the atmosphere, whilst carbon enters into combination with water or its elements. The atmosphere must thus receive a volume of oxygen for every volume of carbonic acid which has been decomposed."—Pp. 23, 24.

This remarkable property of plants is capable of complete proof. The leaves and other green parts of a plant absorb carbonic acid, and emit an equal volume of oxygen, as was ascertained by Priestley and Sennebier. De Saussure, again, has experimentally shown, that plants increase in weight during the decomposition of carbonic acid and the separation of oxygen. This increase being greater than can be accounted for by the assimilation of carbon, confirms the conclusion, drawn from other facts, that the elements of water are assimilated at the same time. On a review of the whole body of facts thus presented to us, we are led to the highly interesting conclusion, that plants expire oxygen and inspire carbon; while animals expire carbon and inspire oxygen; and thus the composition of the medium in which both exist, namely, the atmosphere, remains continually the same.

Digitized by Google

"The proper, constant, and inexhaustible sources of oxygen gas are the tropics and warm climates, where a sky, seldom clouded, permits the glowing rays of the sun to shine upon an immeasurably luxuriant vegetation. The temperate and cold zones, where artificial heat must replace deficient heat of the sun, produce, on the contrary, carbonic acid in superabundance, which is expended in the nutrition of the tropical plants. The same stream of air, which moves, by the revolution of the earth, from the equator to the poles, brings us, in its passage from the equator, the oxygen generated there, and carries away the carbonic acid formed during our winter."—P. 27.

The third chapter of the treatise before us is devoted to a consideration of the origin and action of humus. Woody fibre in a state of decay converts the oxygen of the atmosphere into carbonic acid; the carbon being supplied by the woody fibre itself, which consists of carbon and the elements of water. As its decay advances, the woody fibre loses its power to convert surrounding oxygen gas into carbonic acid, and becomes, at last, a brown coal-like substance incapable of further action upon the surrounding air. This substance is called *mould;* being, as we have seen, the product of the complete decay of woody fibre. Mould is the chief constituent of all the strata of brown coal and peat.

This process goes on beneath the surface of the soil, provided air can penetrate the soil, so as to come into contact with the humus; which thus becomes a continued source of carbonic acid, which it emits very slowly. Thus every fertile soil contains an atmosphere of carbonic gas, the first and chief food of the young plants. Cultivation promotes the fertility of the soil by producing the free access of air to the humus, and so favouring the formation of carbonic acid. The plant itself, at certain stages of its growth, is an agent in this process. The fine fibres of its roots, and the roots themselves, absorb the carbonic acid, which, by surrounding the humus, protects it from further decay; by this action of the plant the process of decay is renewed; the atmosphere, with its supply of oxygen, reaches the humus, and a fresh formation of carbonic acid ensues. During this process, the plant receives its nourishment by its roots, and also by the organs which are above the surface of the soil. Thus it ripens; and, as soon as it has attained maturity, no longer requires the carbonic acid from the soil, but derives it from the atmosphere.

"The power of absorbing nutriment from the atmosphere, with which the leaves of plants are endowed, being proportionate to the extent of their surface, every increase in the size and number of these parts is necessarily attended with an increase of nutritive power, and a consequent further development of new leaves and branches. Leaves, twigs, and branches, when completely matured, as they do not become larger, do not need food for their support. For their existence as organs, they require only the means necessary for the performance of the special functions to which they are destined by nature; they do not exist on their own account.

"We know that the functions of the leaves and other green parts of plants are to absorb carbonic acid, and, with the aid of light and moisture, to appropriate its carbon. These processes are continually in operation; they commence with the first formation of the leaves, and do not cease with their perfect

Digitized by Google

development. But the new products arising from this continued assimilation, are no longer employed by the perfect leaves in their own increase: they serve for the formation of woody fibre, and all the solid matters of similar composition. The leaves now produce sugar, amylin or starch, and acids, which were previously formed by the roots when they were necessary for the development of the stem, buds, leaves, and branches of the plant.

"The organs of assimilation, at this period of their life, receive more nourishment from the atmosphere than they employ in their own sustenance; and when the formation of the woody substance has advanced to a certain extent, the expenditure of the nutriment, the supply of which still remains the same, takes a new direction, and blossoms are produced. The functions of the leaves of most plants cease upon the ripening of their fruit, because the products of their action are no longer needed. They now yield to the chemical influence of the oxygen of the air, suffer a change in colour, and fall off.

"A peculiar *transformation* of the matters contained in all plants takes place in the period between blossoming, and the ripening of the fruit; new compounds are produced, which furnish constituents of the blossoms, fruit, and seed. An organic chemical 'transformation,' is the separation of the elements of one or several combinations, and their reunion into two or several others, which contain the same number of elements, either grouped in another manner, or in different proportions. Of two compounds formed in consequence of such a change, one remains as a component part of the blossom or fruit, while the other is separated by the roots, in the form of excrementitious matter. No process of nutrition can be conceived to subsist in animals or vegetables, without a separation of effete matters. We know, indeed, that an organized body cannot generate substances, but can only change the mode of their combination, and that its sustenance and reproduction depend upon the chemical transformation of the matters which are employed as its nutriment, and which contain its own constituent elements."—Pp. 50—52.

By means of their excrementitious matter, plants restore to the soil, with usury, the carbon they derived from it during those earlier stages of their growth, in which, being unprovided with organs presenting surface to the air, they were indebted to the ground for nutrition.

"Transformations of existing compounds are constantly taking place during the whole life of a plant, in consequence of which, and as the results of these transformations, there are produced gaseous matters which are excreted by the leaves and blossoms, solid excrements deposited in the bark, and fluid soluble substances which are eliminated by the roots. Such secretions are most abundant immediately before the formation and during the continuance of the blossoms; they diminish after the development of the fruit. Substances containing a large portion of carbon are excreted by the roots and absorbed by the soil. Through the expulsion of these matters unfitted for nutrition, the soil receives again with usury the carbon which it had at first yielded to the young plants as food, in the form of carbonic acid.

"The soluble matter thus acquired by the soil is still capable of decay and putrefaction, and by undergoing these processes furnishes renewed sources of nutrition to another generation of plants: it becomes *humus*. The cultivated soil is thus placed in a situation exactly analogous to that of forests and meadows; for the leaves of trees which fall in the forest in autumn, and the old roots of grass in the meadow, are likewise converted into humus by the same influence: a soil receives more carbon in this form than its decaying humus had lost as carbonic acid.

"Plants do not exhaust the carbon of a soil in the normal condition of their growth; on the contrary, they add to its quantity. But if it is true that plants give back more carbon to a soil than they take from it, it is evident that their

Digitized by Google

growth must depend upon the reception of nourishment from the atmosphere in the form of carbonic acid. The influence of humus upon vegetation is explained by the foregoing facts in the most clear and satisfactory manner.

"Humus does not nourish plants by being taken up and assimilated in its unaltered state, but by presenting a slow and lasting source of carbonic acid, which is absorbed by the roots, and is the principal nutriment of young plants at a time when, being destitute of leaves, they are unable to extract food from the atmosphere."—Pp. 58, 59.

Since humus is a product of the decay of vegetable matter, it clearly could not have existed at the beginning, for the nourishment of those young and delicate plants which draw their early sustenance from the ground by their roots. The only kind of vegetables, therefore, that could have existed prior to the formation of humus by their decay, must have been plants possessing large, not to say immense, leaves, by means of which they might derive their nourishment from the atmosphere. And such, accordingly, we find to have been the fact. The plants found in the coal formations are gigantic monocotyledons, ferns, palms, and reeds; which, by the wide extension of their leaves, are able to dispense with nourishment from the soil.

Interesting and important as are these discoveries, (for such we feel that we are entitled to call them,) of Professor Liebig, with regard to the sources from which plants derive their carbon, our readers will follow us, we think, with increased interest to a consideration of the origin and assimilation of nitrogen. No plant can flourish, even in the richest vegetable mould, without the presence of matter containing nitrogen; since this element is found in every part of the vegetable structure. This fact leads us to the question—How and in what form is nitrogen furnished to vegetable albumen and gluten, to fruits and seeds? To this question M. Liebig replies—supporting his answer by experiments which place its correctness beyond doubt,—

"It is *ammonia* which affords all vegetables, without exception, the nitrogen which enters into the composition of their constituent substances."—P. 71.

The last products of the decay and putrefaction of animal bodies present themselves in two different forms. In temperate and cold climates they appear under the form of ammonia, a compound of nitrogen with hydrogen; in tropical climates, under the form of nitric acid, a compound of nitrogen with oxygen. Ammonia is the last product of the putrefaction of animal bodies; nitric acid results from the transformation of ammonia. It is under the form of ammonia that all animal bodies, in a state of decay, yield their nitrogen to the atmosphere. Even in the bodies buried sixty feet under ground in the churchyard of the Eglise des Innocens, at Paris, all the nitrogen contained in the adipocire was in the state of ammonia.

Ammonia being extremely soluble in water cannot remain long in the atmosphere, but descends in every shower of rain.

Digitized by Google

"If a pound of rain-water contains only ¼th of a grain of ammonia, then a field of 26,910 square feet must receive annually upwards of 88 lbs. of ammonia, or 71 lbs. of nitrogen: for by the observations of Schubler, about 770,000 lbs. of rain fall over this surface in four months, and consequently the annual fall must be 2,310,000 lbs. This is much more nitrogen than is contained, in the form of vegetable albumen and gluten, in 2,920 lbs. of wood, 3,085 lbs. of hay, or 200 cwt. of beet-root, which are the yearly produce of such a field; but it is less than the straw, roots, and grain of corn, which must grow on the same surface, would contain."—P. 74.

"The ammonia which is removed from the atmosphere by rain and other causes, is as constantly replaced by the putrefaction of animal and vegetable matters. A certain portion of that which falls with the rain evaporates again with the water, but another portion is, we suppose, taken up by the roots of plants, and entering into new combinations in the different organs of assimilation, produces albumen, gluten, quinine, morphia, cyanogen, and a number of other compounds containing nitrogen. The chemical characters of ammonia render it capable of entering into such combinations, and of undergoing numerous transformations."—P. 77.

The employment of animal manure in the cultivation of grain and the vegetables which serve for fodder to cattle, is the most convincing proof that the nitrogen of vegetables is derived from ammonia. Animal manure, in as far as regards the assimilation of nitrogen, acts only by the formation of ammonia.

"One hundred parts of wheat grown on a soil manured with cow-dung (a manure containing the smallest quantity of nitrogen), afforded only 11·95 parts of gluten, and 64·34 parts of amylin or starch; whilst the same quantity, grown on a soil manured with human urine, yielded the maximum of gluten, namely 35·1 per cent."—P. 80.

The barren soil on the coast of Peru is rendered fertile by means of a manure called Guano, which is collected from several islands in the South Sea. This substance, which forms a stratum of several feet in thickness upon the surface of these islands, consists of the putrid excrements of innumerable sea-fowl that remain on them during the breeding season. It is sufficient to add a small quantity of guano to a soil consisting only of sand and clay, in order to procure the richest crop of maize. The soil itself does not contain the smallest particle of organic matter, and the manure employed consists only of urate, phosphate, oxalate, and carbonate of ammonia, with a few earthy salts.

The powerful influence of animal excrements—of carnivorous rather than herbivorous animals, and in a liquid rather than in a solid state,—depends much more upon the form in which they present ammonia to the soil, than upon the quantity.

"Liquid animal excrements, such as the urine with which the solid excrements are impregnated, contain the greatest part of their ammonia in the state of salts; in a form, therefore, in which it has completely lost its volatility. When presented in this condition, not the smallest portion of the ammonia is lost to the plants; it is all dissolved by water, and imbibed by their roots. The evident influence of gypsum upon the growth of grasses—the striking fertility and luxuriance of a meadow upon which it is strewed—depends only upon its fixing in the soil the ammonia of the atmosphere, which would otherwise be volatilised with the water that evaporates."—P. 84.

Digitized by Google

Gypsum being of difficult solution, the presence of a considerable supply of water is necessary to its decomposition, and also to assist in the absorption of the sulphate of ammonia by the plants: consequently gypsum exerts little or no influence on dry fields and meadows. Since gypsum is but slowly decomposed by carbonate of ammonia, its action lasts for several years.

M. Liebig thus explains the action of burned clay as a manure for fields, and the fertility of ferruginous soils:—

"The oxides of iron and alumina are distinguished from all other metallic oxides, by their power of forming solid compounds with ammonia. The precipitates obtained by the addition of ammonia to salts of alumina, or iron, are true salts, in which the ammonia is contained as a base. Minerals containing alumina, or oxide of iron, also possess, in an eminent degree, the remarkable property of attracting ammonia from the atmosphere, and of retaining it. Vauquelin, whilst engaged in the trial of a criminal case, discovered that all rust of iron contains a certain quantity of ammonia. Chevalier afterwards found that ammonia is a constituent of all soils containing iron; than even hematite, a mineral which is not at all porous, contains one per cent. of it. Bouis showed also, that the peculiar odour observed on moistening minerals containing alumina, is partly owing to their exhaling ammonia. . . . Soils, therefore, which contain oxides of iron, and burned clay, must absorb ammonia, an action which is favoured by their porous condition; they further prevent the escape of the ammonia once absorbed by their chemical properties. Such soils, in fact, act precisely as a mineral acid would do, if extensively spread over their surface; with this difference, that the acid would penetrate the ground, enter into combination with lime, alumina, and other bases, and thus lose, in a few hours, its property of absorbing ammonia from the atmosphere. The addition of burned clay to soils has also a secondary influence; it renders the soil porous, and, therefore, more permeable to air and moisture.

"The ammonia absorbed by the clay or ferruginous oxides, is separated by every shower of rain, and conveyed in solution to the soil."—P. 88.

The *inorganic constituents* of plants present an interesting subject of consideration. Carbonic acid, water, and ammonia, are necessary for the existence of plants, because they contain the elements from which their organs are formed; but other substances are requisite for the formation of certain organs destined for special functions peculiar to each family of plants; and these are furnished by inorganic matter. Many of the inorganic constituents vary according to the soil in which the plants grow, but a certain number of them are indispensable to their development. Thus, phosphate of magnesia, in combination with ammonia, is an invariable constituent of the seeds of all kinds of grasses. Most plants contain organic acids, all of which are in combination with bases, such as potash, soda, lime, or magnesia. We have no reason to believe that a plant in a condition of free and unimpeded growth, produces more of its peculiar acids than it requires for its own existence; hence, a plant, on whatever soil it grows, must contain an invariable quantity of alkaline bases. We do not know in what form silica, manganese, and oxide of iron, are contained in plants. Soda, potash, and magnesia can be extracted from all parts, in the form of salts of organic acids. Few experimental investigations would be of more importance to vegetable physiology, than

Digitized by Google

those which would enable us to decide whether these facts follow from an unchanging law for each family of plants, and whether the quantity of oxygen which each species of plants contains in the bases united with organic acids is invariable.

"It is clear that if the production of a certain unchanging quantity of an organic acid, is required by the peculiar nature of the organs of a plant, and is necessary to its existence, then potash, or lime, must be taken up by it in order to form salts with this acid; that if these do not exist in sufficient quantity in the soil, other bases must supply their place; and that the progress of a plant must be wholly arrested when none are present."—P. 98.

According to this view, the presence of alkalies, or alkaline earths, is essential to the perfect development of a plant. When these substances are wholly wanting, its growth is arrested; in proportion as they are deficient, retarded, and dwarfed. These facts have an important bearing on agriculture, and the cultivation of forests.

"All kinds of grasses contain, in the outer parts of their leaves and stalk, a large quantity of silicic acid and potash, in the form of acid silicate of potash. The proportion of this salt does not vary perceptibly in the soil of corn-fields, because it is again conveyed to them as manure in the form of putrefying straw. But this is not the case in a meadow; and hence we never find a luxuriant crop of grass on sandy and calcareous soils, which contain little potash, evidently because one of the constituents, indispensable to the growth of plants, is wanting. Soils formed from basalt, grauwacke, and porphyry, are, *cæteris paribus*, the best for meadow-land, on account of the quantity of potash which enters into their composition. The potash abstracted by the plants is restored during the annual irrigation. The potash contained in the soil itself is inexhaustible in comparison with the quantity removed by plants. But when we increase the crop of grass in a meadow by means of gypsum, we remove a greater quantity of potash with the hay, than can under the same circumstances be restored. Hence it happens that, after the lapse of several years, the crops of grass on the meadows manured with gypsum, diminish, owing to the deficiency of potash. But if the meadow be strewed from time to time with wood-ashes, even with lixiviated ashes which have been used by soap-boilers, (in Germany much soap is made from the ashes of wood,) then the grass thrives as luxuriantly as before."—P. 104.

The seventh and eighth chapters of M. Liebig's treatise, are devoted to a consideration of the art of culture, and the causes of the beneficial influence of the alternation of crops.

The quantity and quality of the substances generated by the vital processes of a plant, vary according to the soil from which they derive their food. A plant will grow on the most sterile soil, as well as on the richest; but of course with the greatest difference in height and size, in the number and the development of its twigs, branches, leaves, blossoms, and fruit. Hence it becomes an important subject to ascertain what are the conditions most favourable to the full development of plants; and thus agriculture is brought within the range of natural philosophy.

"There is no profession which can be compared in importance with that of agriculture, for to it belongs the production of food for man and animals; on it depend the welfare of the whole human species, the riches of states, and all commerce."—P. 131.

Digitized by Google

The study of agricultural chemistry and of scientific agriculture generally, ought to be strongly and universally encouraged. Hitherto agriculture has been, for the most part, tentative and empirical.

"The methods employed in the cultivation of land are different in every country and in every district; and when we inquire the causes of these differences, we receive the answer, that they depend upon circumstances. No answer could show ignorance more plainly, since no one has ever yet devoted himself to ascertain what these circumstances are."—P. 131.

"Agriculture has hitherto never sought aid from chemical principles, based on the knowledge of those substances which plants extract from the soil on which they grow, and of those restored to the soil by means of manure. The discovery of such principles will be the task of a future generation, for what can be expected from the present, which recoils with seeming distrust and aversion from all the means of assistance offered it by chemistry, and which does not understand the art of making a rational application of chemical discoveries?"—P. 152.

The advantage of the alternation of crops is owing to two causes: the artificial production of humus; and the cultivation of different kinds of plants upon the same field, in such an order of succession, that each shall extract only certain components of the soil, whilst it leaves behind or restores those which a second or third species of plant may require for its growth and perfect development.

"The sowing of a field with fallow plants, such as clover, rye, buck-wheat, &c., and the incorporation of the plants, when nearly at blossom, with the soil, affect this supply of humus in so far, that young plants, subsequently growing in it, find, at a certain period of their growth, a maximum of nutriment, that is, matter in the process of decay.

"The same end is obtained, but with much greater certainty, when the field is planted with sainfoin, or lucerne. These plants are remarkable on account of the great ramification of their roots, and strong development of their leaves, and for requiring only a small quantity of inorganic matter. Until they reach a certain period of their growth, they retain all the carbonic acid and ammonia which may have been conveyed to them by rain and the air, for that which is not absorbed by the soil is appropriated by the leaves; they also possess an extensive four or six-fold surface, capable of assimilating these bodies, and of preventing the volatilization of the ammonia from the soil, by completely covering it in."—P. 162.

A fertile soil, again, ought to afford to a plant all the inorganic bodies indispensable for its existence, in sufficient quantity, and in such condition as will allow of their absorption. These inorganic bodies differ for different plants. All plants, for example, require alkalies; which are contained in them in the various forms of silicates, tartrates, citrates, acetates, and oxalates. Some plants require phosphate of lime, others phosphate of magnesia, others carbonate of lime. Wheat consumes the greater part of the silicate of potash contained in a soil, and cannot therefore be sowed in the same soil with advantage, until the soil has been rendered capable, by the action of the atmosphere, of again yielding a sufficient supply of silicate of potash. During the intermediate years, turnips, potatoes, &c., may be planted; because these require only small quantities of this substance.

But although we can increase, to a certain extent, the quantity of

Digitized by Google

humus in a soil, by means of artificial cultivation, it is clear that the seeds, roots, and leaves of the plants raised upon it, which are removed, must deprive the soil of those of its constituents which enter into their composition; and, therefore, that some more direct means must be resorted to to supply this waste. Now it is for the purpose of restoring the fertility of the exhausted soil, that the agriculturist employs manure.

Since every constituent of the body of man and animals is derived from plants, it is evident that all the inorganic elements of the animal frame are, in some respect or other, manure. After the death of animals, their nitrogen and carbon pass into the atmosphere in the forms of ammonia and carbonic acid, and at last nothing remains but the phosphate of lime and other salts in their bones.

"The peculiar action of the solid excrements of animals is limited to their inorganic constituents, which thus restore to a soil that which is removed in the form of corn, roots, or grain. When we manure land with the dung of the cow or sheep, we supply it with silicate of potash and some salts of phosphoric acid. In human fæces we give it the phosphates of lime and magnesia; and in those of the horse, phosphate of magnesia and silicate of potash. In the straw which has served as litter, we add a further quantity of silicate of potash and the phosphates; which, if the straw be putrefied, are in exactly the same condition in which they were before being assimilated."—P. 170.

From the foregoing observations on the *modus operandi* of manures, it is evident that other substances may be substituted for animal excrements, provided they contain their essential constituents; as, in medicine, we now substitute quinine for bark, and iodine for burnt sponge. It is thus that wood and bone ashes are so valuable as manure. Of wood ashes, those yielded by oak are the least, and those of beech the most valuable. With every pound of the ashes of beech, which is equal to more than 4½ lbs. of fresh human excrements, we supply a field with phosphoric acid sufficient for the production of 3820 lbs. of straw. Bone manure is still more productive. Reckoning bones to contain, as according to Berzelius, 55 per cent. of the phosphates of lime and magnesia, and hay to contain as much of these salts as wheat straw, 8 lbs. of bones will contain as much phosphate of lime as 1000 lbs. of hay or wheat straw, and as much as 4000 lbs. of the grain of wheat or oats. An acre of land manured with 40 lbs. of bone-dust, derives from them a supply of phosphates sufficient to enable it to yield three crops of wheat, clover, potatoes, turnips, &c.

The subject is pursued at considerable length in the chapter on manures, to which we refer our readers for further information.

This chapter, with a supplementary one on the chemical constituents of soils, concludes the first part of the work: that which is devoted to a consideration of the *chemistry of agriculture*. The second part, which treats of the chemical processes of fermentation, decay, and putrefaction, concluding with a chapter on the changes produced in the living animal organism, by the action of poisons,

Digitized by Google

contagions and miasms, leads on to the *chemistry of physiology;* a subject more fully treated in that second work of Professor Liebig's, already adverted to, which we hope to review at some length, upon the publication of the next edition.

Letters on South America. By J. P. *and* W. P. ROBERTSON, *Authors of Letters on Paraguay.* 3 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray. 1843.

Travels in Mexico, being a Two Years' Residence. By MADAME C— DE LA B—. London: Chapman & Hall. 1843.

Rambles in Yucatan. By B. M. NORMAN. New York. 1843.

Stephen's Second Visit to America. London: J. Murray. 1843.

IN a previous number we endeavoured to present to our readers a slight sketch of what the New World was in the days of its original inhabitants, and for a short time tried to recal their thoughts from these days to the times when America was unknown to the rest of the world. We now propose, under the guidance of the able writers whose works we have prefixed to our article, to draw a picture of the New World as it now is; of its politics, its religion, and its manners. How little do we know of that vast southern continent, and of the habits of the mixed races by whom it is peopled! We regard it as the nursery of revolutions, as a place to be speculated in by adroit company-concoctors, and to be held up as a warning to all lovers of republics, of the result of their principles in unfettered action. Our ignorance of national customs, and our love of large terms for small things, lead us to apply the term revolution alike to the separation of a province from a confederacy, or a mother government, as to the petty squabble by which some half-bred governor of a wilderness of houses is supplanted by some wilder and less scrupulous adventurer. The nature of a real Spanish-American revolution will be known best by an example; and the shorter the glory and newer the event, the better will it be for the reader. The provinces of the River-Plate republic involve a long detail, so does the Mexican struggle; let us, therefore, select the last new republic of Yucatan as a model of southern rebellion.

From the Spanish conquest to the year 1839, the peninsula of Yucatan had been content to rank as a province of Mexico; and when that country set up its liberty-cap, Yucatan changed its name to one of the United Provinces of Mexico. Revolution and independence were catching; and when, all around, new states were starting into life, and, like flies, living their short day, Yucatan aspired to be a state. There were three parties in the peninsula; the

Digitized by Google

Rocholanos, or Independents, who would set up state-playing all alone; the Federalists, who sought to separate Yucatan from Mexico, in reality, and yet nominally to retain the connexion with, and obtain the protection of, that more powerful state; and the Mexican party, who desired that the peninsula should still remain a mere province. The first party secretly favoured the second, and, in the end, were made the tools of the more powerful Federalists. The outbreak was wondrously valorous and bloody.

"The 29th of May witnessed a tumultuary movement in the village of Tizimin, a small town of the interior, where a militia captain, one Santiago Iman, at the head of a handful of deserters from the third battalion of local militia, counting on the cooperation of several leading personages, set up the standard of revolt, under the specious pretext of proclaiming the federal constitution of 1824. A feigned attack was immediately made on the neighbouring village of Espita, a place of some importance, containing about 3,000 people, and distant from Tizimin six leagues. The military commander at Espita had engaged himself to act in concert, but at the critical moment he played false, and deceived the hopes of the leaders in the plot. He received an intimation from Iman to surrender, as had been previously agreed upon—retained the messengers—and made preparations for defence. Iman marched to the attack in the night, and, much to his surprise, met with resistance. A very hot firing (as it was styled in the bulletins,) was kept up for nearly four hours; but, strange to say, only one man was killed, a negro, from the window of one of the houses behind which he had posted himself. Before daylight the firing ceased, and Iman returned, unmolested, to Tizimin. Those who had instigated him to take the step, having failed in their engagements to him, his situation now became very critical, and he was left entirely to his own resources. A retreat to San Fernando, a colony of St. Domingo negroes, some seventy men, about seven leagues north of Tizimin, was his halting place. There he remained, and threw up some fortifications, composed chiefly of stone barricades across the roads at the entrance of the village; and, for the purpose of obstructing their advance, cut down the trees lining the roads by which the troops were to pass. Nearly two months elapsed before he was attacked—then by about four hundred men, chiefly militia, under the orders of the commander of Espita, already named. As might have been anticipated from the character of this person, nothing of importance was effected; but, after a great deal of noise and smoke, the defenders ran away, and the attacking party entered, without killing one or taking a single prisoner."—*Norman*, pp. 226, 227.

Such was the first act of the farce; a farce not without precedent in the palmy days of tin-pot fighting among the Italian states, when a great battle of much noise and more consequence was achieved, after many hours' hard fighting, by the death of one knight, accidentally smothered in his harness. We cannot sufficiently admire the manner of playing this farce; the concerted treachery; apparent honesty in seizing the messengers; the great expenditure of powder—we doubt the shot; and the care taken not to tempt any misguided soldier to pick out an opponent, by ceasing to fire as soon as their honour had been satisfied by the nigger's death, and the return of daylight rendered fighting likely to be dangerous, either to the character or the persons of the combatants.

Well, in due time, the governor Espita evacuated Tizimin, unasked, and Iman marched in, unrequested. The latter now bid

Digitized by Google

for the voices and persons of the Indians, and his promise of a remission of ecclesiastical dues soon brought men and provision to his camp. The government now began—it was December, the eighth month of the farce—to act, and actually sent 600 men, under one Colonel Roguena, a commander of great talent and bravery, to recover Tizimin. On they came, on the twelfth of the month, in a solid column, determined to push their way in, and disregard stratagem or manœuvre. A common stone-hedge held them at bay for six hours. At last, after losing some fifty men, one division got into the place, the others followed, and Iman walked out, as before, to his old retreat of San Fernando. Back went the colonel to reap his honours; and, after a little time, back went the new garrison, and in marched Iman into Tizimin. Here he once more gathered head, unmolested. Two months after, the Federalists attacked Valladolid, and met with a real opponent, in the commander. He soon fell, and then all was capitulation; and that night the soldiers yielded up their arms, to a motley-looking band of Indians, led on by some of the outcasts of society. A meeting followed, and the constitution of 1824 was proclaimed. Merida declared for the new order of things, and all Yucatan, save Campeachy, gave in, in a week. Here General Rivas held out, with a thousand men. Marches and counter-marches ensued, much powder was burnt, and several very bloody-looking bulletins issued on both sides; Campeachy was besieged, and surrendered, in the summer; and then, in despite of the plots of the Rochelanos, the entire state fell into the hands of the Federalists. Iman soon went to the wall, and the Federalists, supported by the church, re-established the old constitution. So ended the revolution of Yucatan.

When Mr. Robertson transported himself from the republic of Doctor Francia to the united provinces of the River-Plate, one Don Jose Artigas ruled as Protector-general of that portion which bears the name of Corrientes. For many years the theatre of civil war and general depredation, Corrientes, like every other part of South America, had been robbed, pillaged, plundered, and ruined, by the contending parties. The country farms had become depopulated, the herdsmen seized for soldiers, or, preferring a life of rapine and robbery to honest labour, had left their charges unprotected, and filled the plains and woods with herds of wild cattle; agriculture was abandoned; the inroads of the Indian were frequent and unrepelled; and the roads swarmed with mounted peasants of the half-breed, either robbers or assassins, if not both. At night these Guachos bivouacked in the huge waggons in which the produce had been conveyed to the different farms, and which now lay scattered over the country, as tents for these half-naked, restless banditti. To them the life of a fellow-creature was not to be balanced against the luxury of a cigar, and the plunder of a village supplied the source of their daily gambling. Now and then, the protector, Artigas, would unite some of these scattered bands under his banner, hasten across the country,

Digitized by Google

repel some sudden invasion, and then disperse them once more to ravage the country. Even in the capital, our traveller might have fared ill, and been exposed to many a perilous ordeal, had he not lately conciliated the protector himself, and retained his influence over the leaders of the Artigueno party by presents. There was one, however, who could defend him, Don Pedro Campbell. One of the many deserters from Beresford's army, Peter Campbell, had, luckily, in his youth, been apprenticed to a tanner, and when abandoned at the River-Plate, made his way to Corrientes; and, as long as there was peace, worked honestly at his trade. As soon, however, as the revolution broke out, so did Don Pedro. Volunteering his aid to Artigas, his daring exploits, his bold horsemanship, and Herculean strength, made him a terror to Corrientes, and a formidabel and influential man. Here is his portrait, not omitting his page:—

"Sitting one evening under the corridor of my house, there came up to my very chair, on horseback, a tall, raw-boned, ferocious-looking man, in Guacho attire, with two cavalry pistols stuck in his girdle, a sabre in a rusty steel scabbard, pending from a besmeared belt of half-tanned leather,—red whiskers and mustachios—hair, uncombed, of the same colour, matted with perspiration and powdered with dust. His face was not only burnt almost to blackness by the sun, but it was blistered to the eyes, while large pieces of shrivelled skin stood ready to fall from his parched lips. He wore a pair of plain earrings, a foraging cap, a tattered poncho, blue jacket, with tarnished red facings; a large knife in a leathern sheath, a pair of potro boots, and rusty iron spurs, with rowels an inch and a half in diameter. His horse was a noble animal. Behind rode one whom he called his page. He was the counterpart of his master, except that the locks in the one case were red, and in the other jet black, coarse and tangled as the uncombed mane of a colt just taken up from grass. The page rode with the head of his horse close upon the tail of his master's, and then, throwing the reins over the heads of their jaded steeds, they both dismounted." —*Robertson*, pp. 28, 29.

Such was the great friend and chief minister, captain, and robber, of Don Jose Artigas, who proved himself of immense use to our travellers in their mercantile speculations; constituting himself their chief agent, and ceaselessly riding about the country, purchasing up the stores of hides yet remaining unsold at the estancias, and which the banditti had spared, in consequence of their unportability; and persuading the farmers to return, under his protection, to their estates, and turn to profit the troops of cattle with which they swarmed.

The great obstacle to civilized commerce in Corrientes was the absence of, and objection to, specie. It was all barter, of the rudest kind, until the Robertsons introduced their stores of specie, and refusing to barter, and tendering a higher price in money, at length overwhelmed the former rude system.

"The morning after my arrival," [says Mr. Robertson,]" I awoke at an early hour: after I had looked at the curtains, and drawn them aside to look at the window, and as I was just beginning to get a clue to the events of yesterday, some shrill voices broke on my ear, and, every moment, augmented in strength and number. Listening, to catch their various exclamations, I was

Digitized by Google

not a little surprised to hear the following curious announcements from a great number of urchins, who, I found, had congregated at the front door. 'Salt for candles,' cried one; 'tobacco for bread,' called out another; 'yerba for eggs,' chimed a third; 'tomates for sugar,' bawled a fourth. In this way a dozen boys and girls offered potatoes for starch, wood for flour, segars for soap, greens for blue, butter for pepper, sausages for oil, milk for vinegar—with, in the shape of a *quid pro quo*, every other conceivable and inconceivable culinary and household provision which the heterogeneous wants of the Corrientinos and Corrientinas could bring into competition in the way of barter." . . . . "I hastened to the door, and found that all the children were ready with the articles offered, each having his basket or bundle ready to exchange for their equivalents with the inmates of the house. Such was the primitive mode in which, on our arrival, we found that the daily wants of the people were mutually supplied."—Pp. 52, 53.

Among this crowd of barterers some few there were, but very few, whose cries were all for money; "Eggs for money," "candles for money." Gradually our travelling merchants introduced a process less elaborate than that of keeping a chandler's shop in their kitchen; not, however, without opposition and danger. The old ladies of Corrientes rose in defence of the old custom of barter, and harangued their countrymen on the English innovation.

"'If I were the lady-governor of the province,' said the wife of Don Ysidoro Martinez, at a large party at her own house, 'I would banish all Englishmen from the country; for they have entirely ruined and destroyed our commerce. Before they arrived here, the poor people were content to come to our doors, and to say 'bread for yerba,' 'segars for sugar;' and then, indeed, we had good bargains, and the lower classes knew their own places, and behaved themselves with submission and humility to their superiors. But these times are gone,—or at least fading away. Now, we can scarcely get anything but for money. The women send to our doors their tiresome brats, who scream out 'bread for money,' 'candles for money;' and, on being driven away, they insolently say, 'Let us go to the Englishmen, they give us money for every thing.' It is thus that these Englishmen ruin our trade, and innovate upon our customs; and it is for this, that, were I governor, I should banish them from the province.'"—P. 54.

Had our countrymen been tormented with no more powerful opponents than Doña Martinez, they would have experienced but little inconvenience, sure in the protection and counter arguments of the ubiquitous Don Pedro Campbell. But they had to do with the petty merchants, whose small transactions were now thrown into the back-ground by the enormous contracts of their English rivals. Not perceiving, that, though eclipsed, they were still not interfered with, and that there were plenty of hides left for them, in despite of the thousands daily sent in from all parts of the country for the Robertsons, they declared the English high prices and ready money ruined their petty traffic; and, thinking that if the English were once dispossessed, all this new trade would fall into their hands, whether they had the capital or not to carry it on, they agreed to get rid of their rivals *coute qui coute*. Among many schemes, one was to run down the specie imported by our travellers from Buenos Ayres—the main source of power and success.

"I was despatching, one forenoon, my general levee of agents, skippers, estanceiros, and couriers, when a person came into my room, with something of

Digitized by Google

alarm in his face, and said he wished me to change the doubloons I had given him in payment of his account the day before. On my asking him what was the matter with the doubloons, he said he had been told that they were all bad. I looked at them, and found them all perfectly good. Change them I would not; though I told him he was welcome to his hides again on his giving me back the gold. The man demurred, but he finally left the gold with me, and said he would determine the following day what he should do. Another came, the same day, with the same story; and a third before night."—P. 284.

Mr. Robertson now discovered the plan, and found out that the general report was, that he and his brother were agents for English coiners and swindlers. With his door daily besieged with holders of his coin, in a foreign and lawless state, and, as it happened, without the aid of Campbell or his brother, he bethought him of a new plan to allay the excitement.

"I had a great block of wood brought to my door, and a sturdy peon, with a strong hatchet, placed by its side. A number of the 'innocent holders' of the forged metallic issues of my exchequer were collected around. 'Now,' said I, 'gentlemen, the whole history and mystery of this case is, that there are in the province of Corrientes certain enemies to its prosperity, who, because they cannot themselves get your hides, would fain prevent you from getting money for them from us. They have maliciously raised this report, that they may get for their *rials* that which is now producing you *doubloons*. They tell you that they are false: well, then, let those who have them hand me two or three, or half a dozen of the worst looking, and let us examine them.' I soon got a few into my hand, and, laying one on the block, my sturdy peon at one blow divided it into two, and then the halves into quarters. Another and another were submitted to the same ordeal, until all present were satisfied that it was indeed gold which they had received. As the terror went off, people were astonished how they had allowed themselves to be duped, and the doubloons went off as currently henceforward as they had ever done before. I had, however, to send about twenty 'hanged, drawn, and quartered,' down to Buenos Ayres, as an evidence of the difficulty, sometimes, of passing not base but genuine coin."—Pp. 285—286.

The way in which our English merchants, with the aid of Campbell, revolutionized the mercantile world of the united provinces of the River Plate, is worthy of being recorded. With the vigilant superintendence of Don Pedro, they did not fear to give in to the South-American custom of "habilitaciones;" that is, the advancing to the producer or grower such a sum of money as is required for the completion of his contract, and for which he is to return the required goods; reversing the plan of the old Spaniards, and giving high prices for hides, and taking low ones for goods, they soon drew out the respectable farmers and landed proprietors, and, after a little trouble, had at their command the best of the proprietors of the republic. Campbell, however, was the active regenerator of his adopted country.

"It was thus," says Mr. Robertson, "that we induced many small and middling estancieros, or country gentlemen, with goods or money as an habilitacion or advance from us, to return to their estates, and collect hides, skins, horse-hair, and wool. Several of them set off with Campbell and his peons. As they came to their abandoned and miserable establishments, Campbell and his men would set about helping them to put their farm-houses in repair; to

Digitized by Google

get their corales or pens for cattle made good; to collect some milch cows and horses; and to gather together a flock of sheep from the vauchos or peons' huts scattered about. He would here procure from some village a carpenter to mend doors and set up waggons, and there he would engage to send carts of our own to take away their produce. Finally, seeing them supplied with tobacco, spirits, yerba, salt, and pouchos, the indispensable articles at once of necessity and luxury for the estanciero and his servants, he would then be satisfied that all was there in a right train, and so push on to another estanciero to go through the same process. He aroused the small towns and villages, as well as the estancias, from their dormant position, into an active pursuit of business. He knew all the inhabitants personally, and he picked out, with much sagacity, those who were likely to serve him best. He made contracts with them, or drove them into Corrientes or Geza, to replenish their shops from our warehouses, or with the money we had advanced to lend increased activity to their esquinas or pulperias; the pulpero being the combined grocer and spirit-dealer of South America. The higher class of estancieros, seeing the new order of things established, and knowing they had now a sure and profitable market for their hides, were gradually up and stirring; many availing themselves of Don Pedro's help to re-organize their estancias, and to collect again their herds of cattle."—Pp. 176—178.

There was but one race who opposed this return to labour and prosperity, the gauchos, or peons, to whom demoralization was more congenial than work. High wages, regular pay, and the energetic remonstrances, or rather the commands, worked wonders. Thus, by magic, the country started into industrious life and mercantile activity: herds and flocks were gathered together; thousands and tens of thousands of wild cattle were slaughtered for their hides; and the huge waggons, that for so many years had cumbered the various ways of the republic, now replaced on their vast and ponderous wheels, laden with the produce of the estancias and villages, traversed the country without interruption, and gave tokens of renewed prosperity, where, but a few months before, had been nothing but desolation and want. Day after day the waggons came pouring into Corrientes, and crowding the open space before the house of the English merchants; where, hastily unloaded, sorted, beaten, and selected, the long-stored hides were hurried on board the merchants' ships, and, ere many days, on their road to England.

Except to those who have seen the Roman religion in countries where its unlimited sway, and the ignorance of the people, permit it to throw off the mask of prudence, and do not require it, as with us, to be ever on its best behaviour, Mr. Robertson's account of the Penitents of Corrientes will seem an extravagant fable, better suited to Exeter Hall, than to our pages: believing his narrative to present a true picture, we lay it before our readers:—

"It was past eleven on the evening of Good Friday, when Juan, our travellers' servant, came rushing from their warehouse to their dwelling, apparently scared and terrified out of his wits. 'Oh master, master,' he cried, as he rushed into the room, after hastily bolting the front gate, 'oh master, it is coming this way; shut the window.'

"As he said this," continues Mr. Robinson, "we heard the clanking of heavy chains, and presently saw four or five lanterns moved slowly along, apparently, by dark figures. A party, by degrees, came in sight, and presented to our

Digitized by Google

astonished sight a spectacle which seemed to justify all the terror displayed by Juan, who, like ourselves, was a stranger in Corrientes. The group consisted of eight individuals: four of them, forming a square, carried each a lantern; three inside moved triangularly, the hinder one having a plate, sponge, jug of water, and oranges in his hand. In the centre of this triangle walked a figure closely masked, his body bare to the loins, and a flowing white calico or muslin robe from that downwards, stained and besmeared with blood, his back lacerated, torn, and bleeding, his ancles encircled with heavy irons, which only enabled him to move a foot's length at a time; and he himself, as he thus moved along, incessantly scourging his back with a sort of long lash, made of untwisted cords, bringing them down on his tunic or demi-robe, to clear them of the blood which, at each stroke, they imbibed. The profound silence was only broken by the heavy breathing and suppressed groans of the self-constituted martyr.

"We presently discovered the use of the man who walked behind the principal actor in the drama. Close to our house was a niche, with a figure of the Virgin Mary in it, surmounted by a cross. As the gyved wretch came in front of it, he sunk heavily on his knees, and at the same moment exhausted nature, for a time, relieved him from his sufferings in a swoon. Thus reduced to insensibility, as he was reeling over, the man behind caught him up. He bathed his temples, and took other means of restoring him; gave him an orange to suck; assisted by the other two men, he got him again on his feet; and again, after a pause, the flagellation recommenced, and the group moved forward.

"This was but the commencement of the procession: there was an interval of a few minutes, time enough to look unutterable things at each other, before the attention of the brothers was arrested by a new group.

"It came marshalling up precisely in the same way as the first, but the victim, in this case, was in a white robe, was masked, and had a large *crucifix* behind him, tied tightly to his back and to his extended arms, by hair ropes twisted round the *crucifix* and his body, [we presume Mr. R. means a cross]; he was also in fetters, but seemed to walk with even greater difficulty than the preceding sufferer. It was evident that the tightness of the ligatures impeded the circulation of the blood, and that in this pain we were to look for his passing martyrdom. He fainted frequently, kneeling at the niche with infinite torture, but recovered and passed on. A third came, attended by two torchmen and an assistant, and marked as the preceding, *crucificado*. This poor creature crawled on all fours, and his bleeding knees and hands attested the pain of the operation, over rough and broken streets, here sinking into the mud and sand, and there overlaid with brickbats and loose sharp stones. But behold, a fourth, emulating his predecessor, and not only on his hands and knees, but dragging a large stone behind him, attached to his girdle by a hide rope: and he is followed by a fifth in the same attitude, with a huge iron bit in his mouth, while one man drags him along by the reins attached to it, and another follows scourging the man brute by his own desire."

The procession still continued,—a procession of what? of desperate fanatics, inflicting self-mortification for the punishment of deep and horrid sins and crimes? alas, no!—a procession of licentious, hired impostors. "Do you not know," said a Corrientina dame to Mr. Robertson, "that though the spirit is willing the flesh is weak? and how was it possible that they should be all crucified, without receiving good nourishment both before and afterwards?" A less excited friend explained the matter to our travellers—a transaction repudiated indeed by the heads of the church, and the respectable portion of the inhabitants, but kept up through fear of the lowest class of Corrientes. As soon as the Lenten fast begins, some of the

Digitized by Google

less scrupulous friars, aided by the abandoned women of the town, search among the dregs of the Corrientinos for some fifteen or twenty penitents; from the time of their selection to that of their exhibition, the penitents are feasted and paid, to enable them to endure the trial. The rewards differ: in the case related above, as Donna Florinda boasted, the penitents, despite the rewards and the good feeding they had received, would not move until they received a promise of a hundred masses each whenever their souls should require them. So much for the preparations.

"At the appointed time," said Don Ysidoro, our traveller's informant, "they are gathered together at the convent of San Francisco, where all is prepared for their respective penitences, such as you saw, and thence, cheered on by their patrons and patronesses, they set out in procession. Those who are to inflict self-flagellation, have a card, used for carding wool, smartly applied to their backs, so as to draw blood with all its fine points, and the application of the lash keeps up the bleeding without causing much pain. They walk round the town, are then put to bed, tended and nursed till they are well, and so dismissed. Some of them suffer but little, others severely; and on occasions, when the weather has been sharp, death has ensued. But this is always hushed up, and as those who die richly deserve their fate, they are not at all commiserated; indeed, it is looked on as a proof of the penitent being game, and entitled to high admiration on that account."

The exhibition of the penitents presents one view of the ceremonies of the Roman Church in South America; the Christmas festival of the posadas exhibits that curious mixture of false religion and trivial amusement which was in early days developed in the so-called religious plays of the middle ages, but one step from the religious caricatures of the fool's mass and the boy pope. For this spectacle, we shall have recourse to the clever and highly amusing pages of Madame de la Barca, whose two years' residence, with her husband, the Spanish ambassador, in Mexico, gave her excellent opportunities of describing the manners of the people. For eight days previous to the commemoration of the Saviour's birth, the wandering of the holy family from inn to inn, in the crowded city of Bethlehem, is represented by bands of children wandering from one house to another, requesting admittance. The Christmas-eve is the last of the posadas, as the festival is called, that curious, but *extremely pretty*, mixture of religion and amusement, as the ambassadress terms the exhibition.

"We went to the Marquesa's at eight o'clock, and about nine the ceremony commenced. A lighted taper was put into the hand of each lady, and a procession formed, two by two, which marched all through the house, the corridors and walls of which were all decorated with evergreens and lamps, and the whole party singing litanies. A group of little children, dressed as angels, joined the procession. They wore little robes of silver or gold lama, plumes of white feathers, and profusion of fine diamonds and pearls, in *bandeaux*, brooches and necklaces, white gauze wings, and white satin shoes embroidered in gold. At last the procession drew up before a door, and a shower of fireworks was sent flying over our heads, I suppose to represent the descent of the angels, for a group of ladies appeared, dressed to represent the shepherds who watched their flocks by night upon the plain of Bethlehem. Then voices, supposed to be

Digitized by Google

those of Mary and Joseph, struck up a hymn, in which they begged for admittance, saying that the night was cold and dark, that the wind blew hard, and that they prayed for a night's shelter: a chorus of voices from within refused admittance; again those without entreated shelter, and at length declared that she at the door, who thus wandered in the night, and had not where to lay her head, was the Queen of Heaven. At this name the doors were thrown open, and the holy family entered singing. The scene within *was very pretty:* a *nacimiento.* Platforms, going all round the room, were covered with moss, on which were disposed groups of wax figures, generally representing passages from different parts of the New Testament, though sometimes they begin with Adam and Eve in paradise. There was the Annunciation—the salutation of Mary to Elizabeth—the wise men of the east—the shepherds—the flight into Egypt. There were green-trees and fruit-trees, and little fountains that cast up fairy columns of water and flocks of sheep, and a little cradle in which to lay the infant Saviour. One of the angels held a waxen baby in her hands. The whole was lighted very brilliantly, and ornamented with flowers and garlands. A *padre* took the baby from the angel and placed it in the cradle, and the *posada* was complete. *We then returned to the drawing-room, angels, shepherds, and all, and danced till supper time.* The supper was a show for sweetmeats and cakes."

We cannot here describe the Chinese balustrade, or the gold and silver of the cathedral of Mexico, the present occupant of the site of the Temple of the Sun, where the blood of the human victim flowed in honour of the god of War, the Son born of a virgin, according to the Mexican tradition. Glitter, indeed, does the sacred edifice, in gold, and jewels, whilst the dirt cumbers the floor, and drives all but the lowest of the people, the hateful leporos, from worshipping on its bemired pavement. Where the protectoress of the Tolonozin Indians had her temple on the hill of Tapeyac, overlooking the valley and city of Mexico, now stands the chapel of our lady of Gudalope, from whose bishop the ambassadress received the following legend:

"In 1531, ten years and four months after the conquest of Mexico, the fortunate Indian, whose name was Juan Diego, and who was a native of Cuatillan, went to the suburb of Tlalteloleo to learn the Christian doctrine, which the Franciscan monks taught there. As he was passing by the mountain of Tapeyac, the holy Virgin suddenly appeared before him, and ordered him to go, in her name, to the bishop, and to make known to him that she desired to have a place of worship erected, in her honour, in that spot. The next day the Indian passed by the same place, when again the holy Virgin appeared before him, and demanded the result of his commission; Juan Diego replied, that, in spite of his endeavours, he had been unable to obtain an audience with the bishop. 'Return,' said the Virgin, 'and say, that it is I, the Virgin Mary, the mother of God, who sends thee.' Juan Diego obeyed the divine orders, yet still the bishop would not give him credence, merely desiring him to bring some sign or token of the Virgin's will. He returned with this message on the twelfth of December, when, for the third time, he beheld the apparition of the Virgin. She now commanded him to climb to the top of the barren rock of Tapeyac, to gather the roses which he should find there, and to bring them to her. The humble messenger obeyed, though well knowing that on that spot were neither flowers nor any trace of vegetation. Nevertheless, he found the roses, which he gathered and brought to the Virgin Mary, who, throwing them into his *tilma*, said, 'Return, show these to the bishop, and tell him that these are the credentials of thy mission.' Juan Diego set out for the episcopal house, and when he found himself in the presence of the prelate, he unfolded

Digitized by Google

his *tilma*, to show him the roses, when there appeared imprinted on the *tilma* the miraculous image that has existed three centuries."

The bishop was convinced; a procession formed, and the miraculous portrait of the patroness of New Spain conveyed to the new chapel on Tapeyac. Day by day flocked crowds of worshippers to our lady of the Roses' shrine; and a high honour did he esteem it, who enjoyed but a momentary sight of the picture. "What must be my happiness," said the bishop, after narrating the legend to the ambassadress, "who can see her most gracious majesty every hour and every minute of the day!" Madame de la Barca could not comprehend the feelings of the old prelate when he declared that no temptation should seduce him from his small chapel of Tapeyac.

The love of show and ostentation pervades every ceremony of the Church in Spanish America, even the solemn service of the *Missa pro defunctis* must have its gaudy furniture and its crowds of spectators, invited to the ceremony by an engraved card, bearing a tomb and a cypress, and some such invitation as the following:—

Jose Maria A——
Jose G—— de la C—— and Basilio G——
brothers and uncle of the
Senator Don Augustin T——
who died on the 28th of last month,
request you to assist at the suffrage of the funeral honours, which, by
the desire of his wife, Doña J—— A——,
will be celebrated in the church of San Francisco, on the morning of the 8th
of this month, February, 1840, at 9 o'clock.

At these ceremonies the male relatives, in deep mourning, sit on high-backed chairs, round the church, beneath the crimson and gold hangings, the ladies, in long funereal cloaks, kneel on the carpeted floor, whilst the priests perform the service for the departed. The beggars and the leporos crowd the doors and steps, beseeching charity in the name of the dead.

Professing, as the ambassadress did, the religion dominant in the country, Madame de La Barca had opportunities of being present at, and giving details of, many ceremonies from which former visitors to Spanish America have been excluded, on account of the difference of their theological tenets. Soon after her return from a country ramble, our traveller was summoned to the consecration of Señor Posada to the dignity of archbishop of Mexico. The old bishop of Linares presided, assisted by two younger brethren of the Episcopal bench, and general Bustamente, the president of the state, acted as *padrino* or godfather to the archbishop elect. To the ceremony went all the diplomatic body, and as ladies, however great their real influence may be in diplomacy, are not recognised in diplomatic phraseology, the lords of the ambassadorial creation sat on their high-backed chairs, whilst their ladies and daughters knelt on the pavement of the cathedral during the three hours of the consecration. Every preparation was of the most costly kind. The dresses of the

Digitized by Google

prelates were of white velvet and gold, and their tiaras blazed with diamonds. The candlesticks, and the basins for holy water, were of the purest gold, and the vestment prepared for the new primate, of the most elaborate and gorgeous description.

"Magnificent chairs were prepared for the bishops, near the altar, and the president in uniform, took his seat among them. The presiding bishop took his place alone, with his back to the altar, and the Señor Posada was led in by the assisting bishops, they with their mitres, he with his priest's cap, on. Arrived before the presiding bishop, he uncovered his head, and made a profound obeisance. These three then took their seats on chairs placed in front. After a short pause, they arose, and again uncovered their heads, and the bishop Moralez, turning to the presiding bishop, said, 'Most reverend father, the Holy Catholic Mother Church requests you to raise this presbyter to the charge of the archiepiscopate.' 'Have you an apostolical mandate?' 'We have.' 'Read it.' An assistant priest then read the mandate in a loud voice; upon which they all sat down, the consecrator saying, 'Thanks be to God.' Then Posada, kneeling before him, took an oath upon the Bible, which the bishop held, concluding with these words, 'So may God help me and these, his Holy Gospels.' Then, all sitting down, and resuming their mitres, the examination of the future archbishop took place. It was very long, and, at its conclusion, Posada knelt before the presiding bishop and kissed his hand. To this succeeded the confession; every one standing uncovered before the altar, which was then sprinkled with incense. Then followed the mass chaunted."

Led from the cathedral by the assistant bishops, Posada was clothed with the episcopal robes, and read the service of the mass before the altar. Again brought before the consecrator, he saluted him with reverence, and sat whilst the presiding bishop declared to him the duties of the episcopal office. Again they all rose, and the consecrator prayed for God's blessing on the newly-elected primate. Prostrate before the altar, they all listened to the singing of the Litanies. These ended, the presiding prelate, taking the crosier in his hand, prayed three times that grace might abound in the chosen one, each time signing him with the symbol of the cross. Posada alone now knelt, the rest sat on their episcopal chairs.

"The Bible was then placed on his shoulders, while he remained prostrate; the bishop, rising up, pronounced a solemn benediction on him, while the hymn of Veni Creator was sung in full choir. Then, dipping his hand in the holy chrism, the bishop anointed the primate's head, making on it the sign of the cross, and saying, 'Let thy head be anointed and consecrated with the celestial benediction, according to the pontifical mandate.' The bishop then anointed his hands, making in the same manner the sign of the cross, and saying, 'May these hands be anointed with holy oil; and as Samuel anointed David, a king and a prophet, so be thou anointed and consecrated.' This was followed by a solemn prayer. Then the crosier was blessed, and presented to the elected archbishop, with these words, 'Receive the pastoral crosier, that thou mayest be humanely severe in correcting vices, exercising judgment without wrath.' The blessing of the ring followed, with solemn prayer, and, being sprinkled with holy water, it was placed on the third finger of the right hand, the bishop saying, 'Receive the ring, which is a sign of faith; that, adorned with incorruptible faith, thou mayest guard inviolably the spouse of God, his holy Church."

The volume of the Holy Scriptures, which, during these last ceremonies, had remained on the shoulders of the kneeling prelate,

Digitized by Google

was then removed and presented to him, with an injunction to receive and preach the gospel. The kiss of peace was then bestowed, and Posada retired to his ablutions: after these he returned, bearing two lighted tapers, which, with two small loaves and barrels of wine, he presented to the consecrator in a reverential attitude. The presiding prelate then washed his hands, mounted the altar-steps, and administered the sacrament to the primate elect.

"The mitre was then blessed, and placed upon his head, with a prayer from the bishop, that thus, with his head armed, and with the staff of the Gospels, he might appear terrible to the adversaries of the true faith. The gloves were next consecrated and drawn on his hands, the bishop praying, 'that his hands might be surrounded by the purity of the new man; and that, as Jacob, when he covered his hands with goat's skins, offered agreeable meats to his father, and received his paternal benediction, so he, in offering the holy sacrament, might obtain the benediction of his Heavenly Father.'* The archbishop was then seated by the consecrating prelate, on his pontifical throne, and at the same time the hymn '*Te Deum laudamus*,' was chaunted. During the hymn, the bishops, with their jewelled mitres, rose, and, passing through the church, blessed the whole congregation, the new archbishop still remaining near the altar, and with his mitre. When he returned to his seat, the assistant bishops, including the consecrator, remained standing till the hymn was concluded. The presiding bishop then, advancing with his mitre to the right hand of the archbishop, said, 'May thy hand be strengthened. May thy right hand be exalted. May justice and judgment be the preparation of thy see!' Then the organ pealed forth, and they chaunted the hymn of 'Gloria Patri.' Long and solemn prayer followed, and then they all, uncovered, stood beside the Gospels, at the altar. The archbishop rose, and, with mitre and crosier, pronounced a solemn blessing on all the people assembled. Then, while all knelt beside the altar, he said '*for many years*.' This he repeated three several times; the second time in the middle of the altar, the third time at the feet of the presiding bishop."

And then bestowing the kiss of peace on each of his episcopal brethren, the new primate concluded the long and interesting ceremonies of the consecration of the first, and, if revolution still goes on in the fruitful land of the South, peradventure of the last, Archbishop of Mexico.

We have already given our readers one insight into the ceremonies of the holy week in Spanish America: savage ceremonies were seen to delight the half-savage Corrientinos, on whom the more elegant devices of the Mexicans would have been thrown away. Suiting herself to her worshippers, the Roman Church, more than any other, studies the feelings of the people, and varies her ceremonial according to the prejudices of the country. In Mexico, from the Palm Sunday, all the nation takes a holiday, business is suspended, shops are closed, and from every quarter flock the peasants into the capital. Among the lower classes, she alone is worshipped who said of herself, "from henceforth all nations shall call me blessed!" With

* Considering that the blessing was obtained by fraud, this prayer seems but an awkward allusion, and might, in the hands of an Exeter-hall-ite, elicit many a religious cheer, when commented on in a satirical peroration.

Digitized by Google

respectful pity or distant adoration they bow before the crucifix, whilst on the face of every worshipper of the Virgin is depicted intense love and passionate adoration.

On the Holy Thursday, Mexico is filled with pedestrians in dresses of the gayest kind, no carriages are allowed, velvet and silk are the only wear, and diamonds and pearls walk the streets. The embroidered dresses of the higher signoras are mingled with the highly-starched muslin of the lower classes, or rivalled by the gay colours of the Poblana peasants. During the day the crowds wander from church to church, kneeling for a few minutes at every altar, and marking their love for some peculiar saint, or especial image of the Virgin, by their offerings.

"Before the altar of San Francisco," says Madame de la Barca, "was a representation of the Lord's Supper, not in painting, but in sculptured figures, as large as life, habited in Jewish dresses. Santo Domingo looked like a little paradise, or a story in the Arabian Nights; all the steps up the altar were covered with pots of beautiful flowers; orange-trees loaded with fruit and blossom, and rose-bushes in full bloom, glasses of coloured water, and all kinds of fruit. Cages full of birds, singing delightfully, hung from the walls, and really fine paintings filled up the intervals. A gay carpet covered the floor, and in front of the altar, instead of the usual representation of the Saviour crucified, a little infant Jesus, beautifully done in wax, was lying amongst flowers, with little angels surrounding him."

The music from "Romeo and Juliet" completed the scene; "the prettiest and most fantastic, like something expressly got up for the benefit of children." Move on but a few streets, and the love of the horrible is catered for in the church of Santa Teresa la Neuve, where before every altar sits a figure of the Saviour, life size, crowned with thorns, and clothed in purple, the blood trickling from his wounds, and his feet and hands offered for the kisses of his worshippers. So far during the daylight. The night ushers in a new ceremonial: the grand procession, in which the different trades of coachmen, aquadores, or water-carriers, and cargadores, or porters, bear, on lofty scaffoldings, huge and gaily-dressed figures of the Virgin, the Saints, the Trinity, and the Redeemer. The protectress of all classes, the Virgin, leads the procession, which included every apostle and saint of note, and various emblems of the leading points of the Catholic faith, all brilliantly illuminated, and attended by an amazing crowd of priests, monks, and laymen. The procession heralds in the illumination of the churches, to be visited in succession by every devout Christian. Each church now vies with the other in putting forth all its splendour of jewels, lights, dresses, and music.

"The prettiest effect in every church was caused by the orange-trees and rose-bushes, which covered the steps of the altars, up to where the magnificence of the altar itself blazed out; and the most picturesque effect was produced by the different orders of monks in their gowns and hoods, either lying on their faces, or standing ranged with torches like figures carved in stone. In the passage leading to most of the churches was a table, at which several ladies of the highest rank sat collecting alms for the poor; the fair *quêteuses* had not been very successful, and that chiefly among the lower classes. The fatigue

Digitized by Google

was terrible, walking for so many hours on that bad pavement, with thin satin shoes, so that at length our feet seemed to move mechanically, and we dropped on our knees before each altar, like machines touched by a spring, and rose again with no small effort. Of all the churches we entered that night, the cathedral was the most magnificent; but the most beautiful and tasteful was San Francisco. The crowd there was so dense, that we were almost carried off our feet, and obliged, in defiance of all rule, to take the arms of our *caballeros:* still, it was worth the trouble of making our way through, to see such a superbly-illuminated altar. It was now eleven o'clock, and the crowd was breaking up, as the churches are shut before midnight. In one corner of the middle aisle, near the door, was the representation of a prison, from which issued a stream of soft music; and at a window was a figure of Christ in chains, his eyes bandaged, and a Jew on each side. The chains hung from his hands, and clanked as if with the motion of his arms. Numbers of people were kneeling before the window of the prison, kissing the chains and beating their breasts, with every appearance of contrition and devotion."

Such is the last scene of Holy Thursday. On the morrow all is changed; every sign of joy is gone, every ornament and decoration is cast aside, the whole town pours forth in the garb of woe, and in silence awaits the arrival of sunset, when they may once more resume their finery and their gaiety, and listen to the band playing opera tunes, or cheer the explosions of the firework-stuffed Judases, which are burnt and hooted at in the evening, with as much joy as our Guys on the Protestant jubilee. A new procession fills the streets; the figures represent the Virgin mourning at the foot of the cross, and many of the incidents of the Redeemer's painful death. Not a sound is heard as the procession files along; but, slowly and silently, amid the glare of a thousand tapers, the painted emblems are borne though the streets of the capital. Just before midnight the awful *Miserere* is performed in the cathedral, amid a crowd of spectators, whilst in the cathedral-square the band of the guards consoles those who cannot crush into the holy edifice with a selection of airs from "Norma." Such was Good Friday; such was passion-week in Mexico, when our ambassadress was there to see it, and to record her idea of its prettinesses and its fashionable crowds. Among the rustics of Logohuacan every action of the few last days of our Saviour's life is acted by tutored Indians, whilst the *cura* leads the performance by a recitation of the various acts: even the scene of the crucifixion, taking down from the cross, and the burial, are enacted; and the effect upon the people may be judged by the continuous sale of viands that succeeds to each pageant, whilst the military play waltzes, and the adroit pickpockets pursue their trade between the acts of the sacred drama.

We have devoted so large a portion of our extracts, as well from Mr. Robertson's, as from Madame de la Barca's work, to the illustration of the Roman Catholic religion as practised in Spanish America, and so little space remains for us to speak of governments, manners, and natural curiosities, that we fear to commence extracts on either of these subjects; and, indeed, the *carte* of the ambassadress is as puzzling, from its variety, as the various deli-

Digitized by Google

tacies of a pastry-cook's to a child when told to take what he likes. In one chapter we have balls, theatres, Montezuma's cypress, smoking, a viceroy, new year's day, and a congress; diplomatic visits and the Cathedral of Gudalope; divine paintings and mosquitoes' eggs; mitre'd bishops and ragged beggars. With a general recommendation to taste and try the ambassadress's olio of Mexican curiosities, we shall conclude our notice of her work; making however three extracts, illustrative of the governor, the manners, and the natural wonders of the country. First comes a sketch of the redoubtable Santa Anna.

"In a little while entered General Santa Anna himself; a gentlemanly, good-looking, quietly-dressed, rather melancholy-looking person, with one leg, apparently somewhat of an invalid, and was the most interesting person in the group. He has a sallow complexion, fine dark eyes, soft and penetrating, and an interesting expression of face. Knowing nothing of his past history, one would have said a philosopher, living in dignified retirement, one who had tried the world, and found that all was vanity; one who had suffered ingratitude, and who, if he were ever persuaded to emerge from his retreat, would do so, Cincinnatus-like, to benefit his country. It is strange how frequently this expression of philosophic resignation, of placid sadness, is to be remarked on the countenances of the most ambitious and most designing men. Calderon gave him a letter from the queen, written under the supposition of his being still president, with which he seemed much pleased, but merely made the innocent observation, 'How very well the queen writes!' It was only now and then that the expression of his eye was startling, especially when he spoke of his leg, which is cut off from the knee; otherwise, he made himself very agreeable, spoke a great deal of the United States, and of the persons he had known there, and in his manners was polite and gentle, manlike, and altogether more of a polished hero than I expected to see. To judge from the past, he will not long remain in his present state of inaction, besides having within him, according to Zavala, 'a principle of action, for ever impelling him forward.'"

Every one who has cared to read the accounts from Mexico for the last few months can well bear out this prophecy of the ambassadress: Santa Anna hath been, and is up and stirring. Our next extract refers to the manners of the Mexicans as displayed, not in their interminable morning visits, their common forms of offering their houses to their friends, or announcing the birth of an additional member of their family, as another servant at the service of their acquaintance. We have been sorely tempted to extract from Madame de la Barca's lively sketches, these and the like traits of Mexican character; but as several of our contemporaries have been before-hand with us in these *excerpta*, we prefer her delineation of the fête at the San Augustin, the ball open alike to high and low, and the *al-fresco* gamblings in the open square.

"There were people of all classes; *modistes* and carpenters, shop-boys, tailors, hatters, and hosiers, mingled with all the *haut ton* of Mexico; every shop-boy considered himself entitled to dance with every lady, and no lady considered herself as having a right to refuse him, and then to dance with another person. The Senora de ——, a most high and dignified person, danced with a stable-boy

Digitized by Google

in a jacket and without gloves, and he appeared particularly gratified at the opportunity thus afforded him of holding her white gloves in his brown paws. These fellows naturally select the first ladies as their partners, and, strange as it may seem, there is nothing in their behaviour that the most fastidious can complain of. They are perfectly polite, quiet and well conducted, and go through a quadrille as well as their neighbours. On the third night of the fete, Calderon and I left the ball-room about ten, and walked out in the direction of the copper tables which filled the middle of the square, and were covered with awnings. It is a sight that, once seen, can never be forgotten. It was a gambling *fête champêtre*, conducted on the most liberal scale: on each table were great mountains of copper, with an occasional sprinkling of silver. There was a profusion of evergreens, small tin lamps dripping with oil, and sloping tallow candles shedding grease upon the board. Little ragged boys, acting as waiters, were employed in handing round *pulque* and *chia* in cracked tumblers. There was, moreover, an agreeable tinkling, produced from several guitars, and even the bankers condescended to amuse their guests with soothing strains. The general dress of the company was a single blanket, gracefully disposed in folds about the person; so as to show various glimpses of a brown skin. To this some added a pair of pantaloons, and some a shirt of a doubtful colour. There were many with large hats, most of which had crowns or parts of crowns, but all affording free entrance to the fresh air; generally speaking, however, the head was uncovered, or covered only with its native thatching of long, bushy, tangled hair."

Ladies in short petticoats, ragged and dirty, satin shoes that had once been white, and *rebosos* concluded this extraordinary scene of the Fête of San Augustin. Pass we now to the wondrous acts of Nature in Mexico, to the stalactite glories of the cave of Cacahuamilpa, the principal lion of the Terra Caliente. This cave of wonders, almost inaccessible to ladies,—so deep are the roads, and so perilous the journey,—was seen, and is thus described, by our ambassadress, in whose picture, *minus* twenty-five per cent. for fine writing, and about the same discount for embroidery, we presume may be received as a true bill! We make no deductions for the glittering sun, and orange and jessamine-fraught air, having deliberately omitted all such prettinesses from the extract.

"We arrived at the centre of the cave, a superb portal, upwards of 70 feet high and 150 wide, according to the computation of a learned traveller; the rocks which support the great arch so symmetrically disposed as to resemble a work of art; (—here sun—wild scenery—awful sensations *ad libitum, subaud.*—) we made our way down a declivity of, it may be, 150 feet, surrounded with blocks of stone and rock, and remained lost in astonishment at finding ourselves in this gloomy subterranean palace, surrounded by the most extraordinary, gigantic, and mysterious forms, which it is scarcely possible to believe are the fantastic productions of the water which constantly trickles from the roof."

Here—alas, poor human nature!—a full account of luncheon, fricasseed chicken, boiled eggs, &c. interfered with our writer's raptures and sensations, and a solid meal is discussed before the torches are lighted and the party set in motion towards the interior of the cave; where nature has sculptured every living creature's form in stalactite, but where no living creature ever dwelt.

Digitized by Google

"It is said that the first *Sala* (for travellers have pretended to divide it into halls, and a very little imagination may do so,) is about 200 feet long, 170 wide, and 150 in height,—a noble apartment. The walls are shaded with different colours of green and orange, great sheets of stalactites hang from the roof, and white phantoms, palm-trees, lofty pillars, pyramids, porches, and a thousand other illusions, surround us on all sides. One figure, concerning which all agree, is a long-haired goat, the Evil-one in that form. We passed on to the second *Sala*, our awe and astonishment increasing at every step. Sometimes we seemed to be in an Egyptian temple—the architecture was decidedly Egyptian, and the strange forms of the animals resembled those of the uncouth Egyptian idols. Again we seemed to enter a tract of country which had been petrified: fountains of congealed water, trees hung with frozen moss, pillars covered with gigantic acanthus leaves, pyramids of ninety feet high, losing their lofty heads in the darkness of the vault, and looking like the works of pre-Adamites. This second hall, as lofty as the other, may be nearly 400 feet in length. We then passed into a sort of double gallery, separated by enormous pyramidal formations, which are formed by water dropping on the earth. Here gothic shrines, odd figures,—some that looked like mummies, others like old men with long beards, appal us like figures that we see in some wild dream. These were intermingled with pyramids, obelisks, and baths, that seemed made of the purest alabaster. When we left this double gallery, we came to another vast corridor, supported by lofty pillars, covered with creeping plants, but especially with a row of the most gigantic cauliflowers, each leaf delicately chiseled, and looking like a fitting food for the colossal dwellers of the cavern."

Besides these were rocks and hills crowned with pyramids, frozen torrents, fixed in their wildest leap from the mountain's face, and lofty Grecian columns, now of severe Doric, now of elaborate Corinthian style. Above all is the stalactitic amphitheatre, with its regular benches and its great organ, from whose pipes sound is emitted when struck. Such, according to Madame, are the natural wonders of the cave of Cacahuamilpa, in Mexico.

Since we noticed Mr. Norman's researches among the ruined cities of the peninsula of Yucatan, his predecessor in the discovery of bygone cities, Mr. Stephens, has put forth his discoveries in the same region, accompanied with engravings, numerous and useful. Now and then, in these entertaining volumes, we have sketches, mere sketches of American manners and Yucatan peculiarities, but, like his fellow-countryman, Norman, he was too much engaged in *tapping* old ruins, and in searching out old Indians who had in some hunting party alighted on a painted wall or a carved terrace, to devote either time or space to things as they are. He pauses, indeed, to celebrate a bull fight, and the gambling fête of San Cristoval, at Menda, and to relate the wonderment of the Yucatanese at the mystical operations of Dr. Cabot's Daguerreotype, or Mr. Catherwood's operations on the unlucky squinters; but it is with evident impatience that he stops; and great is his joy when hurrying on towards the relics of the contemporaries of Columbus. With Mr. Stephens, therefore, as a guide towards our sketches of Spanish America as it is, we have little to say; and, having set out with an intention of confining this article to modern America, we ought, in duty, to take our leave of his

Digitized by Google

volumes. Benedick said he would die a bachelor, and Benedick changed his mind. Even so,

> "Editoribus atque poetis
> Quid libet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas,"

says some ambrosian MS. of Horace, affirming the proposition that editors may do as they please. *Ergo*, we will make one—only one—extract from Mr. Stephens, in order to call attention to the probability of the huge masses of apparently solid masonry so lately described by us, being perforated in every direction with chambers and passages, like the pyramids of Egypt. In a forest in the neighbourhood of Uxmal stands a huge mound of masonry, called by the Spaniards El Labarinto, by the Indians Satun Sat: this Mr. Stephens entered alone, having lighted a torch, and tied a strong twine to his body, which was held at the other end by the Mayor of Uxmal, who stood at the door of the building.

> "I entered with a candle in one hand and a pistol in the other. The entrance faces the west. The mouth was filled up with rubbish, scrambling over which I stood in a narrow passage, or gallery, constructed like all the apartments above ground, with smooth wall and triangular arched ceiling. This passage was about four feet wide, and seven feet high, to the top of the arch. It ran due east, and at the distance of six or eight yards opened into another, or rather was stopped by another crossing it, running north and south. I first took that on the right hand: at the distance of a few yards on the right side of the wall I found a door filled up, and at the distance of thirty-five feet the passage ended, and a door opened, at right angles on the left, into another gallery running due east. Following this, at the distance of 13 feet, I found another gallery on the left, running north, and beyond it, at the end, still another, also on the left, and running left, four yards long, and then walled up with only an opening in it about a foot square."

Returning to the first gallery, our traveller pursued the left or northern branch of the passage, and, after a long and tedious scramble, found on that side also a similar net-work of galleries within the mass of masonry. No chamber was discovered; but we cannot now doubt, especially after the result of the excavations in another part of the ruins, where a vase of *terra cotta* was found in one of the circular chambers, that many sepulchral chambers and passages yet await the patient labour of some new Belzoni, within the greater portion of those gigantic piles of masonry, which for so long a period have defied the inquisitiveness of man.

Digitized by Google

1. *The Daily Service and Weekly Offertory, &c.: being the substance of Sermons, preached in Advent,* 1842. *By the Rev.* THOMAS BOWDLER, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1843.
2. *An Essay on Cathedral Worship. By* HENRY DUDLEY RYDER, M.A. *Canon Residentiary of Lichfield Cathedral.* London: Rivingtons. 1843.
3. *A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, on the Use of the Offertory, &c. By* HENRY LORD BISHOP OF EXETER. London: Murray. 1843.
4. *A Letter to a Layman, on recent Changes in the manner of performing Divine Service in the Metropolitan Churches. By the Rev.* T. HAVERFIELD, B.D. London: Ollivier. 1843.
5. *"How shall we conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?" By* J. C. ROBERTSON, *Curate of Boxley.* London: Pickering. 1843.
6. *The Quarterly Review,* No. 143. London: Murray. 1843.
7. *Modern Puritanism, &c.* London: Burns. 1843.

IN a reprint of an article from our January number, "On the Present and Prospective Results of the Bishop of London's Charge," under the title "Modern Puritanism," the following appeared as part of an Appendix, which may not be out of place to those who are readers of the "Christian Remembrancer only."

"NOTE [A], p. 46. (See p. 153, "Christian Remembrancer.")

"'A custom commonly prevails for the non-communicants to leave the Church immediately after the sermon, or rather immediately after the sermon has been followed by a collect and the blessing. The blessing, introduced at this period, is a manifest interpolation: it interrupts the due order of the Church, and gives to the non-communicants a sanction and an approval, which, as the Church has not provided, so she certainly does not intend. With respect to this time of departure, I can trace no authority for it in the Rubric. * * * * Guided by analogy, then, I should judge, that, if there be a communion, *forasmuch as there is no intimation to the contrary,* still the service should proceed without interruption until the end of the prayer for the Church Militant.

"'But thereupon succeeds an exhortation, which is addressed specially to them "who mind to come to the Holy Communion," and is prefaced by the Rubric that "at the time of the celebration of the Communion, the communicants being conveniently placed for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament, the priest shall say this exhortation." Here, then, should seem to be the most convenient period for the departure of those who do not "mind to come to the Holy Communion."' *Bishop of Down and Connor's Second Charge,* p. 46.

"It would be superfluous to say that we follow his lordship implicitly in all that he says about the dismissal of non-communicants after the sermon; but with regard to the suggestion of dismissing them after the prayer for the Church Militant, we can only repeat his own emphatic observation: 'with respect to *this* time of departure, also, we can trace no authority for it in the Rubric.' It seems very remarkable that when, as all confess, there is not the slightest vestige in the Prayer-Book of any dismissal of the non-communicants, the discovery of this fact was not followed up by its most obvious consequences: viz. *that no dismissal of the non-communicants whatever was intended by the Church,* or, in other words, that the communicants should receive in the presence of all the congregation.

Digitized by Google

"We are perfectly aware of the ancient distinction between the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium* in the early Church, (see L'Estrange and others;) but, as the Christian religion became universal, this distinction became—indeed was intended to become—obsolete. Not the least trace of it remains in our services; nor was there any relic of it in this Church before the Reformation. From Edward VI.'s First Book, it is quite clear that the whole congregation, communicants and non-communicants, alike remained during the celebration of the Holy Mystery. 'Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. All other (that mind not to receive the Holy Communion) shall *depart out of the quire*, except the ministers and clerks.' (Third Rubric after the Offertory, p. 280. Cardwell's Two Liturgies compared.) Should any be disposed to have recourse to the violent interpretation that to 'depart out of the quire' means to 'depart out of the church,' we can only answer that, if the compilers of this service had meant 'church,' it was quite as easy to say 'church,' as 'quire;' or still more pointedly, to have said 'depart' simply, without adding 'out of the quire;' but such an objection is sheer trifling; and should he insist, also, upon the following passages from 'the Exhortation when the people are negligent to come to the Holy Communion,' in Edward's Second Book, and which continued in use until the Savoy Conference, 1661, viz.—'whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish that ye will not add any more: which thing ye shall do, if ye *stand by* as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate, and be no partakers of the same yourselves—the fault is much greater when men *stand by*, and yet will neither eat nor drink this Holy Communion with others,—therefore, rather than you should do so, *depart* you *hence*, and give place to them that be godly disposed:' we still maintain, first, that the departure, here enjoined, is only from the quire, '*hence*,' viz. where the service was read. Or even should this be disputed, and should it be held that the 'depart hence' meant that the non-communicants should leave the church entirely, we answer, secondly, all this is nothing to *us;* the whole passage was expunged at the Savoy Conference; and as we well know in which direction all the changes went at that most important era, it is but fair to conclude that the revision went to restore the use of Edward's First Book; for if a change were not intended, why was this remarkable omission made? At any rate, we strenuously insist upon one point; that no provision whatever is now made for the dismissal of the non-communicants, and therefore that none was intended; and, yet more, that the only passage occurring in our Reformed Liturgical Office, which may be construed into anything like a formal dismissal of them, viz. that already quoted from Edward's Second Book, was *pointedly omitted* at the last revision of the Prayer Book. The Bishop of Down and Connor is not very far from this view. 'It were well, if, when the circumstances of the sacred building allow such a change, the communicants were at this period to come forward from their accustomed places in the body of the church, and be collected together in the chancel.' p. 47. Of course; the communicants should come into the chancel, at 'Ye that do truly, &c. *draw near*, &c.;' the non-communicants remaining in the nave, otherwise the whole service is deprived of a deeply-significant propriety. Of what sense are these words capable,—'the communicants being conveniently placed,' 'the priests shall say to them that come to receive,' 'the confession shall be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive,' unless there were another class actually present who were not 'conveniently placed,' who were not told to 'draw near,' who were not 'minded to receive?' There are many expressions in the exhortation, 'Dearly beloved in the Lord,' &c., which afford internal evidence that it is addressed to a large body, many of whom are not communicants. The direction here is general: 'The priest shall say this exhortation:' the next rubric prescribes a special address, as though to a portion only. Surely were the communicants alone present, it would have been

Digitized by Google

futile to introduce all the distinctions and limitations to which we allude; it would have been enough to have said, 'Then shall the priest say,' instead of 'Then shall the priest say *to them that come*, &c.' and 'Then shall this confession be made,' instead of 'Then shall this confession be made, *in the name of all those* &c.' We need scarcely add what is the practice of the Western Church, which is, to communicate in the presence of the whole congregation; and we understand that the same rule is observed in, at least some of, the Protestant bodies of the Continent. The new Prussian Liturgy certainly has a rubric directing the dismissal of the non-communicants; but our own Church does not like to recognise them thus formally."

Upon which we have been favoured with the following letter from the Bishop of Down and Connor:—

"*Down and Connor House, Belfast, April* 27, 1843.

"Sir, or Rev. Sir,—Permit me to draw your attention to the Appendix, Note (A), to your tract intituled 'Modern Puritanism,' reprinted from the Christian Remembrancer, of January, 1843.

"In that note, with reference to a late Charge of mine, you speak of 'the suggestion of dismissing them' (non-communicants) 'after the prayer for the Church Militant:' and you speak of it in terms calculated to lead the reader to suppose that *I* have suggested the *dismissal* of them at that period. On re-considering my Charge, you will perceive that I have not suggested any dismissal of them at all. The question, which is stated to have been proposed to me, and which I was answering, was 'at what period of the service they, who do not propose to communicate, may most conveniently depart.' Assuming their *departure* at some period, agreeably to a general, not to say an universal, practice, my object was to ascertain the time at which they might 'withdraw' themselves and 'depart' with most convenience, that is to say, with the least interruption of the service, and the least disturbance to their brethren who were intending to remain and communicate. And the best opportunity was stated to be 'at the end of the prayer for the Church Militant,' 'the pause allowed for the more convenient placing of the communicants.' No act of 'dismissal,' however, of the non-communicants was intimated by me on the part of the minister: no 'dismissing of them was suggested' by me; but the departure of those who should withdraw was cautiously spoken of as their own act, 'for which they only are responsible.'

"I beg the favour of you to correct this error; and, with my thanks for many valuable observations in your tract, as well as for its general tendency,

"I remain, Rev. Sir, your faithful servant,

"Rd. Down and Connor, and Dromore.

"The Editor of the Christian Remembrancer."

We regret that to our carelessness must be attributed the confusion between the "departure" and "dismissal" of the non-communicants which we have incurred in our observations on the Bishop's Charge; an error the more inexcusable, because, had we rightly weighed this important distinction, his Lordship's argument would have told very considerably for the precise point which we were urging, viz. the celebration of the Mysteries before the whole congregation, rather than, as we apprehended, *against* our own view. We are thankful, therefore, to adduce in this way the high and respected authority of the Bishop of Down and Connor as decidedly condemnatory of *any dismissal* of the people during the administration of the Holy Eucharist.

And now that circumstances have re-opened the important

Digitized by Google

subject in which these remarks originated, an allusion to the additional "results of the Bishop of London's Charge" which the last six months have produced does not seem altogether unseasonable or premature.

Precisely such as we ventured, and this with all becoming respect to his sacred office, to anticipate has been announced to be the reason for that tender and suggestive tone of the Bishop of London's Charge, upon the alleged indecisive nature of which the non-conforming clergy refused obedience. His Lordship did *not* enjoin, because he thought that a hint from him would be equivalent to a command: of this kind and deferential feeling advantage has been taken to an unhappy and pernicious extent, which we are not disposed to stigmatize in the terms which such conduct deserves. Suffice it to say, that in many quarters the most mean as well as disobedient spirit manifested itself; and what was designed avowedly to prevent party-names and to discourage external marks of particular schools in the Church, became, in exact contrariety to his lordship's intention, the very badge and symbol of party in its most worthless form. To obey a Bishop was "Puseyism:" to disobey him whose godly admonitions they had vowed to follow, the mark of the truly converted and evangelical and spiritual-minded clergymen. For obvious reasons we care not in this place to concern ourselves with other than *literary* instances of this remarkable outbreak of the old puritan spirit, though it is significant enough that the new non-conformity has been shown with the most sullen and settled tone of defiance, we had almost said malignity; nay, the ignorance and prejudices of the laity have been most traitorously appealed to, in those very parishes where the most forward claims are ordinarily made to the more than exclusive possession of the graces of charity, meekness, and love. But "wisdom is justified of her children."

To Mr. Scobell's (of Marylebone) pamphlet of reclamation we have already adverted; but we forget whether the letters of Dr. Dibdin—qualis quantusque vir!—*to his own Bishop*, in that very religious journal, the Morning Chronicle, have been alluded to in these pages: this, however, was but the prelude to disobedience more marked, and, were it possible, more gratuitously insulting,—newspaper and magazine, hebdomadal and diurnal—the worlds fashionable, and literary, and religious—the Record and the Weekly Dispatch—the Edinburgh Review and Charlotte Elizabeth—the Court Journal and the Morning Advertiser—the ponderous artillery of volumes, and

The light militia of the lower sky,

in the shape of the sly Fleet-street penny hand-bills—these have combined; but the climax of all that is wicked may be found in the following advertisement:—

"A Letter to the Bishop of London; in which his Lordship's views on Justification and Baptismal Regeneration are proved to be absurd, unscrip-

tural, tractarian, and Popish. By the Rev. James Sutcliffe, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Knockholt, near Sevenoaks. London: Nisbet, 1843."

with which it were needless to say that we concern neither ourselves nor our readers: we mention these things only as the materials of history, by which the present spirit which actuates men, who boast to be successors of the temper, as well as the teaching, of the honoured names of Milner and Cecil, may be estimated.

The result of all which is in accurate accordance with our conjectures: as we predicted, (pp. 159, 160,) now that suggestions have failed, "commands have followed," and this in the most direct and personal way. The Bishop of London has taken the very earliest opportunity in his power—that of the present series of general confirmations—addressing the Clergy, as we are given to understand, in their smaller parochial bodies, to require from them unqualified obedience to some of the most important ritual requirements of the Church, as already signified in his late Charge: such as the general use of the Prayer for the Church Militant, and the publication of all notices by the Clergyman alone; at the same time, though not *at present enjoining* the sole use of the surplice, speaking of the so-called "*conscientious scruples*" about it in terms which show at least his sense of their hollowness: and, which is even yet more important, indicating the not very remote general and authoritative revival of the weekly offertory, not only to strengthen the Church, but to supersede the system of voluntary societies.

All this is more than cheering: the Bishops of the Church are showing Whose successors they are: and the non-conforming Clergy, in the most influential diocese, have now one last opportunity of showing "what spirit they are of," and "what Master they serve." We hail these important signs as very solemn warnings to us all: they are our judicial sifting, and it may be our final probation: we are not of those who see, in each advance of the mighty wave of the present conflict, an earnest of certain success, or an infallible augury of the future; but when men avowedly take their sides, when the better advance daily, and the worse daily develope worse signs of a disobedient temper, we may at least say, that individuals cannot remain neutral and lukewarm: and when the hosts are marshalled, and when time and temptation has fully ripened tendencies into principles on either side, then *the conflict will come:* the Church and the World, Michael and His Angels, and the Enslaver and his Angels, will meet in the Great Battle. Only let us train ourselves for the inevitable struggle: if Catholic truth were never so strong as at this moment, which we fully admit, let us be assured of this, that its enemies were never so resolved, so united, and so ready to exterminate it. We see this, not only in the spirit abroad among ourselves, but in the collected and unanimous fierce banding together of all enemies of the cross of

Christ in every country under heaven: in the robberies and sacrilege of Catholic Europe; in the openly avowed revival of the puritan spirit, with all its horrors, in America; in the breaking up of the most compact system of the Reformation in Scotland; and in the heaving of the great German heart of Protestantism. These things are but the mutterings of the coming storm, the wildest, and, it may be, the last: we dare not look forward to secure and peaceful days; but rather to a spiritual "revealing of the thoughts of men's hearts," which shall pledge us for ever, and irrevocably: if we are to fight the Lord's battle, it must be at the cost of quiet homes, and life's comforts, and the world's approving smile; and even then, we cannot count upon triumph: but even if we are made "*perfect* through much tribulation," and the loss of worldly goods, and through persecution,—if so be, it is more than our former worldliness might deserve. Even yet to be permitted to *suffer* for His name's sake is all that we may pray for.

We are the more impressed with this subduing conviction that we are on the extreme verge of a great crisis in the affairs of the Church, by certain remarkable and very recent indications that new elements of strife and contention are commencing their fatal influence upon the present state of things. Hitherto, with an ominous significance, THE WORLD has held aloof from the gathering strife; the world, we mean, which, in all its various relations, is the great spirit of Antichrist,—the world literary and philosophical,—the world which is the direct enemy of the gospel-spirit,—the world which combines all that is selfish and indulgent, and local and temporary, and, we advisedly use a strong word—*unprincipled*. It has been long felt, though not much expressed, that the Quarterly Review was an apt and too faithful exponent of the common run of the sentiments which we have described, and which are too characteristic of the better informed classes of English society; we speak here not of all the details of the various articles, but of their general bearing and tenor. Of the ordinary conduct of this influential journal it may be, and we trust not unfairly, said, that, making due abatement for the earnestness and higher cast of thought evinced by occasional contributors on specific subjects, there was a noticeable absence of a high religious tone; there was a marked and painful deficiency in the true and unearthly religious temper. The Quarterly never, for it would not have been endured, avowed positive irreligious sentiments, but its deficiencies were suspicious—its negations showed a bias. To say that the Church was seldom, throughout its pages, implied as the one and sole channel of heavenly gifts—that Almighty God was seldom referred to as Him by whom alone princes reign and peoples prosper—were but to enunciate a palpable truth level to the observation of the most superficial readers; but more than this presented itself to thoughtful minds. The material philosophy of modern science—the ensnaring study of literature as

Digitized by Google

mere literature and æsthetic criticism—the habitual contemplation of a country as a mere worldly object of a state machine of government—the conventionalisms of upholding order, decency, education, and the Constitution, as it is called, for the sake of a state of things involving the interests of party, and class, and order—the exclusive view of secular politics as all in all, not as influenced by Christ's mystical body, but as a distinct organized system, to which the Church, if subordinated and repressed, might be a useful ancillary aid—social economy regarded as alien from the Divine form—these things—and they form the staple of the Quarterly Review—are not the components of a Christian mind. But when to these deficiencies of the higher gifts are to be added personal indications, in at least some of its writers, not only of a low tone of thinking, produced by the presence of such a worldly spirit, but, what is even yet worse, of a positively debased and immoral character, as witnessed in certain flagitious papers, which indicate a frightful familiarity with the filthiest words of inhuman depravity;—what was to be expected from a publication conducted under such auspices? We do not know whether we can make ourselves understood, but we have felt that articles which have, from time to time, appeared in the Quarterly Review, on the French Drama, on French Novels, on the Dangerous Classes of Continental Europe,* have utterly unfitted not only those who penned them, but those who permitted their insertion, for their office of Christian censors. When things exist of which it is a shame to speak, it is but of little purpose to exclaim, "How bad!" and "How shocking!" while raking over and exposing the hideous details. We are not willing to characterize the spirit of a writer who parades his acquaintance with obscenity for the mere sake of showing, from experience, that he can affectedly and smirkingly condemn its excesses. Such "wisdom, which is earthly, sensual, devilish," were fitter rather for the licentious and Tiberian revelries of Hertford House than for the pages of what would fain be taken for the organ of the English clergy.

Nor are these most serious drawbacks in the Quarterly Review counterbalanced by some recent articles in which we gladly own our concurrence, more or less regulated by circumstances: such contributions—and we estimate their intrinsic value highly—were at the best felt to be out of keeping with the general tenor of their companions. Religion was treated of as a separate and scholastic subject of occasional criticism; it was never, as a rule, recognised as the pervading soul: it was the accident, not the principle.

We are not, therefore, surprised,† knowing the worldly

* Nos. CI. CXI. CXXXIX.

† When we say that we are not surprised at the appearance of the article in question, we refer merely to the moral character of the Quarterly. We *are* surprised and confounded withal at the measure, when we remember the worldly sagacity that

Digitized by Google

character of the Quarterly — far lower in this respect than the Edinburgh — to find an article "On the Rubrics and Ritual of the Church of England" such as we now proceed to describe, in the number published within the last few days. The author's tone is not much lower than that of recent pamphlets and articles innumerable: his ignorance of the commonest facts of English ecclesiastical history is not much, though perhaps a little, grosser than ordinary; his absurdly superficial conceit, which fancies that the same smart index-knowledge which qualifies for hunting over the Annual Register, or a club-house familiarity with intrigue and *persiflage*, is lore enough for pronouncing an authoritative judgment on difficult points which have perplexed the consciences and delayed the judgment of the ripest and meekest theological students: his shallow vanity—his reckless presumption—his inconsistency—his total blank of information as to the state of the Church during the momentous Caroline era—to adduce the most obvious example, these things have, perhaps, seldom met with a parallel.

To enumerate, however, the glaring instances of these qualifications were so easy that, although we could refute, *seriatim*, every point upon which the writer in question has ventured a stock of ritual information the most slender and dishonestly adventurous which we ever met with, and with which it would be really tedious to even the least-informed of our readers to occupy a single page, we prefer, on the present occasion, to allude to this production, not so much to prove it, which it is, a complete and most egregious literary failure, as to allude to it as a sad specimen of the irreligious spirit tampering with and jeering at holy things: it is a sign of the times, and a pregnant one; full of threatening to us all: and the more dangerous in proportion to the number and imperfect training of those into whose hands it will fall; and this, not at all from the intrinsic power, which is quite contemptible, of what is said, but from the sort of reputation and influence which the editor of the Quarterly Review wields for merely secular purposes.

In a word, when we see two such antagonist forces coming for the first time into direct collision, and the first journal of the empire, the first in rank and in circulation, committing itself to this particular line against the truth, and branding as fooleries and trifles the holy and reverential forms of the Church, and stamping with its authority the egregious paralogism that to be Catholic is not the birthright of the Anglican Church—when

journal has usually manifested. What could have induced either the editor or the publisher to consent to such self-stultification? After having committed themselves to a high and catholic tone of thought, in several successive articles—articles, by the way, which were, each in its turn, the most conspicuous, and generally read of their respective numbers, and also, if not to an approval, yet to a vindication of the Oxford school from the more vulgar of the charges preferred against it, here we have a paper quite in the spirit of those latter—a paper that would hardly have disgraced *The Record*, and that has earned (the first time, we suppose, that anything in the Quarterly has incurred the misfortune of earning) the praise of that wretched journal.

Google

we see the world thus plainly commit itself—when we see a newspaper, influential in a large class of religionists, openly invoking the passions and ignorance of the laity to compel even their own Bishop to yield to their senseless clamour—when we hear of the clergy themselves secretly fomenting this disaffection, and then pretending that they are reluctant to comply with the same Bishop's commands for fear of meeting a storm which *they have themselves treacherously raised*—and when we remember that the question of ritual conformity was the gloomy precursor of the Great Rebellion—nay, when we hear of what seems little short of a conspiracy in one of our "famous universities," to crush one among the first and noblest of our living theologians, for, *what at present seems*, but a simple enunciation of the doctrine of the Catechism,--and when *all these are the events of a single week*—we may well—not despair, but—brace our nerves and betake ourselves to Him Who is our sole strength, and prepare us for those dark days when "men's hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth." If there be an impending trial to the Church, let us be ready to act with all love—with all submission—but with all zeal and firmness.

It is lack of space rather than of sympathy which compels us to compress our notice of the publications named at the head of this paper, a postscript, as it were, to a subject which has necessarily occupied much of the present volume; but having already alluded to the encouraging course which our Spiritual Fathers are adopting, it would be worse than ingratitude not to hail, with the most distinct satisfaction, the very important letter of the Bishop of Exeter to his Clergy, recommending, throughout his diocese, the immediate revival of the Weekly Offertory. It is no small reward to such as Mr. Bowdler, whose present pamphlet is an excellent one, to find that, after a long and useful career devoted to the service of Catholic truth, his suggestions at length meet with this encouraging approval in the highest quarters—nor is it with an intrusive pride that we express our conviction, or at least hope, that the steady efforts of many of the contributors to this Review have not been altogether without their influence in the same direction: the important Charge of the Archdeacon of London was of the same tenor: and the Weekly Offertory may now be considered all but gained; it is a step the value of which we can scarcely overstate.

The pamphlets of Messrs. Haverfield and Robertson we have mentioned, not because they harmonize with our own views, but because they contrast favourably in tone with publications which we have felt it our duty unreservedly to condemn: and Canon Ryder's Essay, though it contains some rather questionable points, contains useful suggestions, conceived in a better spirit than they are expressed in the way of style.

Digitized by Google

THE LIFE OF TORQUATO TASSO.

PART I.

"So pitiful a thing is suitor's state!
Most miserable man! whom wicked fate
Hath brought to court to sue for had y wist
That few have found, and many more have miss'd;
Full little knowest thou that hast not tried
What hell it is in suing long to bide,
To lose good days that might be better spent,
To waste long nights in pensive discontent,
To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow,
To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers,
To have thy asking, yet wait many years;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares,
To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs:
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want, and be undone."

SPENSER. *Mother Hubbert's Tale.*

SUCH is the description of a courtier's life, wrung by bitter experience from "our own sage, serious Spenser." He might have learned the moral at less cost from the fate of others. In none, perhaps, does the warning voice speak so forcibly as in that of the great and unfortunate man whose mournful history we are now about to trace. It calls on all, whatever may be their power of pleasing, to depend on their own industry and exertions, rather than on the precarious favour of a patron, to seek an honourable independence before they—

"Loiter beneath the laurel's barren shade."

Nor let it be thought that the moral is obsolete. Poets, it is true, are no longer to be seen in the train of princes. But, though customs change, human nature remains the same. There will ever be men in poverty, who waste their lives in the vain hope of the patronage of the great, and men in power who treat the dependants on their favour with caprice, and delude them with expectations which they omit to fulfil.

But this stern lesson is not the only one a thinking mind will derive from the life of Tasso. It is far more pleasing to look upon him as a light to direct, than as a beacon to warn; and who can contemplate his lofty soul, his gentle nature, the purity of his mind undebased by meanness, unsullied by vice, and not feel a wish to resemble such a man? Who will not acknowledge the value of those intellectual pursuits which enabled him to support the horrors of his prison, and cheered him in sickness, solitude, poverty, and madness? Who can see the magnanimity with which he erased from his mind all bitterness, all hatred of his persecutors, even the remembrance of his wrongs, and not own that such a triumph over the strongest impulses of our nature belongs only to the christian? Who can read the account of his last hours and not exclaim, "May I die the death of the righteous, and may my latter end be like his!"

Digitized by Google

Torquato Tasso inherited his poetical talents from his father Bernardo Tasso, whose works deserve to be better known, and who was born at Bergamo in 1493. His parents, Gabriello Tasso and Caterina de Tassi, sprung from different branches of the same noble and ancient family. At an early age he showed talents which induced his father to spare no pains in cultivating them, but he had the misfortune to be deprived of both his parents before his education was completed, and his slender patrimony would have been insufficient for his support at college, had not his uncle, the Bishop of Recanati, taken him under his protection and enabled him to prosecute his studies. He became well versed in the ancient languages, and soon began to cultivate Italian, eloquence, and poetry with success; his early attempts in verse are distinguished by the sweetness and fecundity of imagery which characterised his more mature productions, and his rising reputation procured him the notice of princes and nobles as well as of men of letters.

But a fresh misfortune interrupted him in the career he had entered upon so prosperously. His kind uncle was assassinated at his country seat near Bergamo, by two of his servants, who fled with the money, plate, and all the articles of value which the house contained, leaving Bernardo overwhelmed with grief for the loss of a relation he tenderly loved, and deprived of the advantages he had reason to expect from him. He was then about twenty-seven, and, being reduced to depend only on his own slender fortune, he retired to Padua to finish his studies and to profit by the society of the many learned men who were there assembled. Poetry did not altogether engross him; he studied philosophy, and especially that branch of it which relates to affairs of state, hoping to obtain an honourable employment under some prince. The illusions of love, too, banished the recollection of his misfortunes for a time. Genevra Malatesta, alike distinguished for beauty, high birth, and virtue, captivated his affections, but his hopes were soon at an end. She married Il Cavaliero degli Obizzi, and he recorded his feelings on this occasion in a sonnet which became so popular that every Italian knew it by heart.*

Soon afterwards he went to Venice, and there published his poems—they spread rapidly through Italy, and obtained for him the reputation of being among the first of living poets. They attracted the notice of Ferrante Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, and inspired him with so

---

* "Poichè la parte men perfetta e bella
Ch'al tramontar d'un dì perde il suo fiore,
Mi toglie il cielo e fanne altrui signore
Ch' ebbe più amica e graziosa stella;
Non mi togliete voi l'altra, ch' ancella
Fece la vista mia del suo splendore;
Quella parte più nobile e migliore
Di cui la lingua mia sempre favella.
Amai questa beltà caduca e frale,
Come immagin del altra eterna e vera
Che pura scese dal più puro cielo.
Questa sia mia, e d'altri l'ombra e'l velo;
Ch'al mio amor a mia fè saldo ed intera
Poca mercè saria pregio mortale."

Digitized by Google

much esteem for the author, that, wishing to secure his services, he offered him the appointment of his confidential secretary. Tasso could not decline such a proposal; he immediately repaired to Salerno, where he was received in the most flattering manner, loaded with gifts and presented with a pension for his life. Delighted with his position, he repaid the kindness of his patron by the assiduity he displayed in his service; he was well skilled in business, and had a peculiar talent for state correspondence; his leisure hours were devoted to poetry, and his productions were read with delight by the prince, and the princess Isabella. Even the tumult of war did not prevent him from indulging in this favourite recreation. He composed some verses during the siege of Tunis, to which he accompanied Sanseverino, and where he distinguished himself by his gallantry in several engagements.

After this expedition, which obtained him fresh favours from the prince, being sent by him on an important mission to Spain, he obtained leave on his return to pass some time at Venice, where he put forth a new collection of his works. After his return to Salerno, the prince and Isabella procured him a brilliant alliance with Portia de Rossi, whose beauty and talents were not inferior to her rank and fortune. They permitted him to retire with her to Sorrento, still retaining his appointment of secretary to the prince. In this delightful spot, where nothing seemed wanting to his felicity, he began his great work of Amadis, at the request of Sanseverino and some Spanish nobles.

He had successively become the father of three children; his eldest, a son, who died in infancy, a daughter, Cornelia, and the subject of these memoirs, who was born on the 11th of March, 1544. His father was absent at the time of his birth, having been obliged to follow Sanseverino to the war, which commenced that year in Piedmont, between the Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. King of France. Bernardo reluctantly tore himself from his family, and his peaceful studies, to encounter again the din of arms. Before he joined the army, he requested his friend, Don Ernardo di Torres, to become sponsor to the child, whose birth was expected, in case it should prove a son. As soon as the event was announced to Don Ernardo, he hastened to Salerno for the ceremony, which took place in the Archiepiscopal church, and the infant received the name of Torquato, which he was destined to immortalize.

The talent he displayed in after life may incline us to yield some credit to the extraordinary circumstances that are related of his infancy; we are told, that, at six months old, he began to speak, and that not like other children, but with a perfect articulation (which we may observe was the more remarkable, as he had, in after life, a sort of hesitation in his speech); from his earliest infancy he was always serious, was rarely known to cry, and never to laugh. These, and many other traits, being related on the authority of persons who heard them from his nurse, will require some allowance.

When Bernardo returned from Flanders, his joy was extreme on beholding a son, who, at ten months old, already showed symptoms of precocity of intellect. He was not, however, long allowed to enjoy

Digitized by Google

the happiness of being with his wife and family in their beloved home at Sorrento. The prince required his presence at Salerno, and thither they were obliged to remove. He still, however, found time, in the intervals of business, to proceed with his poem, and to watch over the opening minds of his children, in whom he took a daily increasing interest and delight.

Two years passed away in this manner; that of 1547 was marked by the insurrection at Naples, and from thence all his calamities took their date. The viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, had formed the project of establishing the dreadful tribunal of the Inquisition at Naples. His pretext was to prevent the introduction of the new German doctrines; but his true motive, according to Muratori, was to wreak his vengeance on his enemies, under the cloak of religion, and to make himself formidable to the nobility, by whom he was hated, and whom he dared not attack by any other means.

The edict of the Emperor had no sooner been placarded, than the people, countenanced by the nobility, rose in tumult and tore it down. The viceroy proclaimed the town to be in a state of rebellion, which only increased the disorder. The Neapolitans entreated the Prince of Salerno to lay their case before the Emperor, and to prevail on him not to persist in his design to introduce the Inquisition into their state. The prince hesitated; some of his friends advised him not to undertake so hazardous a service; but the opinion of Bernardo Tasso, who thought he ought not to neglect such an opportunity of benefiting his country and the cause of humanity, prevailed, and he accepted the mission. Unfortunately he was not aware of the importance of despatch, and, by lingering on his journey, he gave the viceroy time to represent the insurrection in his own way, and to apprize the Emperor of the embassy. Charles, seeing the danger of encouraging rebellion among his subjects, and influenced by the representation of the viceroy, received the ambassadors coldly; but the prince, hoping he might at length be induced to listen to their petition, wrote to Bernardo, who had remained at Salerno, to join him at the court of Spain, and assist him with his advice. Bernardo was much grieved to leave his family; he confided, however, in the care and judgment of Portia, and having placed Torquato under the tuition of Don Giovanni Angeluzzo, an ecclesiastic of much learning and amiable character, he set out without delay. His talents for business were well known at the court of Spain, and conduced much to the success the prince finally obtained, though after long and vexatious delays. After he had been there some time, seeing no prospect of his return, he wrote a letter to Portia containing some excellent directions for the education of his children. The whole letter, which is published in his works, is too long for insertion, but some extracts will be interesting, as they show how much care was taken to form the mind of Torquato to everything good and excellent.

"The Giver of all goodness has been pleased to endow our children (if my parental affection does not deceive me) with excellences, both of body and mind; but, to bring them to perfection they have need of culture. Habit is soon changed into nature, and we must study while the tree is young and pliant to direct its bent aright. As letters impressed on the bark of a sapling are still visible when it becomes a tree, so the lessons and examples imprinted on the tender mind of youth will never be

Digitized by Google

effaced. If we suffer them to receive hurtful impressions, no care or efforts in after life can repair the mischief . . . . . Our first object must be to implant in their hearts just thoughts of God, that they may learn to love and honour Him from whom they receive life and every blessing. Study to fill them with the fear of Him, not a slavish dread, but a reverent fear of displeasing Him, which may be intimately mingled with love . . . . .

"I have spoken of *manners*, by which I mean that, in all they say and do, they should be taught to observe a certain modesty and decorum, which will not only please the wise, but command respect from all. . . . . .

"You must watch carefully, that no bad example, no profane or immodest word, no dishonest or shameful act, should ever strike the eye or reach the ear of our children. Let them not enter any house where a pure and holy faith is not held. . . . I must warn you against the error into which most mothers fall, who, seeking only the present gratification of their children, and not suffering any one to controul their wishes, give them over an easy prey to vice, and make their pleasures and senses their tyrants. Not that I wish you to go into the other extreme. Fear is a weak and helpless guardian of virtue. If the children commit small faults, appear not to observe them; if such as, though not of much importance, ought to be noticed, reprove them with kindness: but should they be guilty of any serious fault, withdraw from them your wonted expressions of fondness, and let your behaviour show steady, serious disapprobation."

A letter from him is also preserved to Angeluzzo, thanking him for his attention to his little Torquato, and concluding with an urgent request to write him a minute account of all the child did, "*Che non potreste credere il diletto ch'io ne prendo.*"

At length, after more than a year's residence at the court, Sanseverino obtained from Charles a general pardon for the Neapolitans, and the restitution of their arms and artillery, which had been taken from them, only imposing a fine of 100,000 ducats as a penalty for having risen in arms against him. He himself was permitted to return to Naples; but cautioned not to interfere in public affairs, in order to avoid any collision with the viceroy.

On his return, he was received at Naples with a species of triumph; an immense cavalcade met him without the gates of the city, and conducted him to his palace. A few days afterwards he was imprudent enough to allow a much more numerous procession to accompany him when he went to pay his respects to the viceroy. Don Pedro dissembled his indignation, and received him amicably, though he forbore to allude to his embassy, and Sanseverino returned on the following day to Salerno.

But the viceroy's hatred of him was increased tenfold by the popularity he enjoyed. He displayed it in various arbitrary and vexatious proceedings against him. On one occasion the prince appealed to the emperor, who wrote to Don Pedro, commanding him to treat the Prince of Salerno with more respect. At length, after three years of contention, the son of the viceroy, Don Garcia, determined to rid his father of so obnoxious an enemy, and employed for this purpose a man of some condition at Salerno, and noted for his skill in the use of firearms, but of weak intellect. He was easily wrought upon to believe that the death of the prince was necessary for the honour of their house. Accordingly, he laid wait for him, on his return on horseback from Naples, and took aim at his breast; but Sanseverino's horse, having been accidentally frightened, reared at the instant, and the ball struck him below the knee. The assassin was seized and tortured.

Digitized by Google

There appeared reason to suspect not only that Don Garcia had instigated him to the deed, but that the viceroy himself was privy to it; and Sanseverino, after such a proof of the malignity of his enemies, feeling that there was no security for his life, resolved to go in person to demand justice of the emperor.

Bernardo Tasso, who had for some time been allowed to pursue his favourite occupations, and superintend the education of his children without interruption, was now again summoned to accompany the prince. Foreseeing that his absence might be long, he removed his family to Naples, in order that Portia might have the solace of being near her mother and her other relations, and that Torquato, who already showed great talents and extraordinary application, might have the advantage of more able instructors. Having arranged this, he took his departure with the prince. Passing through Venice, where many of the Neapolitan malcontents had sought refuge, Sanseverino was strongly tempted by their solicitations, and by the offers that were made him on the part of the king of France, to withdraw his allegiance from the emperor, and join the party of his opponent. Bernardo used all his influence to dissuade him from such a step, and the prince, convinced by his arguments, adhered to his first intention, and proceeded on his journey as far as Padua, where the state of his wound, which had become inflamed by travelling, compelled him to stop. He despatched a messenger to the emperor to explain the cause of his delay, and to request a safe conduct, which Charles refused to grant. Irritated and alarmed, he resolved to accede to the overtures that had been made him at Venice; and, returning thither, he lost no time in communicating his purpose to the French ambassador, and openly declared for the king of France—a step which, however blameable, was, in some measure, excused by the treatment he had received.

Don Pedro was overjoyed to find himself at liberty to indulge his malice against the prince. He immediately proclaimed him a rebel, seized his principality and his estates, and included in his sentence of banishment and confiscation of property all the accomplices in his rebellion.

Tasso, after a short deliberation, determined not to abandon the prince, whom he had faithfully served for two-and-twenty years, at the moment he had most need of him, and was thus involved in his ruin. Sanseverino immediately despatched him to the court of France to negociate the terms of his adherence to that sovereign. Henry declared Sanseverino captain-general of the expedition against Naples, and engaged to appoint him viceroy of that kingdom should he succeed in conquering it. He assigned him an annual pension of 2,500 ducats till he should be restored to his estates; he made him governor of Tarascona and Belcario; he promised to each of his gentlemen a suitable provision, and to Bernardo an office in the government of Naples.

These prospects consoled Bernardo for the present ruin of his affairs, though the painful situation in which his beloved wife was placed gave him great uneasiness. He did all in his power to cheer and comfort her by letters full of affection, and holding out to her the hopes that they should soon be reunited. Portia, supported by this, and by the

Digitized by Google

energy of her character, bore up with courage, devoting herself to the care of her children, especially of young Torquato, who had now completed his seventh year. The society of Jesuits had recently established themselves at Naples, and had opened a school there, to which Torquato was sent. He immediately began to study with such eagerness, that he always rose before day-break, sometimes in the night, entreating to be allowed to go to his master. In the course of three years he not only acquired a perfect knowledge of Latin, of which he had learned the rudiments from his tutor, but had made considerable progress in Greek, and composed and publicly recited poems and orations which excited the astonishment of all who heard them. The zealous fathers cultivated in him the piety that we have seen his parents anxious to instil even in his infancy. In one of his letters from St. Anne he describes his feelings when, at nine years old, they permitted him to partake the holy Sacrament; and we cannot doubt that the impression which remained after so many years must have influenced his character and conduct throughout life.

Bernardo Tasso was in the meantime detained at Paris, occupied in inducing Henry to make the meditated attack on Naples. He employed for this purpose the talents of a poet as well as those of a negotiator, and endeavoured by his verses to inflame the ambition of the king, and give him hopes of an easy victory. Henry commenced his preparations for the enterprise; but, as it could not take place till the spring, Tasso retired to St. Germain, where he passed the winter in continuing his poem, and in celebrating the charms of Margaret de Valois, whose beauty and grace were then the theme of every poet.

But when spring came, Henry seemed to have abandoned all thoughts of the expedition against Naples. Bernardo, weary with his fruitless negotiations, and finding his hopes of rejoining his family still deferred, earnestly implored the prince to send some one to supply his place at the court of France, and permit him to go to Rome, where he hoped that Portia and her children could join him without difficulty. She had suffered much from his lengthened absence, and from the rapacity and unkindness of her brothers, and continually urged him to return, and free her from their persecutions.

Sanseverino granted his request, but recommended him to continue there yet some time longer, as the king of France had promised to give him an appointment. He remained, therefore, till the close of the year, when, finding his expectations still unfulfilled, he took his departure, and, in spite of the severity of the season, reached home in February, 1564.

In order to prevent any opposition to the departure of Portia from Naples, he feigned that he had quitted the service of the prince of Salerno. This was the more expedient, as the imperialists had prevailed on the Pope, Julius III., to banish all the Neapolitan rebels from Rome; it was therefore necessary for him to have an express permission to remain, which was courteously granted, and he began to make glad preparations for the reception of his family. Unforeseen impediments, however, arose. Portia's brothers, who had got possession of her portion, would not suffer her to quit Naples. Bernardo, in order to emancipate her from their control, took measures for her admit-

Digitized by Google

tance into a convent until such time as he could succeed in removing her from Naples, and gave orders that his son should join him at Rome, under the care of his tutor, Angeluzzo. How painful the parting was, both to the mother and the child, we may infer from the affecting lines written many years afterwards.* Manzo mentions having seen a sonnet addressed to his mother, and written at the time of their separation; but it has not been preserved.

It was in October, 1564, that he joined his father at Rome. The fond parent seemed to forget all his misfortunes in the happiness of seeing his beloved child once more, though to all his disappointments and anxieties a severe illness, which lasted many months, was now added.

At this time, his relation, Il Cavalier G. Jacopo Tasso, hearing that he was settled at Rome, wished to confide the education of his second son, Christoforo, to him. Bernardo was pleased that Torquato should have a companion in his studies and amusements, and willingly undertook the charge, promising to watch over him with the attention of a parent. His letters to the Cavalier contain many details of the studies of the two boys. In one he says—

"Cristoforo is well, and advances in learning, but more from the constant assiduity of his tutor, than from natural inclination. He has great quickness of parts, but is not fond of study. Torquato, who is devoted to it, serves him as a spur. . . . The boys love each other like brothers. I know not how I shall ever be able to separate them!"

Bernardo continued to make fruitless attempts to obtain permission for his wife and daughter to leave Naples without forfeiting the portion she had brought him on their marriage, and which was their only provision, except a small pension which he received from the prince of Salerno. At length the accession of Paul IV., in whose favour he stood high, gave him hopes not only of speedily accomplishing this long-desired object, but of obtaining some important office under his government. What must, then, have been his grief, when informed of the sudden death of his beloved Portia, a grief which seems to have been increased by dreadful suspicions which crossed his mind as to the cause of her death. He writes to the prince of Salerno, reproaching himself for having left her in the power of their enemies, and grieving over the manner of her death, whether caused by anguish of mind *or poison.*

His first care, after this calamity, was to withdraw his daughter Cornelia from the custody of her unnatural relations. She was about fifteen, and, both in mind and person, the living image of her mother;

---

* Ma dal sen della Madre impia Fortuna
Pargoletto divolsa: Ah! di que' baci
Ch' ella bagna di lagrima dolenti
Con sospir mi remembra, e degli ardenti
Preghi, che sen portan l' aure fugace
Ch'io giunger non dovea più volto a volto
Fra quelle braccia accolto
Con nodi così stretti e sì tenaci.
Lasso! e seguí con mal sicuro piante,
Qual Ascanio o Camilla il padre errante.

Digitized by Google

and he felt that her presence would be his best solace. But here again his cruel destiny prevailed. Her uncles disposed of her in marriage to a gentleman at Naples without the consent or knowledge of her father; and they instituted a process to deprive Torquato of the inheritance of his mother's property, on the pretext, that, by having joined his father at Rome, he became implicated in his rebellion.

How constantly Bernardo's thoughts dwelt on the lost object of his affections may be seen from the sonnets (forty-nine in number) and the canzoni which are to be found in his works on this subject, and which are little inferior in sweetness and pathos to those of "Petrarch" on the death of Laura. I have inserted two specimens in the note.* They awoke in Torquato, whose admiration for his father's productions was heightened by his sympathy in the feelings they expressed, the ambition to distinguish himself as a poet, and to devote his life to that object.

Bernardo now formed the project of taking the ecclesiastical habit, and solicited the king of France to confer on him some benefice in his dominions. The request did not meet with immediate attention, and circumstances soon occurred which put an end to this design.

A war broke out between the pope and the emperor. The duke of Alva, then viceroy of Naples, marched on Rome, and took possession of Ostia and Tivoli. Rome was not in a state to make any resistance, and Bernardo, fearing to fall into the hands of the imperialists, hastened first to provide for the safety of Torquato and his young cousin. He sent the two boys to his relations at Bergamo, under the care of their tutor, Angeluzzo, and then made preparations for removing his little property, intending to take refuge in Venice.

---

* Per quel cammino, onde solevi in vita
Mandare i tuoi pensieri, e'l tuo desio,
Ed umili e devoti innanzi a Dio;
Con cui l'anima tua fu sempre unita,
E sciolta, e destra, e pura al ciel salita,
Al cielo or lieto dell 'affanno mio,
Godi del ben, che morte e tempo rio,
Non pon sotterra, e non consuma e trita;
Ed io son qui rimaso a piànger sempre
Il tuo da noi partir; quasi augelletto,
Ch 'n solitario ramo ogn'or si lagna;
O fida, o del mio cor cara compagnà,
Fa almen talor, che la tua vista tempre
Il mio grave dolor d'alcun diletto.

O più lieve che vento, e più che fiera
Fugace, punta da colpo mortale
Diletto uman, qual fior caduco e frale,
Che vide su 'l mattin, e piange la sèra;
O mondo, stolto è in te certa che spera,
Ov' è sì brieve il ben, sì lungo il male,
Ov' è l'uom quasi fermo segno a strale
Della fortuna dispietata e fiera.
Deh potess' io seguir leggiero e scarco
Lei che nel suo partir portò 'l mio core
Sèco nel cielo, ed ogni speme mia.
I'vo cercando, e non ritrovo il varco
Per girle dietro, e farle compagnia;
Ahi! mondo pien d'inganni è pien d'errore!

Digitized by Google

One day, however, a report was spread abroad that the hostile army was approaching the city, and Tasso, who knew he might expect no mercy from the imperialists, placed the few valuable articles, which now constituted his whole fortune, under the care of a merchant, and hastily removed to Ravenna. He arrived there totally destitute of money, clothes, and means of subsistence, having only carried with him his unfinished poem of "Amadis."

When Guildubaldo, duke of Urbino, heard that Tasso was so near him, and in a state so unworthy of his talents and reputation, he instantly invited him to establish himself at Pesaro, and offered him a delightful country villa, where he might pursue his studies without interruption. Bernardo accepted the kindness of this generous protector of men of letters, and in this peaceful retreat he prepared to complete his "Amadis." He had soon the comfort of hearing that his son had reached Bergamo in safety, and that his relatives had received him with the utmost cordiality. Torquato throughout his life retained a grateful sense of their kindness, and a pleasing recollection of the time he had spent at Bergamo. They would not suffer him to depart till the severity of the winter was past, but, in April, 1557, his father had again the comfort of his presence: he had then just completed his thirteenth year. The Duke Guidubaldo noticed him out of regard to his father; but, on perceiving his uncommon understanding, his noble bearing, and the progress he had made in learning, he wished him to be placed under the same masters as his own son, rejoicing in the opportunity of giving the prince a companion who would stimulate him in the pursuit of everything that is excellent. Torquato here perfected his knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and, at the same time, had the advantage of studying mathematics under Commandino, one of the most celebrated mathematicians Italy has produced. That he profited by his lessons, appears from his having filled the chair of mathematical Professor at Ferrara. He also became a proficient in horsemanship, and all the chivalric exercises adapted to his years.

Bernardo had now completed his "Amadis," which was eagerly expected in the literary world. His present patron, the duke of Urbino, being attached to the party of Charles V., and high in his favour, used all his influence to induce him to dedicate the poem to that monarch, hoping that, when propitiated by such a homage, he would grant him a pardon, and the restitution of his property. Bernardo long resisted this, considering himself bound to the party of his opponent. But the neglect with which he was treated by the French king, and the non-payment of his slender pension from the prince of Salerno, drew from him a reluctant consent. "The very thought of such a change," he says, in a letter to a friend, "is painful to me. I feel like a serpent moving under the spell of an enchanter. Necessity is my tyrant. If I thought," he writes, at another time, "that leaving the service of the prince of Salerno would compromise my honour, not even my distress should induce me to do it. But to follow his fortunes I have sacrificed my time, my property, my peace of mind, the life of my Portia, and now, under some pretext, he withholds from me the slender pension he had assigned me. What would have become of me but for the kindness of some friends here?"

Digitized by Google

As there were many passages in the poem in praise of the king of France and Margaret of Valois, it was necessary to remodel great part of it, which cost him much labour. At last he completed it, and, having been furnished by the Duke Guildubaldo with the means of printing it, he went to Venice for that purpose, leaving Torquato to continue his studies. He was almost immediately offered the situation of chancellor, or secretary, to the university in that city, with a handsome salary. His talents and taste were peculiarly suited to the situation, which required a person qualified to conduct the literary correspondence the university maintained with most other learned bodies in Europe; and he rejoiced in the society of the illustrious members, and above all in thus being able to extricate himself from the heavy yoke of court service to which he had now submitted so many years. Having, therefore, accepted the appointment, he engaged a commodious house, and summoned Torquato to join him. The good duke regretted that his son should be deprived of such a companion, and dismissed young Tasso with rich presents, and a promise of his future favour.

When Torquato arrived in Venice his father took the direction of his studies. He particularly recommended him to make himself acquainted with the best Italian authors, both in prose and verse, thinking it absurd to be better versed in foreign literature than in that of his native country.

Torquato delighted much in these pursuits. He assisted his father in transcribing his poem of "Amadis," and was intrusted by him with nearly the whole labour of correcting and preparing for the press a volume of his smaller poems, and another of his letters, which greatly contributed to form his style and taste. He studied the three great fathers of Italian literature,—Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio,—and, above all, Dante, with the most patient attention. A copy of that author is still preserved in a private library at Pesaro, full of his observations and notes; and frequent imitations of him may be traced in his works. He composed, both in prose and rhyme, with such exquisite taste, that his father's literary friends at Venice already prophesied he would become one of the greatest ornaments of his age, and his father conceived the same hopes; but, knowing from experience that little besides empty fame is the meed of a poet, he wished him to render himself independent by some more lucrative profession, and for that purpose to apply himself to the study of the law.

Torquato, in obedience to his father, entered the University at Padua when little more than seventeen, and applied himself to the study of civil law; but, after a vain attempt to overcome his repugnance, he yielded to his fondness for the pursuits he had quitted at Venice, and, unknown to his father, commenced his poem of "Rinaldo."

Bernardo, by the intercession of the duke of Urbino, had obtained a pardon from the catholic king, though not the restitution of his property. He now sent him a magnificent copy of his work, which he had dedicated to him; but the homage which had cost him so dear failed to produce any effect. Not the slightest notice was ever vouchsafed of the poet or his work.

The "Amadis" was first printed in 1561. Whilst smarting under the

Digitized by Google

ill success of his endeavour to obtain the favour he had hoped from the emperor, he was informed that his son, whom he supposed to be studying law, had, in ten months, completed an epic poem! It was not a moment when he was disposed to look with much complacency on such a deviation from the course he wished him to pursue, or to feel much hope that the one he was entering upon would place him beyond the reach of those cares which had bowed down his own spirit. But he was a wise and affectionate father, and, knowing it was useless to oppose so strong a bent, he permitted him to abandon his legal studies and devote himself to that of letters. Torquato's joy at receiving his father's sanction to his wishes was extreme; he immediately submitted his poem to the judgment of two eminent literary men he had known at Venice, who not only highly approved it, but used their influence with Bernardo to consent that it should be published. His reply is marked with his characteristic good sense. "As to the printing of Torquato's poem, I submit to your opinion, though my fondness for him and anxiety for his fame inclines me to a contrary one. I know that the poem will appear extraordinary for so young a man, both for the invention, the style, and gleams of poetical genius; but I could have wished to see the whole, and to have considered it attentively, before deciding on its publication. However, it is useless to oppose the inclinations of youth, which, like a torrent, bear down all before them, especially when his design is sanctioned by such a judicious friend as yourself. I will, therefore, only ask your aid and that of our other friends to see that it is printed correctly."

The poem was first printed at Venice in 1562, and dedicated to the cardinal Luigi D'Este, who had shown a disposition to befriend both the father and the son. An heroic poem in twelve cantos which displayed skill and judgment in the design, imagination in the story, and talent in the style, written by a youth of eighteen, filled Italy with wonder and admiration, and obtained universal applause.

He now applied himself with more ardour than ever to the study of literature and philosophy; he attended the lectures of Sigonio on Aristotle's poetics. He assisted at private discussions on subjects of philosophy and literature which were held at the house of Sperone Speroni. After some time he received an invitation from the senate of Bologna to become a member of the university they had lately re-opened, and to which they were anxious to restore its former reputation. He accordingly went thither, and distinguished himself much, both in the exercises of the university, and in private assemblies, by the skill and facility with which he discussed literary and philosophical subjects.

From the time he went to Padua he had conceived the idea of an epic poem on the subject of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, under the command of Godfrey of Boulogne. He had already determined the number of characters, and imagined the different episodes. At Bologna he began to execute some parts of his design. Three cantos of this first sketch are preserved among the manuscripts of Urbino in the library of the Vatican. They were dedicated to the Duke of Urbino. He was then only nineteen, but many of the stanzas, which in his maturer age he judged worthy of a place in his finished work, have all the dignity of style so remarkable in his later productions.

Digitized by Google

An unexpected insult induced him to leave Bologna—a severe satire, in which some of the first persons in that city were attacked, had been privately circulated. Tasso himself was rudely handled by the anonymous author, but was so little piqued that he repeated, jestingly, to his friends, passages he had retained in his memory. Others, however, did not see the matter in so amusing a light, and the young poet was accused of being the author of the satire. In his absence the local authorities seized and carried away his books and papers; finding nothing to criminate him, they returned them. But this public affront on such slight grounds for suspicion, disgusted him with Bologna, and he immediately quitted it to join his father at the court of Mantua, whither he had lately gone on the invitation of the duke, and obtained the situation of confidential secretary to that prince.

When Torquato arrived at Modena he learned that his father had just left that place for Rome. He was received by the counts Rangoni, intimate friends of his father, and their kindness soon effaced the mortification he experienced at the insult that had been offered him. Among the companions of his studies at Padua, Scipio de Gonzaga, (afterwards cardinal) had evinced a particular friendship for him. He no sooner heard the cause of his leaving Bologna than he sent him a pressing invitation to Padua. He had established an academy in his own palace, and he wished his young friend to become the ornament of it. Tasso yielded to his request; he was welcomed with the warmest affection, and received as a member of the academy, in which he took (in compliance with the affected custom of those days) the name of Pentilo—according to Manzo expressive of regret for the time wasted in studying law, but, more probably, as Serassi conjectures, for having left Padua, where he had experienced much kindness, for Bologna, whose inhabitants had treated him with such indignity.

He now returned with fresh interest to his philosophical studies under his former master. Aristotle's Ethics and Politics occupied his attention as well as the Poetics. And he plunged into the depth of Plato's Philosophy, so analogous to his character and taste, and of which all that he has written, whether in verse or prose, bears the stamp.

He did not lose sight of his "Goffredo," as he first entitled his poem. On the contrary, all his studies, his researches, and his meditations, were in some way connected with that great object. He was still undecided whether to compose his work according to the strict rules of epic poetry, or to follow the crowd of Italian poets, in the romantic style. Whilst hesitating which course to take, he embodied his reflections in three treatises on poetry, and especially epic poetry, which he addressed to Scipio di Gonzaga, but they were not published till many years afterwards. The age of the author, and the motives that led to their composition, render them valuable. Treatises on such subjects are often theories formed by poets to justify their practice. But here we have the deliberations of a young poet—and that poet, Tasso, who, before starting for the goal, examines carefully and candidly which of the beaten tracks he shall follow.

During the vacation of the University, he visited his father, now returned to Mantua. We may imagine the joy of the old man at the

Digitized by Google

sight of his son, after a long absence, during which he had acquired so much celebrity; his parental pride in witnessing his acquirements, and in hearing the plan of his great work. The author of "Amadis," would perhaps have felt some pain in seeing any other poet starting with such prospects of success. But, as Torquato himself records, it was his pride to be eclipsed by his son, and he rejoiced that the motives which induced him to make his "Amadis" a poetical romance, rather than a regular epic poem, had not deterred Torquato from following the steps of Homer and Virgil, in which he had already advanced so far, that the palm of modern epic poetry might even now be considered as his own.

On returning to Padua, Torquato was apprized that the Cardinal Luigi d'Este had appointed him one of the Gentlemen of his household, and wished to see him at Ferrara before the arrival of his brother's bride, Barbara, Arch-duchess of Austria, who was shortly expected. Sperone, who was discontented with the treatment he had received at the court of Rome, endeavoured to dissuade him from accepting the appointment, representing to him the perils to which an inexperienced youth must be exposed, and the calumny and persecution which superior merit never fails to undergo in courts. Tasso, even if convinced by these arguments, felt that no alternative presented itself by which he could maintain himself in a manner suited to his birth. He therefore took an affectionate leave of his friends, especially of Scipio, and left Padua to the great regret of the whole University.

At Mantua he was seized with so severe an illness, that his life was despaired of, but his youth and the skill of the physician triumphed over the disorder, and he was soon able to proceed to the court of the Cardinal.

(To be continued.)

ANTHONY-A-WOOD, AND OXFORD.

No. II.

Continued from page 437.

In our present paper we shall make a selection of some of A. W.'s strong points, and string them together, "like, but not the same:" and all to show that the Oxford Antiquary well deserves the kind and the degree of affectionate and pleasant memory, which his name has enjoyed since his death; and we were never in better heart for the task than now. *Now*—when intense interest has been fixed on Oxford, for these ten years past, by the most beautiful, and, at the same time, most scholarly and erudite work in the walk of Topographical and Architectural research of its day—the President of Trinity's "Memorials:" when all Europe and Christendom are looking, with anxious

Digitized by Google

interest, on the tone of thought prevailing there; and when all judgments, however discordant, agree at least in the *importance* to all mankind of its present struggles and strivings. But we must not let our enthusiastic prognostications of the future wile us away from the business in hand.

There has been a sort of book published of late years, by a sort of writer, whom for the most part we should elect not to imitate. But there has been in that sort of book a droll summary of chapters, something in this fashion. Suppose the writer were giving the life, times, opinions, and so forth of some Anabaptist tinker, who sent himself into what the writer calls "the ministry." Then there come chapters of The Tinker's birth—The Tinker in the army—The Tinker's marriage—The Tinker's call to the ministry—The Tinker's second wife, and the Tinker's sayings and doings in other relations of life and circumstances, *ad libitum*. The said sort of writer may now congratulate himself on an imitator in a quarter totally, we doubt not, unlooked for, if not misliked. We are going to epitomize our Oxford Antiquary, though he did escape being a tinker and Anabaptist, in sundry paragraphs, of which the first shall treat upon—

1. *His Rambles.*—Now, before going to his serious rambles after antiquities, according to his "*esurient genie*," let us just give, as part of the portrait of the man, the fact, that his first ramble was to a wake at Shabbington, in his twenty-first year. But "the horse of A. W. being bad, or else that he was no good rider;"—or, to suggest a third explanation, which we have understood is not unwarranted by modern experience at Oxford, perhaps *both* those suppositions being true, "he had a fall, and put out his arme," and, after staying a week at Thame, "at length came home in a most afflicted condition." This injury was eased at last by a bone-setter, who, while A. W. cast his head aside, "plucked the arme straight and set it," at the cost of a "great sown," *i. e.* swoon, to A. W. This mishap, and the forgetfulness of the rule of the Schola Salernitana,

> "Unica nux prodest, nocet altera, tertia mors est,"

which we quoted in the first of these papers, might have cured a less vivacious lover of free air and exercise of his rambles for mere sport. But not even his "sedulous and close studying in the public library," and his "conversing with books not used by the vulgar students," could quench, at the age of twenty-three, the spirit of quaintness and ramble, which afterwards issued in directions so valuable to us. So, in 1654, we find him saying, on the review of after and soberer years, "A. W. having by this time obtain'd proficiency in musick, he and his companions were not without silly frolicks not now to be maintained." And of what sort these were, his original diary explains, thus;—

Digitized by Google

"Having by this time got some musical acquaintance, a frolick by all meanes must be taken by us; and what should it be but to disguise ourselves in poore habits, and like country fiddlers scrape for our livings! Farringdon fair *this yeare* was the place destined to go to. And all of us (five in number) lodging in a house in Magd. parish," [which used to stand at the north end of the church-yard, and has now been many years removed,] "belonging to one Gregorie, a chandler, wee sate out very early the next morning, and calling first on Mr. Th. Latton's house at Kingston Bakepuze, wee bid him good morrow by 2 or 3 tunes. He came in the hall among us, listned to our musick, gave us money, and ordered drink to be carried to us. After wee had done with him wee returned to the In, standing" [and to this day, as will be well remembered by all west-country men who knew Oxford before the opening of the G. W. R., still standing] "on the road going to Farringdon, dined there, and after dinner wee were entertain'd by some of the neighbours, who danc'd (as I remember) in the green, gave us some money and victualls, and I think we return'd very late that evening to Oxon. The names of those in this exploit were, myself and Will. Bull, before mention'd, who played on the violins, Edm. Gregorie, B.A. and Gent. com. of Mert. Coll., who play'd on the Bass Viol, Joh Nap, of Trinity, on the Citerne, and George Mason, of the said Coll. on another wyer instrument, *but could do nothing*. Soon after wee took another voyage northward, called at Hampton Poyle, playd at Mr. West's house, had some money but more drink. Afterwards wee went (I think) to Kidlington, got something there, returned in the evening, and certain soldiers overtaking us, they, by force, made us play in the open field, and then left us without giving a peany. Most of my companions would afterwards glory in this, but I was ashamed, and could never endure to hear of it."

Nevertheless, we can well "endure to hear of it," and such like episodes in his thoughtful life, before time and wear and hard work, and some of the hardnesses of life had made him a wiser man.

His first ramble as an Oxford ecclesiologist was to Wolvercot. "April 30, 1657, he began his perambulation of Oxfordshire: and the monuments in Wolvercot church were the first that he surveyed and transcribed," &c. This he followed up by a visit in the autumn to that great, and then, and since, neglected church, "Dorchester, seven miles distant from Oxon"—*nine* according to modern measurement. And, says he,—

"A. W. could not but here acknowledge his own weakness, you may call it folly if you please, as being startled at his first sight of this most antient city, famous for its being a station of the Romanes, for its entertaining S. Birinus, and afterwards giving him burial. The church is larg and antique, and both contained many monuments of antiquity, *which are since spoiled and defaced.*"

In British and in Roman times, Dorchester was a place of note. Few places in England are to this day so fruitful of coins as Dorchester and its neighbourhood. And in our own time we believe the memory of its pagan conquerors is preserved by the village expression for searching for the coins—"going *Cæsaring.*" But our affections are all for something later and better. In the latter part of the first half of the seventh century, not much later than the great mission of Augustine, came S. Birinus to Dorchester. Here he converted and baptized Cyne-

Digitized by Google

gild, and became bishop—first bishop of the see of Dorchester. Here, after fourteen years' episcopate, he died, and was buried: and here for more than four centuries, with one interruption made by the avoidance of Agilbertus, the successor of Birinus, in consequence of his dislike to the founding of the see of Winton, continued a cathedral church. In 1070, S. Remigius removed the chair to Lincoln; and in Henry VIII.'s time, the last trace of its ancient dignity was removed from Dorchester, by its severance from the see of Lincoln, on the founding of the bishopric of Oxford. But that great prince and his son, though not perhaps much concerned in the extirpation of ancient associations, where the extirpation did not leave money behind; and therefore probably not very anxious about the abolition of any theoretical connexion, still dwelling in the minds of their subjects, between Lincoln and Dorchester; yet, when the *diva pecunia* was to be placed in their reach, did their work, as we all know, very clearly, and totally without qualms.

In 1554, the piety of Richard Beauforest—his name ought to be had in remembrance—gave to the people of Dorchester *what his money had bought*, the once cathedral church. His will, dated that year, has this—

"Item, I bequeath the Abbey Church of Dorchester, *which I have bought*, and the implements thereof, to the paryshe of Dorchester aforesaid, so that the said parishioners shall not sell, alter, or alienate the said church, implements, or anye part or pell thereof withoute the consente of my heires and executors."*

So that for their present church, the parishioners of Dorchester are indebted to the pious death-thought of an individual, who had saved it from the effects of a species of piety more popular as well as regal. But what if Richard Beauforest's "heires" were *now* one day to give their consent to the alienation of the Abbey church? With what face could any existing regal or spiritual authority give hindrance to the restitution of the property, to the disposal of the representatives of the man who bought it from a king, unhindered by a bishop? By what tenure is Dorchester church now a parish church? The church was desecrated; it was seized, that is to say, by the crown, and sold like a rick of hay or a palace. Then it was private property, wholly without reference to ALMIGHTY GOD. A pious individual restores it—not to GOD, but to the people. There seems to be no thought in his mind of new dedication or reconciliation. It might not have been necessary. But he gives it *sub conditione:* and if the gift is accepted, it follows that the condition is too; so, for anything we see, the result of the miserable sacrilege is, that the people of Dorchester

* "Skelton's Illustrations of Oxfordshire," Dorchester Hundred, page 9; where is an excellent account of Dorchester, to which we are largely indebted here.

Digitized by Google

might, under possible circumstances, sell their church for any purpose they please, next week.

In this once glorious church A. W. wandered and made collections. And we can assure all "church-hunters" that they will find even now more than enough to repay them. Will any one who goes there after reading this paper, observe an Altar-tomb on the south side of the chancel, and consider the case between Leland and Mr. Britton. Leland says,—

"There lyith at the feet of the knight" (whose tomb he had been speaking of) "one Stoner, sometime a judge (as apperith by his habit) in the reign of King Edward III."

Mr. Britton says, in the "Beauties of England and Wales," in the Oxfordshire volume, speaking of this tomb, and this account of it, that Leland (as also Stukely,) fell into a strange mistake, and that—

"The figure thus described is evidently a lady."

We have ourselves visited the tomb: and are quite sure that "the figure thus described" is most truly described, and is *not* a a lady. Mr. Britton's only grounds for contradicting Leland are the features and dress. And the dress is precisely that circumstance which Leland, who lived near three hundred years closer to Edward III.'s day than Mr. Britton, pitched upon to show decisively, not that the figure was *a* man, but, *Judge* Stoner. And the shields on the side of the tomb bear the ancient and present coat of Stonor, as now borne by Lord Camoys—two bars indented, and a chief. We hope we have now given some temptation in the direction of Dorchester. We will say no more of it now than what A. W. afterwards said of Ensham Abbey,—"The place hath yet some *ruins* to show, and to instruct the pensive beholder with an exemplary frailty."

Another ramble of A. W. takes us to "Bartlemas," that is, to St. Bartholomew's Hospital by Cowley Marsh; and he tells the story so prettily, that we will abridge him but little:—

"December 24, 1657, at about eleven or twelve at noon (Merton College bells being then ringing) Will. Bull, Fellow of All-Souls' Coll., and Hen. Hawley, Fellow of Oriel, were with A. W. at his lodging near Merton Coll., and smiling upon him and upon each other, they told him he must walk with them to St. Barthelmew's Hospital, neare Oxon, and dine there with them and others of his acquaintance, but would not tell him who they were, or upon what account. He went forthwith with them, and coming there about one of the clock, who should be there . . . . but Edmund Gregory, Bach. of Arts, lately Gentleman Com. of Merton Coll.? who, in the evening before, had conveyed thither a young gentlewoman of 15 yeares of age named . . . . Pottinger, of Choulesly neare Wallingford, in Berks, whom he had stolen from her parents. They were married early that morning *in the chapel of S. Barthelmew's Hospital.*"

A. W. does not omit to tell us, that the thing did not turn out well, as is commonly the case under such circumstances.

Now all pedestrian and equestrian Oxonians—a division nearly

Digitized by Google

exhaustive we believe—must remember this little "Chappel of S. Barthelmew's Hospital," on the left of the foot-path going up to Bullingdon. It belongs to Oriel, is disused for service, and was, when we saw it, misused for straw. This litter covered the whole altar-room, as well as we remember: *i. e.* nearly all the space within the screen. Now this savours sadly of the popular anti-christian view. That chapel was given, not to a "congregation" but to God. So, if a congregation cannot now be "formed" to attend in it, yet the dedication remains, and it is God's house, and should not be polluted with farming-stock. If Oriel wish to give their tenant a barn, and the room must be had, let them first, at least, obliterate the chapel. But we will hope better things. This little chapel witnessed, in 1657, against the charlatan marriages before magistrates and the like —so hard has it ever been to bring Oxford into sympathy with latitudinarianism. Perhaps, some day we may have the happiness of hearing that the distinguished Society to which it belongs has recalled it from its degradation to its original pious uses, and given to the vale below some such healthful influence as, under the care of the mightiest of that mighty house, has blessed the hill beyond, at Littlemore.

A. W., no doubt, never dreamed of straw standing in the Holy Place, as the image of the Abomination of Desolation, in the chapel of S. Bartholomew. But neither could he foresee that the want of one at Littlemore should be remedied as it now is.

"June 29, 1661, he went to Littlemore, and neare it he found an antient house, called *Mincherie* or *Minchionrea*, that is, the place of Nunns, founded there of old time. But nothing of the chapel or church is there standing."

The President of Trinity says ("Memorials," No. xlvi. St. Alban Hall, p. 4, note):—"Though the nuns had their private chapel and burying-ground on the north side of their convent, yet there is reason to suppose a church or chapel to have existed here, for the use of the inhabitants of the liberty, on or near the site of the new one. In digging the foundation twenty-two bodies were found, all lying east and west; there is also some glebe-land and a *rectory*-house near the spot." He gives also a very spirited wood-cut of the "New Church at Littlemore."

A. W. gives a short notice of Fairford Church, which he surveyed when staying "at Meysey-Hampton, in Gloucestershire, on a visit to his kinsman Hen. Jackson, Bach. of Div. and Rector of that *Towne*." But we have not space for both Fairford and Meysey-Hampton, and must take Meysey-Hampton, though Fairford be of greater mark. Some time after this his kinsman died.

"June 4, 1662, Hen. Jackson, his kinsman, Rector of Meyseyhampton, died, and next day A. W. went thither and gave his assisting hand to lay him in his grave. He was one of the first learned acquaintances that A. W. had; and being delighted in his company, he did for the last three years of his life constantly visit every summer, continue with him four or five dayes,

Digitized by Google

and heare his stories with delight that he would tell him, concerning divers learned men of the universitie and his college (Corp. Chr.) that lived and flourished when he was a young man."

How much of the Athenæ et Fasti may we not owe to that "sweet and voluble discourse" in the quiet parsonage of Meysey-Hampton. We believe the house, though altered and added to, to be mainly in the same condition as when A. W. visited in it. It is the very model of a parsonage; and we will engage to say never looked better than it does at this day. And, we must add, that the parsonage is not more cared for than the church, which is a very beautiful small cross structure. The careful scraping and cleaning of the sedilia and fenestella, the restoration of the early English windows in the transept, the cleaning and bringing out the grain of the old roof, the removal of disfiguring monuments,—all these excellent things have been effected under the care and at the charge, chiefly, if not wholly, of the ladies at the rectory.* May all A. W.'s haunts meet with like care and restoration!

2. But we will now set down one peculiarity in A. W., and one curious incident, before going on to the last and most important item in our list.

Among A. W.'s strong lines of character appears pretty strongly his distaste of the other sex. Not that he appears to have had Oldbuck's kind of reason for it: for the woods of Notley and Thame are not mentioned by him, as having furnished him with walking-sticks, when he did not "expect always to have been a bachelor." His "genie" for antiquities, and a most studious disposition added to it, shut him out from other thoughts, and so he became, to use an expression of his own, a little "cynical and hirsute in his manner." He was not fortunate, as Sir W. Scott has painted Oldbuck to be, in having a sister and niece to care for his hospitium: so, on June 26th, 1669, we find him recording that—

"A. W. was dismist from his usual and constant diet which for many yeares he had taken in the house where he was borne and then lived, by the rudeness and barbarity of a brutish woman, of which she afterwards repented, when too late. A. W. was put to his shifts, a great deale of trouble, and knew not what to doe. . . . . This disaster A. W. looked upon as the first and greatest misery of his life. It made him exceedingly melancholy, and more retired," &c.

His whole account of Lady Clayton, the wife of the New Warden of Merton, in 1661, which is too long for us to quote, and too good to abridge, is full of the Oldbuck vein. And its reappearance, at different times, never unamiably, any more than such a vein must be held to be of necessity unamiable, quite gives a colouring to his life, in the most undesigned and unconscious manner possible.

* A very fine lithograph of the Sedilia and Fenestella has been published, by the Cambridge Camden Society, we believe, from a drawing by one of the rector's family.

Digitized by Google

Suppose one fine morning next September, while the Houses of Parliament are engaged in a practical review of the game-laws, and Exeter Hall is in a state of collapse, an announcement should appear in the Record, Sunday Times, or Dispatch newspapers, to the effect, that, at the Mitre Inn, Oxford, a foreign Patriarch, of venerable years, and probably Popish extraction, had been visited by certain theologians and laymen, in order to hear of the new movements in theology in England, and to impart his benediction to those who would receive it, what a coil should we not have! "An Oxford M. A." would fly to the aid of the betrayed establishment: conversations with the boots and chambermaids of that respectable inn would be verified by the asseverations of the waiter: and, by the aid of a "special fund" from the Reformation Society, a bundle of "Anti-patriarchal" tracts might possibly be lodged for distribution in the hands of the barmaid, should that functionary be viewed as yet Protestant. And it is not beyond hope that, if the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor could be persuaded to assert their authority, a temporary residence within the precincts of the ancient Ballium or Castle of Oxford, might be secured for the erratic Bishop. To have it, after all, come out, that the Patriarch was no Patriarch, would, of course, be mortifying. To incarcerate a swindler would be something; but *not* to incarcerate a foreign ecclesiastic, and to lose a capital story against Oxford and English Catholics, would be a sad falling off.

Nous avons changé tout cela. In Anthony-a-Wood's time, things were done a little otherwise. On September 16, 1659,—

"One . . . . . Kinaston, a merchant of London, with a long beard and haire over-grown, was at the Miter Inn, and feigning himself a Patriarch, and that he came to Oxford for a Modell of the last Reformation, divers Royallists repaired to him, and were blest by him, viz. . . . . Joh. Harmer, also, the Greek Professor of the University, appeared very formally, and made a Greek harangue before him. Whereupon some of the company, who knew the design to be waggish, fell a laughing, and betray'd the matter. It was a piece of waggery to impose upon the Royallists, and such as had a mind to be blest by a Patriarch."

But it was not the "Royallists" and "such as had a mind to be blest by a Patriarch" only who went to the charlatan merchant.

"And because the" [pretended] "Deane of Ch. Church, Dr. Owen, and some of the Canons of that house and other Presbyterian Doctors resorted to him, or he to them, for to draw up and give him a modell, they were so much incensed when they found the matter a cheat, that Lloyd" [the deviser of the trick] "was forced to abscond for the present, or, as he used to say, to run away. This Mr. Lloyd was afterwards successively Bishop of S. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry."

We recommend this story to the consideration of the authorities at Birmingham, against any future appearance among them of an ecclesiastic of archiepiscopal rank.

And now, as a conclusion to this paper, we propose to confine

Digitized by Google

ourselves to ecclesiastical and religious reminiscences in our great antiquary, and to lay upon them sundry thoughts touching our own times. None ever saw with deeper interest than Anthony-a-Wood, the restoration of better things, their decline and fall, and the symptoms and prognostics of each state as they unfolded themselves to his view. That very quaintness in which his narrative is set, which drew from Gibbon, in his introduction to his own far more egotistical biography, a sneer as well as imitation, gives a freshness and reality to what he says, which we would exchange for no amount of more measured sentences. And we think that only those who look at the surface of men's minds and writings, will believe they discover any lack of earnestness or penetration in A. W. This we mean to apply to all his writings. But A. W. thought very deeply, on things divine in particular. It is not only that in all he ever wrote, as far as we know, there is not to be found one expression bordering on irreverence where reverence was due: but he goes out of his way, with evident pleasure and feeling of dutifulness, to magnify, with honest ardour the sacred cause of catholic order and churchmanship. And, as usual, where the mind is deeply imbued and tinted with a "hue of thought," the cathelic ἦθος, shows itself in little unexpected turns, as well as in those greater things, where it could not but appear; giving us just that sort of gratification which we feel at some little attention from a friend, which need not have been, and which we think we might not have missed, if we had not been taught its value by receiving it. We have picked out the following topics from A. W., which will serve to show what we mean:—

1. There was a time when it was usual and safe to hold other assemblies besides those for religious worship, in churches. Thus, to go no farther back than 1640, in our own country, the convocation in which Abp. Laud suspended Goodman, Bp. of Gloucester, and passed the famous canons of that year, was held in the chapel, commonly known as "K. Henry VII.'s chapel," in Westminster Abbey. Whether the modern practice of holding musical commemorations in that Abbey church, and other meetings of a still less edifying character, if possible, in others, has any connexion with the ancient catholic practice in the way of travestie, or otherwise, we are not going to determine. In Oxford it seems that St. Mary's Church was used by the university for the purposes of congregations and convocations from a very early period, until the present Convocation-house was erected.* While churches were reverenced as such, before England had seen "Paul's" a thoroughfare, and a bakehouse excavated in its walls (as we believe was done), and before the Commons sat in the desecrated chapel of St. Stephen, such familiar

* The President of Trinity's "Memorials of Oxford," St. Mary the Virgin, p. 3.

Digitized by Google

use of sacred buildings may perhaps have had no more danger than the familiarity of friends. But let Anthony-a-Wood show us how churches could be treated, even in Oxford, when irreverence had been let loose upon men's habits.

"Oct. 8, (1660), Joh. Glendall, Mr. of Arts, and Fellow of Brasn. Coll., died, and was buried at the upper end of St. Marie's Chancel in Oxon. He was a Minister's son of Cheshire, (and) had been the witty *Terræ filius* of the universitie in 1655, *at which time the acts were kept in St. Marie's Church.*"

What sort of wit was tolerated from these terræ filii, may be gathered from A. W.'s account of the terræ filius of 1673, who "appeared and spoke a speech full of obscenity and prophaneness," making A. W.'s great work, the "Hist. and Antiq." of the university, the object of his gibes. We need not quote them here. Now, unless by the sight of hired musicians, singing in churches to audiences admitted by bought tickets, as a service not to God, but to them, aided by the additional spectacle of galleries raised over the altar, we are in time case-hardened against anything, we do not think we are otherwise likely to have among us the repetition of witticisms in a church; above all, not in St. Mary's, Oxford. But it is worth people's while to consider, whether music-meetings, and the performances called oratorios, in churches and cathedrals, do not distinctly point to the still farther decrease of that small remaining degree of the sentiment of devotion, and reverence, and awe, which once overcame and subdued the "transeuntes in domum *Domini*, domum orationis;" and whether the discussion of sandwiches and the news between the acts in the *gallery* of a choir, may not be a preparation for the future—however distant—selling such food and having such talk in the nave commonly; and whether, really, there would be any serious difference in favour of the oratorio side, between the criminality of a few, or many, poor persons, who should have stalls for selling the articles of their support there, and that of the many rich who had already made their traffic by hiring out the choir. Certain it is that, at present we should be startled by hearing of men jesting for the amusement of an audience in a church. In these things we are better, in a sort, than our ancestors. But, it is because we do not trust ourselves. In A. W.'s time the old custom of meeting in St. Mary's Church was not obsolete, and men had not found out, that, under the then system, it ought to be obsolete. So they went in and had a witty terræ filius, in sight of the altar-place; in 1655, there would be no such monument of Christianity as an altar. Since then, the feeling has arisen, one can hardly describe how, or whence, that sacred places must be kept shut, *for fear*. And this has been the feeling of the best of us. And so they are kept shut; and mirth and jests, and prayers and sacraments, are, by one silent edict, banished from walls which ought ever to resound with prayers and praises, and the

Digitized by Google

eucharistic hymn. Happily, we may except St. Mary's, Oxford, which has lost its terræ filios and their wit, and gained daily prayers, and we hope FILIOS REGNI.

2. There was a time, also, when to come into a bishop's presence was the signal for asking and receiving a blessing from him. A. W. with characteristic simplicity gives an account of two interviews with Abp. Sheldon. We give one at length:—

"August 25, 1669, A. W. went about eight of the clock in the morning by Whitehall, towards Sir John Cotton's house, near Westminster Hall, to borrow some MSS. from his library, to carry on the grand work of the Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxon. He met, near Whitehall gate, with Dr. John Fell, Dr. Rich. Allestrie, Dr. Tho. Yate, &c., *comming from prayers, as it seems, at Whitehall*, who told him, that *at twelve of the clock* the said day, he was to meet the Oxford scholars, then in London, to dine with his Grace the Archb. of Canterbury (Sheldon), at Lambeth. They told him then, that if he met by chance with any Oxford doctors or masters, between that time and twelve of the clock, he should tell them of it, which he did. Afterwards he borrowed certain MSS., and at twelve of the clock he passed over the water to Lambeth, with Dr. Yate, Proctor Alsop, and others. When they came there, the Archb. was at the council-table, at Whitehall, with the king, and did not return till one of the clock. In the meane time the doctors and masters entertained themselves with pictures and other rarities in the gallery, and had divers discourses. At length the Archb. came among them with Dr. Fell, and at their first entrie into the gallery, A. W. being next to the dore, Dr. Fell said to the Archbishop: if it please your grace, here is a Master of Arts (pointing to A. W.) that you must take notice of. He hath done the universitie a great deal of honour, by a book which he hath written. Whereupon the Archb. comming towards him, *A. W. kneeled downe, and he bless'd him*, and laying his hand upon his shoulder when he was risen, spoke very kindly to him, and told him that he was glad that there was such a person in the universitie that had a generous mind to such work."

Again, in February, 1671-2, he tells us, that Abp. Sheldon received and blessed him. Where has all this fled?* Do we need blessing less than in the reign of Charles II.? Is the "virtue" of a bishop's blessing extinct? How would a priest of the Church of England, not to put the case of a layman, be viewed, who, on coming into a bishop's presence, instead of making a gentleman-like bow, should kneel down and beg his blessing? We cannot tell. Not long ago we were in a cathedral, not at an hour of service, and were examining it. Suddenly its bishop advanced out of the cloister. What we have now been writing came across us; and we did what we suppose and fear most would have done, we withdrew to a distance. But, although bishops no longer bless as such, commonly, yet, blessing is not gone out. St. Paul says, "Without contradiction the less is blessed of the greater." Now, if one thing is more striking than another in

* It would be difficult to say in England. Whether or not it exists at the present moment anywhere in Britain we know not, but a few years ago the Churchmen in the north of Scotland never thought of entering or quitting their Bishop's presence without his blessing.

Digitized by Google

our intercourse with the sick, it is the universal tendency to bless their clergy at parting; and a most touching and solemn blessing it sometimes is; and when the priest has blessed the people, then by way of response, it is quite well that they should, prayerwise, bless him. Does not this serve to remind priests that they should *never* leave a sick person without solemnly and authoritatively blessing him or her. The irregularity on the part of the visited is only such because, and when, the priest has forgotten one portion of his duty.

We recollect the instance of a young priest, at whose house had been dining a young radical, an aspirant to the House of Commons as member for a neighbouring borough. When the evening was over, he courteously attended his guest to the door. Now the guest was precisely the man who, without much ability, would talk a good deal of church things in the style of the House of Commons of 1834, and some years since. In a word, he knew, we suppose, as much of them as the ingenious members who are about to embalm their memories and votes in conservative church bills. On returning to the drawing-room our friend informed us, with some confusion, that Mr. ——— had blessed *him*. We will not attempt to analyze this, but leave the fact on record. And we will only add, what our readers must have anticipated us in understanding, very likely, that, in what has been said, we have meant no disparagement, but all possible commendation, of those acts of mutual blessing, which are indeed among the tokens of the union and happiness of domestic life.

3. We learn from A. W. that the Litany was said in Merton College Chapel in 1661, as a separate service. Speaking of certain things which had been done, he says, "which being all done by three quarters past ten, the Fellowes went to the Letany." Why has this usage been so universally discontinued? Canon xv. of 1603 orders it. The Rubric before the Litany itself, like so many others, reprinted, read, and disobeyed, orders it. Nothing in the unhappy Act of Uniformity of Car. II. hinders its restoration. Now, "in this argument" we wish to say something. The only causes which seem assignable for the contempt of rubric and canon in this point are, indolence, supposed expediency, and neglect the cause and the effect also of both. To get people to church on Sundays and Holy-days and Wednesdays and Fridays twice, was thought harder than to get them once. So matins, and litany, and communion, were all three merged into one incongruous office. Also where was to be *the* sermon? Wherever that was *there* would be the "congregation." Now the Communion Office was the place in which a sermon was ordered by name. So, again, to that the others culminated—and, having reached it are stopped short, once more in the teeth of the Rubric. But, if sermons must be had, (and one of our grievances is that not enough *are* had,) why are

Digitized by Google

they not to be preached after a matins service? Why, we mean, may not any clergyman, who has strength or assistance, give a sermon after his early morning office as well as in the Office of the Holy Communion? The Uniformity Act has indeed done mischief; but it has not forbidden sermons then or at any other time; nor does any rubric, nor does any canon forbid sermons to follow the matins or evensong. The Act of Uniformity expressly says:—

"That at all and every time and times when any sermon or lecture is to be preached, the common prayers and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, shall be openly and publicly read," &c.

By which clause is plainly conveyed the intention that sermons may be preached at other times than in the office of the Holy Communion, as in effect they are, after evening services. And why not, then, after morning? We have called the Uniformity Act of Car. II. "unhappy," and spoken of it as doing "mischief." We mean in this very particular of sermons. Before that act, sermons were not tied to prayers.

"Resort to sermons, but to prayers most,"

says George Herbert. And one part of the instruction to godfathers and godmothers at the font is, that they shall call upon their godchildren to hear sermons. And the unimpeachably Protestant pages of Foxe give ample evidence of the "liberty of preaching" without previous service. Then came the enormous excesses of the Puritans, and that settled contempt for catholic devotion as part and parcel of their love of what they called preaching, which caused the reaction of feeling embodied in the clause in the act now quoted. The result of this clause has been as different from the intention of its framers as can well be imagined. First, the clergy are crippled in their means of doing good. There may be time for a service on a week-day, or time for a sermon, and not for both—time, that is, in which factory and labouring people might come. And both are institutions of the Church of Christ; and the clergy, under ecclesiastical authority, ought still to be able to ring out "the sermon bell" when the passing of a bishop or priest charitably disposed to "bestow a sermon" gives them an extraordinary opportunity.* It should never be forgotten that not the Church, but the State, hinders this catholic freedom. Secondly, some who are unwilling to be hindered from doing what they like, and are exactly those whom the act had in view, evade the force of it by a device which,

* In the *Cambrian Register*, quoted in Fenton's "Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire," 1810, p. 267, is a most picturesque account from a MS. Life of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, of the tournament and hospitalities at Carew Castle, on occasion of Sir Rhys being made Knight of the Garter by K. Henry VII. Service was, it would seem, constantly celebrated in that chapel in which, we grieve to say, we have wandered as part of the ruins of that princely seat. The Bishop of St. David's and the Prior of Caermarthen were there, and, at last, "earlie in the morning before they parted, the bishopp *bestowed a sermon upon them.*"

Digitized by Google

in fact, reproduces and epitomizes Puritanism. They go into school-rooms—perhaps a stone's cast from the closed church—and there, without service, with hymns and "conceived prayer," preach as they please. Thirdly, the more serious church-people have been led to discontinue the expression of "going to hear" such and such a preacher, and with a good deal of justice, because, as things are, it *may* mean a slighting of the service. But is it not quite right that people should go "to hear" an earnest catholic preacher? Why not? Why are sermons preached? Only let saying service and preaching be severable, under due authority, for the benefit of church-goers, and all will be well. We hope we have made our meaning as to the Uniformity Act clear. And now, to return to our original point, it is in saying the offices of the Prayer-Book, as the Prayer-Book marks them to be said, that we seem to have the fairest chance of increasing devotion, as by frequency and opportunities of prayer, so also by multiplication of short sermons and homilies. When prayers were most plentiful, sermons also shared in the abounding of Divine things.

4. It appears, quite by the way, in A. W.'s mention of an ordination, that the holy communion and orders were received fasting. He says—

"Sunday (March 31, 1661), there was a sacrament and ordination of ministers made in the Cath. Ch. of Ch. Ch. by Dr. Robert Skinner, Bishop of Oxon. Savil Bradley, M.A. Fellow of New Coll. . . . . was one of the persons that was to have holy orders confer'd upon him; but he *having been used to eat breakfasts and drink morning draughts, being not able to hold out with fasting,* was troubled so much with wind in his stomach that he fell into a sowne, and disturb'd for a time the ceremony."

What has become of this most pious and catholic practice now? Who receives fasting? Rather how can people be expected to think about their duty to receive fasting, when the Communion Office is an appendage to matins and litany and sermon, and is not over in large congregations till two o'clock P.M., or later? Canon 41 of the African Code, received by the Catholic Church, and of special weight with us, for says Johnson,* "This code was of very great authority in the old English churches; for many of the exemptions of Egbert were transcribed from it," provides, "That the Sacraments of the Altar must not be celebrated by any who are not fasting, except on the day of the Lord's Supper," *i. e.* on Maunday Thursday, which in the Breviary bears its original name, "feria quinta in cœnâ Dominl." With this canon staring the Church in the face, with all Christendom against us, what is the Anglican *practice?* "Sacrament Sunday" occurs usually not oftener than *once* a month—twelve times, or thirteen, perhaps, in one whole Christian (?)

* Vade Mecum. Part ii. p. 171.

Digitized by Google

year; how much seldomer let the Bishop of Salisbury's charge be witness. On that day, breakfast being fully over, at eleven the family repairs to the church and communicates, and is at home again between two and three. But, to argue the thing *à priori*, saving our allegiance to the canons of the Church—is the transition from the plentiful breakfast—emphatically *break-fast* table quite the preparation which a thoughtful person would desire for his reception of the sacred food from the altar? Does it not commend itself to our innate feelings of reverence as Christians, to receive *that* with lips unsoiled by the food of earth that day? We are satisfied that here, as in so many other things, the evil lies in the clergy, not in the people alone. Let us tell them that they should receive fasting, *and do it ourselves*, and give the holy communion at an hour when weak persons, including ourselves, shall not be made liable to faintings and exhaustions; and give it at least every Sunday. We have long tried the system of few, very few, communions, late hours, and full stomachs; and the majority of souls in England is *non-communicant*. The reverse of all this would hardly make communicants fewer or less devout.

Then as to the giving the sacred character in holy orders. How very like a dream does the 31st canon of 1603 now read!

"Forasmuch as *the ancient Fathers of the Church, led by example of the Apostles*, appointed prayers and fasts to be used at the solemn ordering of ministers, and to that purpose allowed certain times *in which only* sacred orders might be given or conferred: we, *following their holy and religious example*, do constitute and decree that no deacons or ministers be made and ordained but only upon the Sundays immediately following *jejunia quatuor temporum*, commonly called *Ember weeks*, appointed in ancient time for prayer and fasting, (purposely for this cause at their first institution,) and so continued at this day in the Church of England."

Are not our candidates now commonly in the same position with regard to breaking their fast on the Sunday of their ordering, as people in general on the Sundays of their communions?

Here we take leave of our Antiquary. We have so nearly outlived the idle, conceited fancy of the superiority of London doings to those of our universities, that it is hardly worth while to make a peroration about it. But, as a kind "illustrated" comparison, let us beg any of our readers, whether we have, or have not, carried them along with us, to try the following plan of—call it—amusement any day this coming fine June weather.

First go to Highgate: and look over into the new Cemetery below the Church, and at London beyond overhung with smoke, yet not so overhung but that you may distinguish much of it. Count, as well as you can, the church-towers, and any other buildings of spiritual or corporal mercy. They will be many.

Digitized by Google

Then compare the numbers of all, specially the churches, with the streets, squares, courts, alleys, that even you know; and they will be few. Then recollect the aggregation of wealth, splendour, profusion, poverty, squalidness, and sin, which is hourly fermenting in unceasing agitation in that cauldron of souls. All the good, and it is much, which you can reckon up, the hoary Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster, and the new Cathedral of St. Paul, and their daily services, and the daily services and prayers of all the faithful in that mighty city, and all the acts of faith and mercy in it, are as dross in that fermentation. The wit, life, speed, energy, and business of the world have totally outstripped the Church and Faith in the race; and, if London, as a whole, is a monument of the predominance of any one principle, it is — the principle of unbelief. Look at what lies at your feet—a catacomb. When London's dead die, her overloaded churchyards being unable to receive the dead of her overgrown parishes, they are sent here. And what greets the mourners? An Egyptian catacomb, with the reversed torch moulded on the doors. So London is faithless even unto death: driving away from the last place of rest on earth, the only symbol which, to a Christian's eye, in such sorrow as that of funerals, can have value, the Cross of CHRIST; and placing there, on the door which is to enclose, and, as it were, seal up, the bodies of those we love, the wretched emblem of Pagan unbelief, and annihilation.

The railway will soon carry you to Steventon. Mount a coach and go to Oxford. If you were never there yet, beg the driver to tell you when, on emerging from Bagley wood, you are going to descend the Hinxey hill. One glance will tell you that you have come to a place where Christianity is still predominant, not tolerated only. But we dare not trust ourselves here, on a theme which could occupy our pen with delight for many a page. Go on, survey her noble colleges, their stately and still religious chapels, her halls still used as refectories, her schools still the centres of learning: and, thank God! that, amid all the pretended piety and tinsel show of learning which have poisoned and cankered the age, there remains, in daily increasing beauty, and vigour and power to conquer, the spirit of ANTHONY-A-WOOD and OXFORD.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

An Exposition of the Doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, concerning Regeneration and Baptism, collected from the Book of Common Prayer and the Homilies, and compared with the Holy Scriptures. By the Rev. Wm. Napper, *Rector of Tamlaght O'Crilly, &c.* Dublin: Curry. 1848.

Among our earliest glances at this little volume, there was one which disclosed the fact that Mr. Napper's opinions on the subject of it were not those which have hitherto been held orthodox among us; and accordingly we prepared ourselves for finding in it the usual dismal matter presented to us by the evaders of our Church's meaning; the thrice-told tale of the judgment of charity, the legal fiction of a presumed repentance and faith, and so on. But we were agreeably, most agreeably, disappointed. Though we are unable to agree with Mr. Napper in his conclusions, we are glad to find in him none of that shuffling evasion of the plain sense of the Church,—none of that contentedness with any semblance of an explanation that may serve the purpose of being produced when that sense is alleged, of which we have lately had so many and such melancholy specimens. On the contrary, Mr. Napper looks our formularies in the face, owns their obligation, and prepares himself to abide by whatever shall appear their exact sense. Our complaint against him is, not that he blinks anything, or evades the smallest tittle of their wording, but that he gazes on them, if we may so speak, somewhat too closely, and subjects them to a minuter scrutiny than they were designed for, thus "finding more in Homer than Homer knew," and arriving at results such as their authors and their compilers never for one moment contemplated.

His theory, as far as we have mastered it, is as follows:—In the services of the Church a marked difference will be found between the use of the word *regenerate*, and the phrase *born again*; consequently, the same difference must be held to exist between Regeneration and the New Birth; a difference which is attested, moreover, by the exact meaning of the terms, birth being not identical with generation, but a result of it. Therefore, Mr. Napper not only has no objection, but feels it literally true, to say of the baptized infant that he is regenerate, and that in no mere secondary ecclesiastical, but in the very highest, sense—that he is *spiritually* regenerate. He is a subject of the processes of the new creation, which began on him, indeed, in his participation of a nature redeemed by Christ Jesus, but which, being attested and carried to a higher grade in baptism, may well be dated ordinarily from the reception of that sacrament. And the practical results of such reception are very important. Here are one or two specimens of the light in which Mr. Napper regards them:—

"Our Church, indeed, entertains a very high estimation of the gift immediately bestowed upon a baptized infant. It is a gift of the Holy Spirit, whose vivifying presence is with the appointed means; and is not a mere form or symbol of an absent thing. No, He is Himself the precious gift, and at the same time the Divine Agent in an incipient stage of His heavenly regenerating work."—P. 6.

Digitized by Google

And again—

"A change of state, which implies a title of gift to the means of grace, and a covenant relation to the eternal Trinity, is in itself a beginning of a new existence, and a commencement of recovery from the consequences of our fall. It is regeneration begun by Him who 'moved upon the face' of the chaotic waters, and who also carries on the whole process of the new creation. But there is abundant warrant for expecting more than a change of state," &c.—P. 17.

These extracts may suffice to show how very different a person Mr. Napper is from what our readers might expect on being told that he denied the connexion of the *New Birth* with Baptism. And when we add, that he considers baptized children as sons of God,—and that he holds that such, if finally lost, are branches that had been joined to the true Vine, and then cut off for their unfruitfulness,—that they incur the fearful doom denounced against apostates in the Epistle to the Hebrews,—they will see how much truth he holds. And certainly, if any of our self-styled Evangelical brethren, who cannot yet part with their notion of a new birth, unconnected with Baptism, will betake themselves to Mr. Napper's explanation of our formularies instead of the disingenuous ones to which they have hitherto had recourse, we think they will have gained a step, and that no unimportant one. By reading his book, moreover, they, and every one else, will find much intelligence, much thought, much truth, and the whole animated by a very delightful and pious spirit.

Mr. Napper, however, as we have said, does not consider the baptized infant to partake as yet of the new birth. That is a term which he would restrict to the first conscious entrance on the Gospel inheritance and the Divine life. But we own that we can see no solid foundation for the distinction which he makes between regeneration and being born again. It has no support from the original of the New Testament—a circumstance which Mr. Napper does not overlook, but which he meets somewhat curiously in the following way:—

"It may perhaps be answered that the same Greek word signifies regeneration as well as new birth. True, it does; but it happens that, in this instance, the English language is more accurate."—P. 7.

But what does it signify whether or not the English language be more accurate than the Greek in this or in any other instance, so long as the latter is, and the former is not, the original of the New Testament? Surely the compilers of our offices were not at liberty to create a doctrine that was unknown to the world before. Nor did they, we are sure, ever dream of such a thing. All Mr. Napper's distinctions between the two terms as used in the Baptismal services seem to us the very unrealest refinements of criticism that we have lately come across. The day, we cannot but think, is at hand, when the Catholic truths at which he has arrived respecting Baptism, and which he feels so livelily and expounds so beautifully, will obliterate such fine-spun distinctions from his mind, when he will learn that Baptism in conferring on a child, as he maintains that it does, the benefits of being made "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven,"—confers on him all things, and that the true way of addressing such a child is not to speak to him of any new birth yet to be waited for, but to tell him to go forth against evil, fresh from the water, and strong in the blessings, of his Baptism.

Digitized by Google

Memorials of Ernest the Pious, First Duke of Saxe Gotha, and the lineal Ancestor of his Royal Highness Prince Albert; with Historical Notices of Frederick John, and John Frederick, Electors of Saxony, and chief promoters of the Reformation in Germany. By the Rev. T. Lathbury, M. A., *Author of the "History of Convocation," &c.* London: J. W. Parker. 1843. 12mo. Pp. 278.

In spite of the two rather unworthy artifices for entrapping readers contained in the title-page, this is really an interesting biography of a remarkable man. The author, too, believes himself to be orthodox; yea, and we imagine, even High-Church. Whether, however, he understands his position, and the position of the Church, whose orders he bears, is somewhat doubtful. For example, in contending that the Reformation of the English Church, in the sixteenth century, is no precedent for the separations of Dissenters, Mr. Lathbury argues in this manner:—

"It is true that we quitted Rome; but in doing so we have not separated from the Church. Those who forsake the truth are guilty of schism, not those who renounce errors. We quitted the communion of Rome, because she had forsaken the Church Catholic. Had not the Reformers believed that Rome was in grievous error, they would not have separated from her pale. They merely renounced Papal innovations, and restored the primitive worship. How different is the case of Dissenters in England!"

Now, in our humble judgment, so far from this being "different" from the case of the English Dissenters, it is *identical with it.* Our readers will not suppose that we are going to justify dissent; but we repudiate altogether the statement of the Church's case, as put forth by Mr. Lathbury. 1st. To say that we "quitted Rome" at all, is incorrect: the English Church reformed itself, according to the power which is inherent in every church, by an act of its own synod, from certain abuses and corruptions; and, in consequence, but not till some years afterwards, the churches of Italy and France and Germany thought fit to renounce her communion. 2dly. Again, the mere existence of "grievous error" in a church would not, as Mr. Lathbury here seems to imply, justify separation from her. Nor can we (3dly) admit the general proposition, that "those who forsake the truth are guilty of schism, not those who renounce errors." To forsake the truth, in any degree, is, of course, a fearful thing; but the English Churchman need not scruple to admit, that this had never so far taken place in the English Church as to endanger the salvation of her members. Yea, and even he may admit that some things were done unadvisedly and indiscreetly by our reformers, without being either unthankful for their labours, or without ceasing to condemn the tyrannical and uncatholic proceedings of the Tridentine Council, which dared to add fresh terms of communion to those which were already sanctioned by the Church, and to pronounce an anathema on all who refused them.

With regard to Dissenters, whatever may have been their grounds for separating from the Church, they are all now deeply implicated in heresy as well as schism. Doubtless they "believed" the "errors" of

Digitized by Google

the Church to be "grievous;" but, whatever Mr. Lathbury may think, we have yet to be convinced that it is open for individuals, or individual sets of men, upon such "belief," to separate themselves into a new communion. Indeed, Mr. Lathbury condemns the schism of Dissenters quite as strongly as we do; and when he really offers a justification of their conduct, it is only that he uses the ordinary language of Protestantism, without at all considering to what conclusions it would lead. It is one proof among thousands, which he who runs may now read, that none but what are called High-Church principles can stand the test which present times are applying; and Mr. Lathbury is no singular instance of a writer, even of controversy, having his theology to learn.

The Christmas Bells, &c. By the Author of "Constance," "Virginia," &c. New York: Appleton. 1842.

We have never had the luck to fall in with, or even to hear of, either "Constance" or "Virginia," and therefore the title-page of "The Christmas Bells" gives us no clue whatever to the authorship of the volume. But the book must have an author, and, whoever he is, he is assuredly a well-principled, amiable, fine-minded man, with much poetical feeling, and much grace of expression. He is, like others of his musical countrymen, a good deal of an imitator, and his volume attests, as former American verses have attested abundantly, what a favourite Mrs. Hemans is on the west side of the Atlantic. In the Christmas Bells we like best the imitation of George Herbert, part of which we now present to our readers:—

"Awake, glad heart! get up and sing!
It is the birth-day of thy King!
Awake! awake!
The sun doth shake
Light from his locks, and all the way
Breaking perfumes doth spice the day.

"Awake! awake! hark, the wood sings;
Winds whisper, and the busy springs
A concert make:
Awake! awake!
Man is their high priest, and should rise
To offer up their sacrifice.

"I would I were some bird or star,
Fluttering in woods, or lifted far
Above this inn
And road of sin!
Then either bird or star should be
Shining or singing still to thee."—Pp. 35, 36.

The following "Evening Parting Hymn" would make a very pleasing and *complete* song:—

"Bright be our parting, where
Brightly we've met;
Voices of music are
Echoing yet;

Digitized by Google

Tones that we love to hear,
Swell on the listening ear,
Hark now, in accents clear
Singing, good-night!

"God and good angels bright
Watch o'er our sleep!
Bless us with slumbers light,
Peaceful and deep,
Watched by His sleepless eye,
While each fair star on high
Bends from the quiet sky,
Looking, good night!

"Brief be our parting where
Gladly we'll meet;
Morning shall call us, each
Other to greet.
Sweet be our rest in him
Till the bright stars are dim,
And the earth's matin hymn
Breaks on the night."—Pp. 133, 134.

The Gothic of the vignettes, with which this volume is embellished, is not always good, a fault excusable in a country where it cannot be taken at first hand from authentic specimens, but still one which it would be desirable, in another edition, to correct as far as possible. Is the font in America generally placed "close by the chancel-rail?" That is not its ancient or appropriate site.

Judge Not; or an earnest Warning to the Youth of this Generation against a Critical and Controversial Spirit. By A CLERGYMAN. London: Burns. 1843.

THIS is an admirable Tract, and has not appeared before it was greatly needed. We would earnestly call attention to such wise and truly Catholic remarks as the following:—

"There is a risk lest they who have embraced the whole of Catholic truth should regard themselves as teachers of those who have not, and, in endeavouring to correct the views of others, should forget to discipline themselves. There is danger, lest to *know* about doctrines, and to *speak* of them, be mistaken for a true and practical faith; lest to take *interest* in things concerning the truth, be held to be the same as the *holding* of the truth in sincerity. There are temptations to forget the meaning and relative value of all those external observances, which it is our duty to respect; for there is a tendency in everything which embodies a truth, whether it be an outward gesture or a verbal definition, to hide the treasure which it is required to keep: and we may justly fear lest, as some have learned to believe in the *doctrine* of justification by faith, rather than to believe in Christ himself, and in God who justifieth, so, many of the present generation may be tempted to forget in the husk, which they most wisely keep, the fruit which is chiefly valuable. But the danger of which I now desire most earnestly to warn those to whom I speak, is the danger of spiritual pride, lurking in, and fostered by, a critical and controversial habit of mind. There are, I am afraid, many who read and hear with a single view to their own opinions, although unconsciously. Their eye glances down the page, and catches eagerly whatever pleases or offends: it beams with pleasure, when it falls upon a passage which expresses well the views of the reader; and seizes upon that which is contrary to them as an enemy; just as if these two classes of things only were worth observing, that which is favourable, and that which is unfavourable, to the opinion of the

Digitized by Google

reader; and thus the rest of the book is unregarded. The same thing occurs in hearing also. The ear catches what is very pleasant or very unpleasant to it. All things are measured by an internal rule. Those which agree with this are treasured up; those which exceed, or fall far short of it, are remembered for evil; and all the rest which lies between, or *which cannot be measured by such a rule*, is despised and forgotten. And by this same rule the views of parents and forefathers, and spiritual authorities, are tried, and approved or rejected."—Pp. 4—6.

And again:—

"Is it an objection to those without, that the Church seems the only ark of quiet, the only safeguard from excitement? that the religion of so many seems to be born and to be sustained by stimulants which destroy the health of their minds, and all the quiet, practical characteristics of genuine piety? And is it not an equally valid objection against any habit, that it disturbs the peace of the believer *even* within the sanctuary; that it leads him to forget the heaven in which he lives, in an angry world brought in unawares into the Holy City; that he feels as one of a party, and is elated or depressed by the triumph or ill success of his favourite views; that he is tempted to forget, in what is doing around him, what he himself does, and how he is performing those duties which are laid upon him?

"Is it an evil in dissent, that the hearer should sit in judgment on the teacher; and is it a less evil in the Church, that people should feel at liberty to exercise a private judgment upon all the instruction of their spiritual rulers; to praise, and blame, erase, and insert; and yet should deem themselves all the while good catholics, and loving children of the Church?

"Is it a manifest disease of mind, that in dissent, no reverence is shown for the Church of our forefathers; no dread to cut away ancient things; no tender discrimination between the corruptions which crept in of old, and the fine gold which was corrupted? And is it not a far greater blemish upon the mind of a Churchman, that he should laugh at the errors of others, and speak scornfully of the past; and should be ready to condemn, without distinction, all the habits of those who preceded us? Can this be consistent with the spirit of reverence? Can this be otherwise than destructive of all fineness and humbleness of heart, and awe of spirit, and of a catholic mind?"—Pp. 6, 7.

"Principia, a series of Essays on the Principles of Evil manifesting themselves, &c.," by S. R. Bosanquet, Esq. (Burns) is the most remarkable book we have come across this long while. Some of it has already appeared in the *British Critic*, but we entreat our readers to procure the volume, and read it, as we are sure they will, with fear and trembling, humbling themselves before God. We believe that we shall have more to say about it shortly.

In connexion with the subject of the book just referred to,—indeed, as handling one of the branches of that subject, we recommend "The Perils of the Nation" (Seeley and Burnside). Judging from a glance into it, which is all that we have yet been able to take, it seems both well-principled and forcible.

"A Companion for the Sick Room" (Burns,) is a series of devotions and meditations collected from the Christian doctors of all ages, and will be found most useful.

The American "History of a Pocket Prayer Book," to which we called attention some two years ago, has, we are glad to see, been reprinted in a small and cheap form in Canada. (Rowsell, Toronto.)

We have been too long in noticing "The Life and Remains of Lucretia Davidson" (Tilt and Bogue)—a little volume painfully interesting. We hope that in America it will be more than interesting—we hope that it will bring to an end the horrible, the monstrous system of female education which, as we learn from this memoir, is adopted there.

Digitized by Google

The Rev. J. J. Blunt, Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, has just given to the world the "Second Part of an Introduction to a Course of Lectures on the Early Fathers." (Deighton, Cambridge; Rivingtons, London.) Mr. Blunt's attainments, and his reputation as a sound and accurate theologian, require no eulogium from us. The business of his pamphlet is to show the value attached by the Church of England to genuine Tradition, and that is accomplished most successfully. Mr. Blunt's style is so vigorous and racy, that everything from him is read with pleasure, and therefore we trust that the present publication will reach many who might turn away from ordinary controversy. The concluding paragraph is as follows, and much to the purpose:—

"It was a legend of early times that the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was changed, contained within it the property of self-restoration: so that mutilate it how you would, it continually recovered its integral form by a virtue of its own; and in this it was supposed to be a type of the Church. May it prove so in our own branch of it! May the discovery of the abatements she has sustained be enough in itself to awake her to the timely repair of them! And, if it so shall come to pass, under God's blessing, cheaply, no doubt, will those who have wrought for this object think that it has been won, at the price of their having been themselves misunderstood for a season, if misunderstood they are; and readily will they leave it to time, to candour, and an improved knowledge of the question, to do them right."

"The Smuggler Warned" is an impressive narrative, which would probably be found useful for circulation in many sea-coast parishes.

"Remarks on the Rev. G. S. Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration," by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A., Rector of Lyndon, &c., (Rivingtons,) ought to be read by all those who, on the score of his having more learning than themselves, have confided in Mr. Faber. Mr. Arnold is a thoroughly scholar-like divine, and the inaccuracies of which he convicts Mr. Faber are almost beyond belief.

A "Guide to Daily Worship in Parochial Sunday and Infant Schools," (Robertson, Dublin,) is on a plan in some respects very eligible. In another edition, however, the prayer at p. 13 must be altered. As it stands, it is not orthodox, and in glaring contradiction to that from the Confirmation service which faces it on the opposite page.

"A collection of Psalms and Hymns for the use of the congregation of St. Luke's, Berwick Street," has just appeared, and so long as metrical versions of the Psalms are to continue, we must give praise to this; which, in the original stanzas among its pages occasionally engrafted on the received versions, is clear and spirited.

The Rev. J. Williams, M.A., has published an Introduction, apparently to a considerable work, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry." (Cleaver.) This, the Introduction, is occupied with *Bardism*, and seems to contain interesting matter.

"The Christian Vine, Part I.," (Burns,) seems earnest and Catholic.

The author of "Sir Robert Peel and his Era" may be ranked with Mr. Grant, and other "random" retailers of personalities.

A Mr. H. White, B.A., of Cambridge, has published the "Elements of Universal History," on what he is pleased to call a "new and systematic plan." (Qu.—How does a "plan" differ from a "system?") One thing we desiderate—a "novelty" indeed it would be in such school-manuals—is a little soundness of principle.

We regret very much to perceive that the Queen has permitted Mrs. Ellis's "Wives of England" (Fisher), to be dedicated to her. The author is well known to be the wife of a dissenting preacher; and the book itself, we are

Digitized by Google

quite sure, is of that class which her Majesty, as a mother, had she seen it before the permission was given, would least like to have herself connected with. For, to say nothing of the false principles with which it abounds, we can scarcely conceive anything more hurtful to the young mind of a female—and the book is intended for the young—or more injurious to delicacy of feeling, than to have the thoughts constantly directed towards matrimony. Girls are not usually found too slow in speculating on this subject of themselves; but for parents and teachers to be putting it into their heads, appears to us the height of folly. Let mothers give their daughters a good sound general education, and there will be no fear of their turning out bad "wives."

Of a better stamp is Mrs. Lawrance's "History of Woman in England." It professes to trace, from historical sources, the influence of the female sex in the British, Roman, Saxon, Norman, and later periods; though, we confess, when we find a lady quoting Solinus, the grammarian, and speaking in raptures of Matthew of Paris, and the historians of that date, we are somewhat sceptical as to the existence of real information. It is like an argument which proves *too much*. The fact is, that the opening of the British Museum, as was observed by a writer in the "Quarterly," in showing up Mrs. Bush's "Queens of France," has given birth to a new kind of book-manufacture, which, under the pretence of original research, is palming upon the public a mass of the most recondite ignorance. We would not be understood to assert that Mrs. Lawrance belongs altogether to this class; but we must be allowed to doubt whether she is *quite* so learned as she would have us think.

"History of the House of Commons, from the Convention Parliament of 1688-9 to the Passing of the Reform Bill, in 1832; by W. Chas. Townsend, Esq., A.M., Recorder of Macclesfield," vol. i. (Colburn), is a subject which cannot be without interest to a large class of readers, seeing that it introduces them to many individuals of distinction. It is the work of a decided Whig, and very jealous member of the legal profession.

Of a like "liberal" character, of course, is the "Correspondence of John, Fourth Duke of Bedford," which has been recently edited by Lord John Russell. And the jealousy which Mr. Townsend feels for his profession, the present writer exhibits in a still stronger degree for the honours of his family. The first volume embraces the period between 1744 and 1748. The letters are of an entirely political nature.

"The Village Church," a Poem, by the author of "The Phylactery, (Hatchards,) seems the work of a well-principled man, and contains amiable sentiments; but, as far as we have read, and we have taken pains to read enough for the trial of such a question, we have found nothing to warrant his calling it a *Poem*.

"The Parent's High Commission," (Hatchards,) is a book written in a lofty vein of feeling, and grounded on orthodox principles. It is therefore calculated, with the blessing of God, to be useful. Our chief complaint against it is, that it contains too much *finery*.

Mr. Barr's "Anglican Church Architecture" (Parker, Oxford,) has come to a second edition, enlarged and rendered considerably more valuable by a Calendar, with an explanation of the ancient symbols appropriated to each saint.

We must also notice "Aunt Ellinor's Lectures on Architecture, dedicated to the Ladies of England," (Rivingtons,) going over much the same ground as has already been trodden by others. To this, however, we make no objection; because, as we have before had occasion to say, different people fall in with different books, and therefore there is room for each to do its work. Bating one or two minor points of disagreement between ourselves and the present authoress, and also one or two inaccuracies which we suspect that we have already observed, we must speak of this volume in terms of commendation.

Digitized by Google

The subject of Church Architecture has also just been handled by no less a person than the Bishop of Down and Connor, in a little pamphlet entitled "Church Architecture considered in relation to the mind of the Church." (Phillips, Belfast; Rivingtons, London: &c.) We have here two addresses delivered by his lordship to the Down and Connor and Dromore Architectural Society, of which he is president. We need not say that they are both intelligent and right-minded, and that they are calculated to be useful here as well as in Ireland.

Few foundations are more valuable, and lead to more interesting results, than the Theological Prizes of Cambridge. The essay of the Hulsean Prizeman for last year (the Rev. J. Davies, B.A., John's,) is a very intelligent and pleasing one, on "the Relation in which the Moral Precepts of the Old and New Testaments stand to each other," (Deightons, Cambridge; Rivingtons, London.)

H. A. Woodham, Esq., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, has just published an edition of the Apology of Tertullian, "with English Notes, and a Preface, intended as an introduction to the Study of Patristical and Ecclesiastical Latinity," (Deightons, Cambridge; Rivingtons, London.) We have not yet looked into the Notes, but have been much pleased with the part of the Preface which we have read, the chapter "on the Latinity of the African Fathers." The whole book seems a valuable accession to our theological stores.

"The Enthusiast, or Prejudice and Principle," (Rivingtons,) is a well-principled and pleasing book, in which the narrative is very slender, not serving any other purpose than that of relieving the didactic matter; and the conversations are more to be regarded on the strength of that didactic matter than as fiction, there being nothing humorous or pathetic, and no manifestation of character. We cannot think it very probable that Adeline, the daughter of an intelligent, devout, *high Anglican* Baronet, spending her days with a sister of the same stamp, should have been so ignorant of the English Church as is here represented. The puritan objections, moreover, of such a person, would, in real life, have been more numerous and varied, her attacks more troublesome than we find them here. The book, however, contains much which we recommend, along with one or two things which are questionable.

We have lately received two pamphlets from Scotland—one a very interesting one by a Mr. Robert Paisley—a *quoad sacra* minister near Glasgow, taking a different and, as we think, a far higher view of the questions that have now convulsed the Presbyterian establishment, than is done by either of the two great parties that have just split asunder. We believe that there exists in Scotland a small band, who come much nearer the truth in their notions of the Church, than either intrusion or non-intrusionists, to which Mr. Paisley belongs, and from which we augur good. The other is something very different. It is a small pamphlet in the unmistakable style,—the unrivalled *polyphloisboïsm*—of Mr. R. Montgomery, of which *two* copies have been sent us for our especial benefit. Its object is to show that the critics who have failed in doing homage to "Luther, a Poem," have so failed from defect of spiritual-mindedness.

We call attention to two very useful *cards*, one a Table of Moveable and Immoveable Feasts, &c., and another addressed to the Christian on his Position, Calling, Prospects, Duties, and Means of Grace, with copious references to Scripture in connexion with each head. The latter is signed W. F. H. (Green, Leeds; Rivingtons, Burns, London; &c.)

The Rev. Johnson Grant has published a volume of Sermons, (Parker,) for the good of his flock, from personally ministering to whom he is now disabled by a paralytic attack.

Five Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, by the Rev R. C. Trench, (Parker,) are the shortest University ones we ever saw, but they are singularly beautiful, worthy indeed of their author.

Digitized by Google

Among single Sermons, one entitled "Christian Submission," by the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson, of Brighton, (Rivingtons,) must command a deep interest, being preached to the congregation of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, the Sunday after the funeral of their late admirable pastor. The appendix contains extracts from other sermons preached in Brighton at the same, or nearly the same, time, and showing how men of various schools could agree in reverencing and loving Mr. Robert Anderson.

The public has also to thank Dr. Mill for a sermon, entitled "the Priest's Commission for remitting and retaining sins," (Rivingtons,) preached at the last ordination at Lambeth, and published by the Archbishop's desire.

We have also to acknowledge "The Old Paths," by the Rev. J. Raine, M.A., Vicar of Blyth, Notts; "Church Principles, with reference to the Life and Practice," by the Rev. W. C. Dowding, B.A., (Rivingtons,) and from America, "The Church upon her Knees," by Bishop Doane, to which the Right Rev. Author has annexed a Pastoral Letter in behalf of Systematic Charity; and "The Christian Bishop approving himself to God," a Consecration Sermon, by Bishop Ives.

We have to announce the Annual Report of the National Society—a document to which events are adding a yearly increasing interest.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ARCHDEACON MANNING AND MR. GRESLEY ON THE OFFERTORY.

The Offertory seems now to be making its way. It has recently been recommended to the especial notice of Churchmen by Mr. Gresley in a Sermon,* and by Archdeacon Manning in a Charge.†

"She" (the Church,) as the archdeacon observes, "is the great organized channel of voluntary almsgiving, as the State is of legal support: she is, excepting only the light task of ordinary repair, the restorer and builder of churches; on her, with very narrow aid from the public revenues, lies the burden of building by the side of every parish church a parish school, and, if need be, of multiplying both. And with this enlargement of her material system must be also a multiplication of her moral power, that is, of her parish clergy and parish school teachers; and of these the latter must be educated, and both maintained, out of her own resources. And when to all this is added the office of propagating the faith among more than 100,000,000 of men, that is, one-eighth of the whole world's population, to say nothing of the heathen lying beyond the bounds of our vast empire, we shall have sketched the mere outline of the wonderful task in the world which is laid upon the Church of England. Now, in the obligations and responsibilities of this great office, we, both pastors and people, are all severally involved. We cannot be wanting to it without a perilous arrear in our last reckoning, when the Lord shall come to take account with His servants.

---

* Published at Rivington's, Burns's, and at Lomax's, Lichfield.
† Published by Murray, Albemarle-street.

Digitized by Google

"Let us ask ourselves—why is it that the obligation of this great duty is so little acknowledged, and, even when acknowledged, so faintly perceived? Why, but because it is brought before us only partially and irregularly, at uncertain times, with no system, and detached from the order and worship of the Church, as if it had no centre and no consistency. Why, but because we are seldom or never bid by the Church, and as an act of the Church, to make our offerings to the work of the Church. The subject comes before us disguised under the garb of a society or an association and the like, and thereby all our ideas of it are as of a sectional, voluntary, questionable scheme, without breadth of action, unity of design, or universality of obligation.

"Let us never for a moment dazzle our eyes with a few hundred thousands of pounds which are raised yearly by societies acting on the Church; after all, these sums are miserably inadequate to their aim, and fearfully disproportioned to the greatness of our duties, and to the measureless wealth of this luxurious land. It cannot be done by societies acting on the Church; but by the Church acting on herself, in all her dioceses, and throughout all her parishes.

"Until this is accomplished, her revenues for works of mercy and charity will be small, uncertain, and fluctuating, and her institutions and undertakings must be always languid, and even of a doubtful continuance.

"Now these considerations will lead us to a conviction that we are come to a point which demands the restoration of one part of the primitive order—I mean the systematic restoration of the principle and the precept of voluntary oblations as a part of ordinary Christian duty. It is sometimes most strangely imagined that the principle of voluntary gifts and the principle of endowments are at variance, than which nothing can be more shallow and unmeaning. What is an endowment but a free-will offering perpetuated? and what is the perpetuation of endowments (speaking of its temporal aspect) but a mere accident of property, which is a creature of the State, and subject to the civil power? The laws of inheritance and entails, for instance, are limitations, in the matter of property, the same in kind as the law of endowment. If Barnabas had given his land instead of the price of its sale, it would have been an endowment. In fact, the voluntary oblations of the first ages are the basis of the fixed endowments of the Church; and the two principles of what may be called the perpetual and the floating endowments of the Church ought never to be separated: they are both alike necessary, though to different ends and for different functions; the one as a source of subsistence, the other as the sinews of its efforts; the one watched over by the civil power, the other elicited and guided by the spiritual.

"Our embarrassments lie precisely in this point, that these associated principles have been put asunder. The State has preserved to us our fixed endowments; but the grace of eucharistical charity and voluntary devotion has unhappily declined. We have long ago ascertained that the existing endowments are insufficient for the necessities of the Church. Do what we may, we can no longer subsist upon the self-denial of our forefathers. Nay, they would not have done us so great a hurt: they bequeathed to us not more their endowments than their examples. We have re-distributed their gifts and oblations to make them cover a wider surface (and may the attempt more than fulfil the most sanguine wishes of those that devised it!) but even so, it will not suffice for our present needs. It will not make up the arrear into which we have fallen, much less will it carry out the works to which the Church is pledged, beyond the limits of her own communion. All the enlargement and multiplication of her sphere and of her undertakings remain to be provided for out of some newly-created source of consecrated wealth.

"And when we consider how this is to be obtained, it seems perfectly obvious that the great works in which the Church as a body is engaged can never be permanently and certainly maintained by the contributions of a class or a section of her members, but only by the oblations of the whole Church: first, then, any scheme of forming a revenue must be not partial, but universal; in the next place, it is plain that the smallness and inadequacy of the means now at the disposal of the Church arises, in great measure, from the fact that most

Digitized by Google

people contribute on no fixed principle, by no relative measure, in no definite proportion to the means entrusted to their stewardship: for this reason any such scheme must proceed upon the principle of making proportionate offerings to God's service; and lastly, the duty of giving for the work of Christ, through His Church, must be no longer severed from the offices and the sacred associations of Divine worship. To lay by portions of our substance for the service of God—say one-fourth, one-sixth, one-tenth, &c.—is as much a part of Christianity as any evangelical precept; and it is only when viewed and done in its relation to our acts of grateful homage, that the practice of giving for religious works receives its full meaning and sacredness. Where, then, shall we find a principle which shall be universal in its extent, containing in itself the law of proportionate oblations, and interwoven with our acts of worship? Nowhere else than in the Apostle's precept, 'Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him;' or, in other words, in the Offertory of the Church.

"It is perfectly needless that I should enter into this subject before you, my reverend brethren, who can so thoroughly anticipate all I would say. It would be altogether contrary to my own wishes to point out the grave objections which seem to me to lie against the too common mode of stimulating and soliciting contributions to sacred objects. Of our popular mode of gathering funds by subscription-lists and collections, it is enough to say that it is partial, that it does not avowedly proceed on the law of proportion, and that it has detached itself from the highest acts of personal devotion, with which the Church has from the beginning most closely combined it.

"I will only observe, further, that by means of the Offertory the duty of giving is interwoven with the whole texture of the pastoral ministry of the Church. This great evangelical law is brought home to the conscience of every member of Christ's flock.

"It is well to recall to our minds this view of the subject, because it has been sometimes said that collections for the missions of the Church, and other works of a like kind, ought to be made only in larger parishes: that, in smaller and poorer parishes, people are neither willing nor able to give. Willing they never can be until they are taught that this duty is a part of the Christian religion, and contained in the vows and pledges of their baptism. It must be made a matter of pastoral instruction: otherwise, it is plainly impossible that any man should acknowledge this any more than the duty of frequenting the holy communion, or the like. The will to give must, under God, be ripened in our people by instruction and persuasion on our part; and this is true both of rich and poor. Truly there is often a readier will in the poor than in the rich. It may, indeed, be said that any parish which makes no contribution to the missions of the Church is rebuked by its own prayers. The collects, especially on Good Friday, and the daily prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, are testimonies in our own mouths against ourselves if we do nothing to spread the kingdom of God on earth. Again, as to the ability to give: what is the meaning of the objection? Does it mean that poor people are not *able* to give according to their *ability?* And what more does God require of us? He does not bid us give beyond our *ability*, but according to it: as we read in the Book of Acts, that 'the disciples, every man according to his *ability*, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea.'* The large gifts of a rich parish are not greater than the small gifts of a poor one, so long as the law of proportion is obeyed. It is with the greatest satisfaction that I see in the list of collections made in pursuance of the bishop's letter in the year 1841, such sums returned as 1*l.*, 17*s.* 6*d.*, 11*s.*, 7*s.*, 5*s.*, 4*s.* 4*d.*, 3*s.* 5*d.*, 2*s.* 1*d.* These small offerings show that the poorest among baptized men claim for themselves the blessing of the merciful, and the promises of those that turn many to righteousness.

"We must protest against the privilege of almsgiving being made a refinement of the rich: we must take up a plea for the poor man, and claim for him

* Acts xi. 29.

Digitized by Google

the restoration of his birthright, to give for Christ's sake, and to be blessed in his deed. The keenest and the highest feelings of his nature are left unawakened, so long as we keep back from him the mystery of the fellowship of saints; the universal sympathy of the members of Christ; the communion of sorrow, and sufferings, and prayers, and consolations, and alms; the warfare of the Church; its strife against the spiritual evil of relapsed Christians in its own bosom, and its toil among the heathen nations of the world.

"It is only by the relation to these truths that a Christian man learns to realize his own standing in the sight of God. It is only thus he can ever fully realize the sacredness of brotherly compassion, and the constraining power of Christian love. It is only in this way that we shall ever learn to give, not from periodical impulses, or disjointed, inconsistent feelings, but from the steady action of a principle as deep and continuous in its energy as the faith by which we are accepted in the Beloved.

"It must be further observed, in regard to the Offertory, with how great a care the Church, while it calls on us to lay our money in simple faith, as it were, 'at the Apostles' feet,' provides also for the full participation of her lay members in the disposal of the oblations made at her altars. It is ordered by the Rubric, that the money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of by the minister and churchwardens, or, in case of their disagreement, by the ordinary. Now it must be remembered that by this provision the Church has vested the disposal of her alms in a body of her members of which two-thirds are laymen, and that these lay members are elected year by year, and are, therefore, year by year liable to be questioned in vestry by any of the parishioners, and to be set aside at the ensuing election. It is true that, at present, from the happy confidence generally subsisting between the clergy and their churchwardens, the disposal of the alms is, wisely and beneficially, left without hesitation in the hands of the parish priest; but the churchwardens have at all times full power to interpose their office, if necessity should arise. My object, however, in adverting to this point is to show that—if, by God's blessing moving the hearts of men to a practice of grateful oblations, the voluntary contributions of the Church, made through the Offertory, should amount, as assuredly they would, to a revenue of large extent—a most careful provision exists, whereby the laity would be invested with a joint control in the disposal of it, through their responsible official representatives, and in numbers twofold as great as that of the clergy. It is of importance to note this, to show how completely the objections which have been made, perhaps with reason,* against other projects for the disposal of contributions, are met and satisfied by the rule laid down for the Offertory by the Church.

"It only remains that I should notice one more point connected with this subject. An idea has been sometimes entertained that the money collected at the Offertory can lawfully be applied only to the relief of the poor, and within the parish where the collection is made.

"Now, in both points this view is incorrect.

"From the sentences read at the Offertory, it is plain that the disposal of a portion to the clergy is contemplated. In the last Rubric, which was added in 1662, it is ordered that the money shall be disposed of to any "pious and charitable uses," of which the minister and churchwardens shall judge; and if they disagree, the ordinary shall dispose of it. In framing this Rubric, regard was had to the Scotch liturgy,† by which it is ordered, that of the Offertory money one-half shall go to the presbyter for books of holy divinity, and the other half be applied by him and the churchwardens to 'some pious and charitable uses,' such as 'the decent furnishing of the church, or the public relief of the poor.' In proof of the design of this Rubric, as it was understood at the time when it was inserted, I may mention that Bishop Patrick, who was Bishop of Chichester not long after, did, together with the churchwardens of his parish,

* See, however, Hooker's Eccl. Pol., lib. vii. c. xxiii. ss. 8, 9, 10. Ed. Keble.

† See L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, p. 195.

Digitized by Google

invest a sum of 400*l.*, being an accumulation of Offertory money not required for the poor, in a piece of land, of which the rent was applied to maintain a daily service in the parish church for ever.* From this it is plain that it may be disposed of to any object which can be truly called 'pious and charitable.'

"Next, as to the supposed restriction to the parish where collection is made, it is needless to say more than that there is no limitation in this respect imposed on the discretion of the minister and churchwardens. They are limited only in the character of the *object*, which must be 'pious and charitable.' There are no landmarks set up to restrict their charity. I need not add that the impression which sometimes has existed, that the money should be given away at the time of the holy communion, is groundless. The Rubric orders that, 'after the Divine service ended, the money given at the Offertory shall be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as the minister and churchwardens shall think fit;' *i.e.* the disposal of it shall be resolved upon; the actual application of the money to the object may be made at any time afterwards. And this Rubric is really obeyed, when, as is now customary, the money is left by established usage, in the hands of the clergyman. The disposition of it to the poor is a standing order, which does not need to be renewed every time a collection is made, so that the Rubric is strictly obeyed when the money is applied to any other object: for in such cases the clergy and churchwardens do at that time consciously and avowedly collect it for the specific purpose, be it what it may. My object in these remarks has been to show, that it is to the voluntary oblations of its people that the Church must turn for a revenue to carry on the great and manifold works of faith in which it is called of God to engage, and that there is only one certain and sufficient course; that is, by restoring to the hearts and consciences of our people the great duty, law, and grace of charity, through an habitual use of the Offertory prescribed by the Church."†

It seemed best not to interrupt the thread of the archdeacon's remarks, and it is to be hoped that they will have their influence both within and without the archdeaconry of Chichester. The Offertory sentences enforce those duties on which Churchmen of the present day most need instruction; and the miserable condition of the poor and the spiritual destitution which prevails are additional reasons for our not dispensing with that part of the Church service which tells us that we must return worldly things for spiritual things, and those that shall be blessed who provide for the sick and needy.

The archdeacon emphatically claims for the poor the restoration of his birthright, to give for Christ's sake, and to be blessed for his deed! Why, then, is the poor man to be deprived, as at present, the privilege of contributing his mite towards repairing and adorning that sacred building in which he worships the God of his fathers? The law of church-rates should be regarded as cumulative of the power of the Church, and not so used as to supersede the exercise of the pious principle for conscience' sake. Our present *indiscriminate* practice of repairing churches by compulsory rates is almost as if we would summons a fellow-citizen for a debt, without making a demand of

* Life of Bishop Patrick, pp. 89, 90.

† In the American Church it was resolved, in the year 1835, that all Missionary Societies should be merged in the Board of Missions, and all contributions be gathered by weekly offerings at the altar. The effect was to double the amount collected, and in one year to raise it from 6000*l.* to 12,000*l.* See Caswall's History of the American Church, pp. 259—262. The thanks of the Church are due to the Lord Bishop of London for showing to the country that the Church can still conceive bold and noble projects: witness the Metropolitan Churches and the Offertory on Palm Sunday in this year for the Colonial Bishoprics Fund.

Digitized by Google

payment by an appeal to his sense of justice. Our present difficulties about tithes, assessments, and church-rates, seem to indicate to us that, though a human law may be useful as an auxiliary in these matters, it cannot, *for any length of time*, be serviceable as a principle. As the neglect of the Offertory is the cause of all these troubles, so a continual use of it would effectually, though gradually, remove them. If a *regular* appeal had been made to the consciences of Christians—if the principle of returning worldly things for spiritual things had been constantly upheld—if the poor man had been reminded of his privilege, and the rich man of his duty of making proportionate contributions for repairing and adorning the sacred fabric, and for all other pious and charitable purposes, none of our present evils would have occurred. 'Tis the glory of the Church system that it does not *necessarily* require the aid of any human legislation; and if we would emancipate the poor from their severe taskmasters, and ourselves from our present yoke of bondage in matters of tithes, assessments, and church-rates, we must consistently and perseveringly put forth the principles of that eternal law of the Gospel on which our *ancient* poor laws, tithe laws, and church-rate laws were founded. Appeals to the legislature should be made to preserve or to restore our *ancient* laws, because they were so many testimonies to the truth, and so many proofs that legislators in *ancient* times did not pass enactments without trying them in the balance of the sanctuary. But for the clergy to appeal to the legislature, and not, at the same time, to appeal to the consciences of the people in the Offertory sentences as required by the Church, is to rest upon an arm of flesh; it is to mutilate the system of the Church by keeping back a part of that sacred deposit which is committed to her charge. The Tithe Commutation Act, and the *principles* which led to its enactment, must be blotted out. *Delenda est Carthago.* It is downright sacrilege; and if we silently allow this iniquitous measure to disgrace the statute-book, our sin of silence will assuredly find us out. The Tithe Commutation Act must be repealed. The clergy, setting aside all false notions of delicacy, must carefully consider its principles, and *then* they need not be exhorted to petition for its repeal. The contract they have entered into has been broken, and happily by no other course except that here suggested is there the slightest prospect of redress. They must relinquish all thoughts of seeking a more favourable consideration of their claims in the parochial assessment book; rather they must acknowledge that the Church's patrimony is the poor man's inheritance; and the non-resident rector must be again required, as by the statute of Richard II., to make over a portion of his tithes *for the relief of the temporal necessities of the poor*, as well as for the payment of the curate. Mr. Simeon's Trustees must be superseded by an association for the purchase of lay impropriations. The Ecclesiastical Commission must be dissolved, and there must be a legitimate appropriation and distribution of Church revenues. A bishopric of Manchester must be endowed, not by the suppression of a bishopric in Wales, but by a portion of the tithes paid by Manchester manufacturers. St. Paul's must be the missionary station for the conversion of London, and the Church must be seen to be the real society for the propagation of the Gospel, and the REAL GUARDIAN OF THE POOR. A uniform compliance with the archdeacon's

Digitized by Google

recommendations respecting the Offertory would ultimately lead to these results.

It would also be an interesting subject of inquiry whether the erection of pews may not have been occasioned by the neglect of the Offertory. The parish church is, in *one* sense, parish property. All parishioners who adhere to Church rules have as much right to admission into the church as they have to burial in the church-yard. If *all* the congregation had been called upon from time to time to contribute to the repair of the church, this appeal would have been a witness from time to time that the church was common property, and thereby, perhaps, have prevented the present encroachment on the poor man's rights.

Nor should it be forgotten that, under the present arrangement, the poor man has no share whatever in the privilege of providing (or contributing towards providing) either *the bread* or the wine for the Holy Communion. *The law should only be appealed to in cases of necessity*, and, if the sacred elements cannot be provided without having recourse to the parish purse, there must be a miserable deficiency of Church feeling and Church principle. But if things are at a low ebb it is because no efforts are made to improve them. The principle under consideration is difficult perhaps to master, and the right application of it, in existing state of things, is another difficulty; and we too often plead these difficulties as so many reasons for contentment in our degraded position. The poor man should be encouraged and permitted in his turn to offer his loaf on the altar. No law either of God or man would be infringed, and assuredly the Holy Feast would assume a more primitive character; and the Offering, as being *entirely spontaneous*, would, we may presume, be the more acceptable. In one church the course here recommended is followed, and it is probable, I think, that compliance with the rules of the Church relating to the Offertory will bring the subject home to the minds of Churchmen.

The archdeacon observes "that it is only when done in relation to our acts of grateful homage that the practice of giving for religious works receives its full meaning and sacredness." And again he observes, "that the popular mode of gathering funds by subscription has detached itself from the highest acts of personal devotion." But, beyond all this, the practice of giving receives a still fuller meaning when regarded as *in itself* an act of grateful homage and of personal devotion. Dr. Hammond, in his *Practical Catechism*, treats this subject with his usual judgment and perspicuity when he divides acts of *worship* into fasting, *almsgiving*, and prayer. The learned Mr. Mede takes the same view, as may be seen by referring to a passage already quoted from him in these papers.* The Rubric speaks also of alms and *other devotions* of the congregation. Mr. Gresley, in a sermon which he has recently published on the Offertory, follows in the train of Dr. Hammond, Mr. Mede, and the Rubric, when he observes, "Nor, if we look to its reasonableness and propriety, can we conceive a more fit method of yielding to God that portion which is His due, than that the poor man out of his weekly earnings, and the rich man according to the proportion of his income, should set apart a weekly sum, and reverently offer it, *as a part of his religious worship*,

* No. XI. of the Christian Remembrancer, p. 211.

Digitized by Google

upon the altar of the Lord, with a humble prayer that God would be pleased to accept it at his hands."

Whatever importance we may attach to the Offertory as an instrument for raising money for the Church and the poor, it is of still greater importance as an instrument for calling into action an *essential* principle of Christianity, and of leading Christians to the knowledge and practice of a duty, a part of religious worship, which must be discharged by all who would promise to themselves the blessings of the Gospel in this world and that which is to come. The Offertory sentences abound with this promise. "Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be ready to give, glad to distribute, (not in order that the poor may be relieved,) but laying up in store *for themselves a good foundation*, &c. *To do good and distribute forget not;* and why? Not that the hungry may eat of our bread, but because *with such sacrifices God is well pleased. Let him that is taught in the Word minister unto him that teacheth,* BECAUSE *whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.* The relief of the poor man's wants and the propagation of the Gospel are the obvious visible *results;* but such results are not put forward in the Scriptures as the *primary* motive for the discharge of this duty. Upon the same principle our *first* thoughts in this matter must not be the poor and the Church, but rather we must desire gifts that *fruit may abound to the account* of those who give them, ever remembering *the words of the Lord Jesus, that it is more blessed to give than to receive.*

"To lay up *portions* of our substance for the service of God," the archdeacon observes, "say one-fourth, one-sixth, one-tenth, &c., is as much a part of Christianity as any evangelical precept." There is not, I think, either argument or authority for proving that to give one-fourth or one-sixth of our substance for the service of God is a part of Christianity. Nor does the archdeacon mean this, but only that *some* portion must be given *as a positive duty.* This is one step towards the Catholic rule which this age has not yet taken, where the pseudo-voluntary principle is all in all. Should a Churchman of the present day be disposed to smile on reading Mr. Maitland's ingenious letters on the voluntary system, he might be accosted by a disciple of the Church of the Fathers, by an Anglo-Saxon, or by an Anglo-Catholic, with—

> "Quid rides? Mutato nomine de te
> Fabula narratur."

The great majority of Churchmen of the present day have no adequate notion that a portion of their substance is due to God and the Church as *a part of religious worship. That* they think is a work of supererogation. I am sorry to see persons insinuate that the growth of heathenism in our large towns is to be attributed to a defect in the Church system,* whereas the real cause is a neglect of Church rules, and the disregard of a principle considered essential by the Church of the Fathers, by the Anglo-Saxon Church, and by the Anglo-Catholic Church, and by the Church in all ages except the present—a principle, in the words of Bishop Andrewes, attested "by two Patriarchs, as many

* British Critic, LXIII. p. 74.

Digitized by Google

Prophets, Christ, His Apostles, the whole Church, Fathers, Councils, History, both laws, (civil and canon,) Reason, the imperfect pieces and fragments of the heathen, and finally experience itself." The archdeacon might have fortified himself with all this testimony if he had spoken exclusively of the tenth portion as being the Sacred Quota, due (not necessarily to the clergy,) but to God and the Church, *as a part of religious worship.* Tithes and offerings are an essential part of Christianity—tithes as a positive duty—a fixed payment with the sanction of divine and ecclesiastical laws; offerings as gifts, *in addition*, on the *true* voluntary principle. It is well for us that there were no Church Societies, as we call them, incorporated by royal charter in Anglo-Saxon or Mediæval times, or assuredly our villages would now be the haunts of Pagans, and all our towns as ill-provided with churches as Whitechapel and Stepney. I will conclude my present observations with calling attention to an ancient document, (embodying the principle of endowment in the churches of the City of London,) and which I would call AN OLD TRACT FOR NEW TIMES :—

"*The copy of the Bille for offyring to y' Curattz of the Pisshers of the cite of London.*

"It plainly appeareth in the letters of Innocent and Thomas Archbeshop, etc."

"THE LETTER OF INNOCENT, BISHOP.

"Almighti God to whom belongeth the erthe and all that is theryn comãndethe "that tenthes shulde be gyven hẽ and wolde be honowred spũalli withe "offryngis, and therfore the reũend fadir Roger Nyger late Bisshop of London, "made a constitucion, which constitucion Thoms Archbishop of Canterbury "and in any hys predecessors hath approvid, as we fynde in our visitacion upon "offrynge on sõdayes and solemne and doubly festis and namely of ȳ appostels "whoes vigils ben fastid by the inhabytantis of houses hostries or shoppes "whose pension is xs. by yere a ferthing and so forthe yff it assende to xls. "1d. Summe yet having litell regard to their soules cõstrued that yf the sayd "pension never so mũch exceded xls. that he shal pay but one peny we "therfore wylling that alle alteracion* as touching that should be removed, "wille by thautorite of theys letters, that if the sayd pensiõ excede xls. by xs. "that he shal pay 1d. q̃. and for every xs. assendinge q̃. Days of offring, everi "sonday in the yere Christms day Circũcision Ephye Purificacion of our Lady "Mathi appostle, Annũciaciõ of our Lady the Ascension of our Lord, Corp. "Christi seint Mathew appostle Symond and Jude Alhalowen Andrew appostle "Concepciõ of our Lady Thoms apl'e John Baptist Pet' and Powle James apl'e "Bartilmew apl'e Assũpciõ and Natite of our Ladi Dediciõ day also on dai of ȳ "prĩcipale festz of ye patrõ of everj chirche.

"Itm̃ y^t all appretiz s'untz and hired men within the sayd cyte, not "charged with such rent and housingis which shalbe houselde at Estir, or "abought Ester, shall iiij tymes ĩ ye yere at iiij prĩcipall festis offer to God and "to the chirche. Also as for ssonall tithes ye perissh by this ordinañce shal "neither be charged or discharged saving y^t hereafter shall noo curat vex "trouble sue or dynye sacramentis or s'uice for noo paymẽt of ye same, but "lene [leve?] them to good devociõ and conscience of ye pishers.

"Be yt in mynde that thys bõde and arbitrement ys made ye xvii day of "Decembri, ye yere of the incarnaciõ of our Lorde, M.iiij C.lvij."

"This is spoken of as an old and laudable custom, and which was used time out of mind. Roger Niger was consecrated Bishop of London, Jan. 10, 1229." —*Customs of London.*

---

* Altercacion.

Digitized by Google

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS APPOINTED.

Bp. of Oxford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Peterborough, *June* 11.
Bp. of Exeter, *June* 11.
Bp. of Hereford, *June* 11.
Bp. of Worcester, *June* 11.
Bp. of Ely, *June* 18.

PREFERMENTS.

Name.	*Preferment.*	*Diocese.*	*Patron.*	*Val.*	*Pop.*
Barker, C. R.	Oddington, R.	G. & B.	Precentor of York Cath.	£365	539
Batten, H.	St. Paul, Penzance, P.C.	Exeter	...	...	...
Baxter, J. A.	Coseley, P.C.	Lichfield	Lord Ward	138	...
Blunt, W.	Longstock, V.	Winchester	Sir C. Mill, Bart.	284	428
Bromley, T.	St. James, Wolverhampton, P.C.	Royal Pec.	...	...	...
Buckley, J. W.	St. James's, Paddington, P.C.	London	...	...	...
Bulmer, W. H.	St. Andrew, Deptford, P.C.	Durham	...	...	...
Cave, W. C. B.	Hope, V.	Lichfield	D. & C. of Lichfield	132	3927
Cave, W. C. B.	St. Philip, Liverpool, P.C.	Chester	J. Cragg, Esq.	200	...
Coleby, G.	Colby, R.	Norwich	Lord Suffield	271	304
Dolben, C.	Ipsley, R.	Worcester	Rev. C. Dolben	588	830
Dolphin, —	Thorpe Market, V.	Norwich	Lord Suffield	69	254
Dundas, Hon. C.	Epworth, R.	Lincoln	The Crown	952	1825
Fawkes, J. B.	Daresbury, P.C.	Chester	Christ Church, Oxford	175	143
Greaves, J. W.	Ranworth, V.	Norwich	Bishop of Ely	308	400
Grey, Hon. J.	Wolsingham, R.	Durham	Bp. of Durham	791	2239
Hatchard, J. A.	Haydon, V.	Sarum	Earl Digby	142	123
King, H.	Kirkby Stephen, V.	Carlisle	Rev. T. P. Williamson.	356	2798
Jacques, J. S.	Bywell, St. Andrew, V.	Durham	T. W. Beaumont, Esq.	159	428
Law, J.	Ford, P.C.	Durham	Mrs. Gray	...	...
Lloyd, T.	Christleton, R.	Chester	Lady Champneys	827	893
Macfarlane, J. D.	Sutton, R.	Norwich	Earl of Abergavenny	292	313
Madge, T. H.	Rockingham, R.	Peterboro'	Lord Sondes	81	296
Maltby, H. J.	Egglescliffe, R.	Durham	Bp. of Durham	1049	625
Marriott, G.	Cottesbach, R.	Peterboro'	Rev. R. Marriott	106	108
Marsden, T.	Child's Wickham, V.	G. & B.	P. Bedwell, Esq.	105	415
Mill, W. H. D.D.	Brasted	Canterbury.	Abp. of Canterbury	673	964
Moore, E.	Boughton-Malherbe, R.	...	...	...	...
Morgan, Benj.	St. David, Liverpool, P.C.	Chester	Trustees	203	...
Owen, J.	Cundall, P.C.	Ripon	W. Heathcote, Esq.	59	394
Pedlar, H. O.	Trinity Ch., Exeter, R.	Exeter	D. & C. of Exeter	111	2847
Peile, J. N.	St. Botolph, Cambridge, R.	Ely	Queen's Coll., Camb.	87	...
Penny, W. G.	Ashendon and Dourton, P.C.	...	...	...	...
Rawes, J.	Allendale, P.C.	Durham	T. W. Beaumont, Esq.	130	...
Rees, S.	Alby, R.	Norwich	Earl of Oxford	140	364
Sisson, J. L.	Swafield, R.	Norwich	Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster	209	155
Smith, W.	Llangua, R.	Llandaff	Col. Scudamore	120	76
Tate, —	Trinity Chap., Wakefield, P.C.	Ripon	...	...	...
Teale, W. H.	Roystone, V.	York	Abp. of York	166	3690
Whalley, W.	Didbrook, V.	G. & B.	C. H. Tracey	257	240
Wheeler, W.	Shoreham, V.	Chichester	Magdalene College	181	1734
Whitaker, J.	Hey Houses, Whalley, P.C.	Chester	Le G. Starkie, Esq.	...	1550
Whiteford, C.	2d Portion, Burford, Salop, R.	Hereford	G. B. Rushout, Esq.	286	1085
Williams, J.	Wiggenton, R.	Oxford	Jesus College, Oxford	290	327
Wilson, C.	Heyaham, R.	Chester	Trus. Ridley Family	504	582

APPOINTMENTS.

Baber, H. — Curate of Kensington.
Bagot, D. — Vicar of Newry, and Vicar-Gen. of the Exempt Jurisdiction of Newry & Morne.
Brackenbury, J. F. — Ast. Mast. Marlborough Sch.
Courtenay, C. L. — Chaplain to her Majesty.
Gibbs, M. — Lect. at St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe & St. Ann, Blackf.
Hessey, F. — Head Master of Kensington Proprietary School.
Lyne, C. — Prebend in Exeter Cath.
Oldershaw, H. — Minister of the New Church, at Wall, near Lichfield.
Oldrid, J. H. — Officiat. Priest in Boston Ch.
Penrose, C. J. — Head Master of Grosvenor College, Bath.
Sharpe, J. C. — Ast. Master in Marlborough Sch. for Sons of Clergymen.
Wallace, A. — Head Master of Free Gram. School at Newport, I. W.

Digitized by Google

CLERGYMEN DECEASED.

Atkinson, C., Incumbent of St. Paul's Church, Leeds, and of Elland, near Halifax.
Bourke, Hon. J., Dean of Ossory.
Browne, J. H., Rector of Crownthorpe, Vicar of Runhall, and Head Mast. of Hingham School.
Chafey, W., D.D., Mast. of Sydney Coll., Camb.
Dixon, J., Vicar of Brotherton.
Dyer, J.
Gibbons, J., Rector of Brasted, in Kent, and Thornbury-cum-Collington, Herefordshire.
Loxham, R., P. C. of St. John, Liverpool, and Rector of Halsall, Lancashire, 82.
Mann, W., of St. Saviour's, Southwark.
Milner, H. S. LL.D., Rector of Thryberg, Yorks.
Neve, F. H., Vicar of Llansantffraid-yn-Mechan, Montgomeryshire.
Palmer, J. B., Ely.
Pering, J., Vicar of Skipton and Kildwick.
Robinson, J., Rector of Alresford.
Thompson, W., P. C. of St. Barnabas, Goswell-street-road.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE ENLARGEMENT, BUILDING, AND REPAIRING OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

A MEETING of this Society was held at their chambers in St. Martin's-place, on Monday, the 15th May, 1843, to receive the reports of the sub-committees, and for general business.

The Lord Bishop of Llandaff was in the chair; and amongst the members present, were the Lord Bishop of Ely; the Very Rev. the Dean of Chichester; the Revs. Archdeacon Hale, Dr. Spry, Dr. D'Oyly, and B. Harrison; F. H. Dickinson, M.P., N. Connop, jun., J. S. Salt, J. W. Bowden, H. J. Barchard, Geo. Frere, A. Powell, J. Cocks, and S. B. Brooke, Esqs., &c.

The secretary read the reports of the sub-committees, and the general committee proceeded to investigate the cases referred to them, and finally granted votes of various sums for the following purposes:—For building a chapel at Nutby, in the parish of Mansfield, Sussex; rebuilding the church at Hurst-Pierpoint, Sussex; rebuilding the church at Llanllechid, Carnarvonshire; building a church at Markinton, in the parish of Ripon, Yorkshire; rebuilding the church at Newton Toney, Wilts; repewing the church of St. Mary, at Marlborough, Wilts; enlarging and repewing the church at Binstead, Isle of Wight; rebuilding the church of All Saints at Dorchester, Dorset; building a church at Little Milton, Oxon; rebuilding the chapel at Ellerker, Yorkshire; repewing the church at Bawdsey, Suffolk; building a church at Ashley-road, in the parish of St. Paul, Bristol; building a church at Montpellier, in the parish of St. Paul, Bristol.

The population of these 13 parishes amounts to 41,195 persons, for whom church accommodation is now provided to the extent of 5815 sittings, of which 2124 are free. With the assistance of this Society, 3935 sittings will be added to the above, and of this number 3239 will be free and unappropriated in perpetuity.

Certificates of the completion of the erection, enlargement, &c. of churches and chapels in five parishes were examined and approved, and the committee issued warrants to the treasurer for the payment of the grant awarded in each case.

The population of these five parishes is 31,795 persons, for whom there had been church-room for only 3,944 persons, of which, 1362 were free; but with the Society's aid 1,758 sittings have been added, 1,343 of these being free.

Since the above meeting, the Society has held its annual general court; from the report made to which we have great pleasure in making the following extracts:

"The returns of the past year appear to the Committee in many respects most gratifying. From the table which sets forth the specific objects of the Grants, it will be seen that the number voted for new churches, undoubtedly the most important kind of undertaking in which the Society can assist, is greater this year than it has ever been before, the number being *twenty-seven*, exceeding by more than one-third the average of the last seven years, and exactly equalling the total number of such grants made during the first sixteen years of the Society's existence.

"On the other hand, the grants for 'additional accommodation,' by rearrangement of sittings, &c., has diminished. The number in the present return is thirty, the average of the seven past years being forty-two. In this fact, coupled with that just mentioned, the committee feel themselves warranted in recognising the daily extending operation of the principle, that the deficiency, still so lamentable, of church accommodation for an overflowing population, is to be met, not by the temporary expedient of crowding congregations, to their great inconvenience, into our present edifices, but by rearing new temples to God's honour, in addition to the old, wherever

Digitized by Google

the wants of increasing towns and populous districts may require them.

"The Committee also perceive, with much satisfaction, that efforts are now frequently made to raise new churches and chapels by individual, or private means, and without application to this Society for aid; and that, too, on a scale which a few years past was never contemplated. They could mention a variety of instances in which sacred edifices are now erecting, either entirely by funds thus supplied, or with comparatively trifling assistance from this Society, after contributions of the most munificent kind from the applicants for its aid. This, which may fairly be considered as an indirect effect of the Society's past labours, is thus coming daily to bear a larger proportion to those direct and present operations which are summed up in the Tables annexed to the Report."

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

CHICHESTER.—*St. Andrew's Church.*—On Easter Eve two lancet windows of stained glass, by Willement, were placed in the chancel of this church by the Rector, the Rev. W. W. Holland, in memory of his mother. The subjects selected for illustration are the principal events in the history of St. Andrew, to whose honour the church was dedicated. There are five compartments in either light, each relating some incident in the life of the Apostles:—1. St. Andrew and St. Peter in their calling as fishermen.—2. St. Andrew, one of the two disciples of John the Baptist.—3. St. Andrew as present when St. John the Baptist said, "Behold the Lamb of God."—4. St. Andrew finds his brother Simon, and brings him to Christ.—5. St. Andrew called by our Lord from his employment.—6. St. Andrew preaches in Scythia.—7. St. Andrew condemned by the Proconsul at Patræ.—8. St. Andrew scourged.—9. St. Andrew crucified.—10. St. Andrew with crown and palm of martyrdom. Each design is accompanied by a suitable legend in ancient characters. The glass, for depth of tone, richness, and mellowness of colour, is not inferior to the finest productions of the 13th and 14th centuries. An inscription in old English character on brass, under each window, relates the cause of their erection.—*Church Intelligencer.*

HEREFORD.—*Ledbury.*—Earl Somers has given the site for the proposed new church at this place in addition to a subscription of 500*l.* Upwards of 1,300*l.* has been subscribed, and the farmers in the neighbourhood have consented to "haul" the materials for the building.—*Church Intelligencer.*

LONDON.—*Clapton.*—Mr. Editor,—Some of your readers, in former numbers of your periodical, noticed the formation of the Upper Clapton and Stamford-hill Church-Fund; and, as it was the first instituted in the diocese of London, and the second in the kingdom, were anxious to watch its progress. On this account, I shall be obliged to you to insert in your next number the following extract from the last Report of the fund:—

	£	s.	d.
In 1839, the amount collected was	243	19	6
,, 1840, ,, ,, ,,	298	5	2
,, 1841, ,, ,, ,,	293	19	7
,, 1842, ,, ,, ,,	307	8	10
which last sum was thus distributed:—			
Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge	43	14	2
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	65	14	7
Church Building Society	70	15	5
Additional Curates' Society . . .	72	19	1
National Society	54	5	7

Previous to the establishment of this fund, the amount contributed to Church purposes from this same district was 50*l.*

SALISBURY.—*Consecration of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, Crockerton, near Warminster.*—The hamlet of Crockerton is in the parish of Longbridge Deverill, of which the Rev. and Right Hon. Lord Charles Thynne is the incumbent. By his exertions, aided by the liberal, yet private and unostentatious, benefactions of many friends, a chapel of ease has been built in this manufacturing hamlet for the accommodation of nearly 500 persons, upon the plans and under the superintendence of Thomas H. Wyatt, Esq., the architect of the Salisbury Diocesan Church Building Association, from the funds of which a grant of 150*l.* has been made towards its erection. The chapel, which stands near to the western edge of the grounds of Longleat, and at about four miles from that noble mansion, was consecrated by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, on Thursday, the 20th ult.

The building is in its main features Norman, but without such strict adherence to the English models of that style as to exclude a free use of some of its more continental forms. It consists, after the manner of chapels, of a single body. At the north-western corner is

Digitized by Google

placed the tower with a dwarf steeple; the windows in the tower being of pierced work, and the columns of the arches carried below the windows of the same depth as above, so as to form inverted arches embracing a cross. At each angle of the tower are the emblems of the Holy Evangelists looking forth, as it were, to all parts of the world. In a line with the tower are the porch and vestry, externally appearing as part of the main building, and forming altogether a very well-arranged western front, of which the stone-work of the windows is more enriched than of those in the other parts of the building. The apse is intended to be removed and carried further out, so as to form a chancel of considerable depth, which, for the present, the funds will not allow. A Norman cross surmounts the eastern gable. The interior is about 65 feet by 30, exclusive of the apse in which it terminates at the eastern end. Within the apse, which is paved with encaustic tiles, is the Communion Table, with a credence bracket on the northern side, on which the elements stand previous to the administration of the Communion until the time at which the Rubric directs that they shall be placed on the holy table. The windows of the apse and several others are filled with stained glass, of most appropriate and emblematic designs by Mr. Miller, of Silver Street, Golden Square, London; a rich red cross forming the prominent feature of the central one. These and other beautiful portions are the gifts of individuals, desiring that the sanctuary of the MOST HIGH should not, at least, be less beautiful than the dwellings of men. On either side of the altar, and clustering with the windows, are arched niches, containing the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, illuminated. The pulpit is made of stone in the south-eastern angle of the body, and in the opposite angle a double reading-desk of low open work and massive. At the foot of the apse, or chancel steps, is a simple lectern, on which rests the Holy Bible, for the reading of the lessons. A gallery at the west end is supported by a screen, so arranged as to form on the southern side a baptistery with a massive font, on which are figures of the Holy Apostles. The roof externally is covered with red tile. Internally it consists of chamfered tie-beams, with brackets and pendants, queenposts, collars, principals, and partins united by curved ribs, all of which are seen in dark wood; and on the tie-beams, as well as on other parts of the church, are well-selected and beautifully-painted passages of Holy Scripture.

The seats are all unappropriated, open, and free, as they ought to be in every christian church, and the whole is pregnant with devotional feeling, having that tone so well calculated to foster and give satisfaction to reverential and devout minds. The cost was comparatively small.

If the outward structure is such, much more was that solemn service calculated to produce the same effect. Our good and reverend bishop entered the church at the head of sixty of his clergy in surplices and hoods, besides others not so habited. He was attended by his chaplains, the Canon Hamilton and the Rev. the Hon. C. Harris, and by the Chancellor of the diocese, James Hope, esq. The Rev. the Lord Charles Thynne, assisted by his curate, the Rev. Mr. Wordsworth, performing the ordinary service of the day. The Bishop himself preached from the text, "My house shall be called the house of prayer," showing the character and objects of the sanctuary, in every dispensation, to have been those of worship, instruction being only an incidental, though a valuable accompaniment. He urged forcibly upon both clergy and laity the importance of this truth, and reminded them that the end of all efficient preaching should be, if rightly directed, to produce not a listening, but a praying people. From a forgetfulness of this, came the indevout and indolent and self-indulgent postures, which, contrary to the recorded practice of the Lord and his apostles, and all humble supplicants mentioned in the word of God, marked so many congregations as hearers, and not as worshippers; and the no less unsuitable and unseemly arrangements which made so many of our churches places of hearing, and not sanctuaries for prayer. Such wholesome instructions are much needed, and call for gratitude, while they hold out a hope that, as year after year calls for notice of the erection or re-building of other churches in this diocese, the arrangements may be equally beautiful and equally suited to their holy purposes.

After the sermon was ended, the offertory was read by the bishop, and a collection of offerings made to the amount of 180*l.*, inclusive of the sums offered by the afternoon congregation, composed chiefly of the poor. After this the holy eucharist was administered to all the clergy present, and to about an equal

Digitized by Google

number of the laity. The usual service was solemnized in the afternoon, the Archdeacon Lear preaching a sermon. Such occasions are bright spots in the midst of a world which brings more or less trial to all, and are eminently calculated at once to spread an increased feeling of sound religion amongst the laity, to stir them up to go and do likewise, to lead the clergy to more unanimous cooperation, to gather the affections of all around the bishops of the church, and to impress the reality of that, for the sake of which so many daily, and we may trust acceptable, sacrifices are made.—*English Churchman.*

WORCESTER.—*Powick.*—The following announcement of "Miss Gibson's benefit," in the shape of a regular placard, has just fallen in our way, and we give it as an illustration of the doings of our time. Whether or not Miss Gibson is herself to preach the sermon, the placard does not state; but certainly the inhabitants of Powick ought to support their organist in a respectable manner, without her having recourse to such means as this, and we trust they will do so in future:—"Sermon at Powick, for the benefit of the organist. Miss Gibson begs to announce to her friends and the public in general, that on Sunday morning next, May 14, 1843, a sermon will be preached at Powick Church, after which a collection will be made to remunerate her services as organist during the past year.—As the annual collection at the church is the only source upon which she depends for remuneration, she trusts that a kind and liberal public will afford her their generous support: and, while thanking them for past favours, hopes that her increasing duties will not pass unnoticed. The service will commence at eleven o'clock."

MISCELLANEOUS.

IN proof of the private and real view which Romanists take of the progress of Catholicism, I shall give you a few extracts from an article in the Roman Catholic paper, *The Tablet*, of the 29th of April. Mr. Phillipps, a well-known Roman Catholic gentleman, had, it seems, ran his head against that newspaper, by publishing a letter defending the Government education scheme, in which he made use of the argument that the teaching of the National Church was much more likely to dispose the people towards the reception of *the truth*, than the teaching of the dissenting sects. The answer is long, but the subjoined extracts give the sense of it.

"Of all positions," says *The Tablet*, "*unfavourable for the reception of truth*, we can imagine none more dangerous and frightful than that of a man who has the truth every day forced upon him, and who is every day habituated to reject it; who is accustomed every day to feed his soul with an imitation of the truth, and to make nice distinctions between it and some form or other of error which bears to it a miserable superficial resemblance. The man who has been all his life a dissenter, may feel, in his moments of humility, that he needs another guide to divine philosophy than the groping blindness of his own small understanding, and will then fall back naturally on the Church, which presents the fairest claim to obedience. But the Anglican, *or still worse, because still nearer*, the Oxford Anglican, and worse still, the Greek, has already renounced his private judgment, and accustomed himself to find some sort of resource and support in these sham churches. Humanly speaking, he has not one half the motive to look out for another guidance, or to keep his mind open to the necessity of something better than he now enjoys. Indeed, if we were inclined to lay down any general proposition on such an obscure and uncertain subject, we should be much more tempted to take the reverse of Mr. Phillipps' proposition, and to abide by the jocose Protestant proverb—'The nearer the Church the farther from God.'"

Passing over a good deal more to the same effect, I give the following valuable testimony of this Romish journal to the respective positions now occupied by the Anglican and Roman communions:—

"*Fearing for them*," the "*Puseyites*"—seeing how *hard and difficult* a matter it is to convince them, and *witnessing as we do the comparative ease with which the less instructed non-religionists are brought to renounce their errors*, it is with no feeling of complacency that we look forward to the conversion of our manufacturing infidels into perverted or bastard Christians. Indeed we consider the whole question with very sorrowful eyes. There seems to lie everywhere around us a huge desert of infidelity, asking us, beseeching us, to convert it, and take it into the true Church. There it lies all around us, irreligious, empty of dogmas, despising

Digitized by Google

such mammon doctrine as it has heard and seen, and dimly longing for a more heavenly faith. All this while, what have we been doing? Our means, it is true, have been scanty, and our discouragements great. But yet it is true, that we have not done one-fifth part of what we might have done, that we have for the most laid down in slumber, that we have allowed the hours of opportunity to pass over our heads unemployed; that we have permitted the apathy of our rivals to cease before our turn for exertion has begun, and that we are not yet thoroughly awake, while *the Anglican Church is growing every day with the growth of a giant.* Look at this heretical communion now, and look at it ten years ago. Then it was broken, discomfited, trampled on, despised, and its approaching end foretold—now, we verily believe, it is stronger than it has ever been since King William's Revolution. In all quarters it is becoming more efficient, more respected, more feared, more powerful. Take this one symptom—Sir James Graham's Education Bill. The minister who had brought in such a bill after the passing of the Reform Act, would have been scouted out of Parliament into Bedlam. Then was the time for cutting down Irish bishops by Act of Parliament, not for thrusting the education of the country into their hands."—*Church Intelligencer.*

CARMARTHEN.—The Lord Bishop of St. David's preached an admirable sermon in the Welsh language on Sunday week, in St. David's church, to probably the most numerous congregation ever assembled within the walls of a church in the Principality. It was estimated that not less than two thousand persons were present; even the aisles were thronged with attentive auditors. The beautiful and sublime service of our Church was read by the Rev. D. A. Williams, and the very effective choir of St. David's chanted the *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* in Welsh. His Lordship selected for his text the 9th chap. of Mark, and the 49th verse. The accuracy of his Lordship's pronunciation was extraordinary, and excited the surprise of many who had not before heard him preach in the Welsh language.—*Hereford Journal.*

BISHOPRIC OF NEW BRUNSWICK.—The Bishop of Nova Scotia has recently issued a pastoral letter in behalf of the endowment fund for the proposed See of New Brunswick. The following are the most important paragraphs:—

"To the Clergy and Lay Members of the Established Church in the Diocese of Nova Scotia.

"BELOVED BRETHREN,

* * * * * *

"Some of you must be aware of the great injury which, for more than a century, was sustained in this Western Hemisphere from the anomalous position in which our Church was placed. Although episcopal in her form and character, she had no Bishop.—She was incompetent to the performance of several essential functions; she had no means for preserving necessary order; several of her important ordinances were unavoidably withheld from her members; and she had to traverse the ocean for the ordination of her ministers. These great evils were deeply felt and deplored, not only by the immediate sufferers, but by many of the best and most distinguished men in the parent kingdom, who made great and continued efforts to obtain for their brethren in the colonies the essential benefit of episcopal superintendence. These efforts were unhappily without their due effect, through a long and dreary period, and the date of their earliest success is so recent, that many of ourselves can clearly recollect the time when a Protestant Bishop first set his foot upon the widely-extended shores of America. Those who shall follow us will find it most difficult to account for so strange and long-continued departure from the practice of the apostolic and primitive ages, when the Church was carried at once, in all her fulness, to every place where an opening was made for her, by the providence of her Divine Head.

"Happily, the first episcopal appointments in the colonies, after this long delay, have given such evidence of their importance, that an earnest desire has been awakened for their large increase, of which the most gratifying proofs are pouring in upon us, from a very large portion of the world."

After alluding to the bishoprics already founded, his lordship proceeds:—

"The next object of the Fathers of the Church is the erection of the extensive and important province of New Brunswick into a separate see—earnestly hoping, by this measure, to obtain benefit and blessing for all the members of the Church, not only in that rapidly increasing colony, but in every part of this diocese. They well know the hopelessness of expecting the full benefit of episcopal care and superintendence, while so extensive a charge as that of the present

Digitized by Google

diocese of Nova Scotia is committed to a single bishop.

"It would ill become me, filling the station which I occupy, to dwell upon the real importance of such care and superintendence; but there is reality in their importance. Few persons have more reason to know and feel their own insufficiency, than those who, for some time, have filled the office of the chief pastor of a flock of Christ. But, however great they feel their own unworthiness to be, they cannot but know that they are called upon to dispense a treasure, and although it be contained in frail vessels of earth it is a treasure still.

"The truly christian regard which has been manifested by our brethren at home, should stimulate every member of the Church in these colonies, to his utmost effort in aid of the benevolence which has been exercised for your eternal good. You are now called upon to make such effort, but remember, in the same spirit which has been manifested in the parent country. There indeed the object has been to promote the glory of God, and the prosperity of His Church, among *distant members* of the flock of Christ, almost unknown to them. Here the object is to meet such christian love with grateful hearts, and aid its full success, not for the benefit of *distant brethren*, but for the welfare, the temporal and eternal welfare, of yourselves, and of those who are most dear to you. Well, therefore, may it be hoped, that every member of our flock will consider it not merely an indispensable duty, but a delightful privilege, to give his most earnest and active regard to the call now made upon him; and then he will be ready to make even inconvenient sacrifice, if such shall be required.

"The Clergy will feel it to be their duty, without loss of time, to make known the peculiar demand which is now made upon the best feelings of all the members of the Church; and I earnestly recommend their endeavours to do this, by affectionate appeals from the pulpit, followed up by personal communication with all the individuals of their respective flocks. Not one should fail to bear a part, however limited his means may be —nor should he omit by faithful prayer, to seek that his humble offering may be made acceptable to God, through the Divine Mediator.

"Perhaps some may be inclined to wish what they almost consider a burthen, could have been provided for from other sources, without calling for any sacrifice from them. Instead of pronouncing harsh and hasty condemnation of such wish, I will acknowledge, that there was a time, when in the fervour of youthful zeal, and from affectionate regard for the members of the Church in these colonies, I was led, not only to desire, but very earnestly to endeavour to procure the whole of a comfortable support for our missionaries from England, with little, or perhaps no assistance from their own flocks. Eight years were occupied in this endeavour, and I greatly rejoiced, at the moment, in the attainment of that object in the year 1813. A suggestion was made to me soon afterwards, by a bright and shining light of the Church, the eminently great and holy Bishop Hobart, which I was then ill-prepared to receive. But long experience has convinced me of its wisdom. That amiable father, with a mingled serenity and animation, peculiarly his own, endeavoured to satisfy me, that so long as our Church should look for its whole support to the bounty of England, and should be unassisted by our own congregations, she would remain in a state of languor, and her prosperity would be delayed. Within the few last years more progress has been made—more zeal has been manifested by our people—more churches and parsonages have been built, or commenced—and more provision has been made for the support of the clergy, (small and insufficient as it still is,) than were ever hoped for by the most sanguine, in the preceding quarter of a century.

"In all this we trust that we behold a return to first principles and primitive love. The people of God in the earliest ages were accustomed to bring their free-will offerings for those who ministered at the altar. Such holy dedication of a good portion of his substance was the joy of the pious Israelite. Under the more glorious dispensation of the gospel, the same principle and the same affection were maintained, and produced similar results, of an higher and more spiritual character. If, then, we had nearly forgotten the duty and the privilege, which were performed and enjoyed by the ancient people of God, and by the first followers of the Saviour, we may rejoice that the clouds of that night, in which the forgetfulness of sleep was upon us, are now breaking away, and we are permitted to see the dawn of a happier day. Nor can we reasonably doubt, that, if it were in our power to obtain a full support for our Church and clergy from some extrinsic source, without any effort, or any contribution from ourselves, it would be unwise to accept the seeming advantage. Our love would wax cold—a bond of holy

Digitized by Google

unity would be lost; our Church would languish; and lukewarmness, and indifference, and irreligon, in various measures, would be the certain effects.

"I must claim your indulgence while adverting to myself in the midst of considerations of such high importance as those which are now before you. Urgently as I am pressing for the means of dividing this large diocese, the attainment of the object will not be unattended by circumstances of real sorrow to myself. The union with all the portions of my extensive flock, has been of a holy and endearing character; and the tie which thus unites us, cannot be severed without pain. The affectionate intercourse which it has been my happiness to enjoy with my brethren in New Brunswick, who are very dear to me; and the solemn employments in which we have often been engaged when together, will remain subjects for my grateful and happy recollection; but, in proportion to the happiness of those remembrances, must be the pain of the reflection, that such intercourse and such engagements will no longer form a portion of my joy. The welfare of the Church and your highest interests demand the sacrifice; and, therefore, I am bound not only to submit to it, but, as far as I have power, to forward it.

"If God shall permit the present appeal to reach the hearts of all the members of the Church, throughout the diocese, we cannot, we dare not, doubt that in a few months sufficient additions will be made to the endowment, to obtain the creation of the new see, and the appointment of some able and devoted servant of God to the important charge. In the full exercise of such comfortable hope, beloved brethren, I heartily bid you God speed in this holy undertaking, and am, with fervent prayers for your continual guidance and blessing from above,

"Your faithful and affectionate friend,

"JOHN NOVA SCOTIA."

"*Halifax, April* 25, 1842."

THE ISLINGTON CLERGY.

"——— ———and drove
To Islington from the far West,
To seek the Priest which pleased her best."
Church Builder.

Sir,—Every friend, not of the Church only, but of truth and common honesty, must feel deeply indebted to you for inserting the Report (attributed to the Rev. M. A. Gathercole) of the sayings and doings of the secret and tyrannical *Church* (?) Missionary Inquisition, which holds its monthly meetings in Salisbury-square. The moral courage displayed by the Rev. Mr. Gathercole is deserving of all praise, *and of all imitation.* My object, however, on the present occasion, is not to notice these proceedings in general, but one individual in particular, who *distinguished* himself on the last occasion by conduct which I cannot trust myself to particularize; I mean the Rev. D. Wilson, Vicar of Islington. Mr. Gathercole charged him, as a member of this secret committee, with disrespectful conduct towards the Lord Bishop of Madras. I should like to know what better conduct could be expected from a clergyman, who, in defiance of his own solemn vows at ordination, and indeed of all decency, *treats his own* diocesan, the Lord Bishop of London, with such marked insult and contempt, by refusing to obey his Lordship's directions, in the late Charge, with reference to rubrical conformity, in his church of St. Mary, Islington. Not only does he himself refuse to obey his Bishop, but *all* the Clergy of this extensive and (clerically) notorious parish, are treating his Lordship with the same disrespect. When I was last in the parish, which was recently, not a single Clergyman, out of some dozen, was conforming, in any one particular, to the Bishop's directions, in their mode of conducting Divine service. And these are the men who esteem themselves righteous, and despise others, and who set themselves up as the only persons capable of instructing the heathen in Christian faith and *morals!* How long will our Right Rev. Prelates allow their names to be associated with *such* a Society? Several of them have withdrawn their names as patrons from the Camden Society, from a *supposed* tendency to popish dissent. How long will they allow their names to give currency and consequence to *real* Protestant dissent? I say advisedly, "real Protestant dissent;" for if (as in Mr. Humphrey's case,) to condemn doctrines, which the Church does not condemn, and to set aside the authority of Bishops, do not constitute dissent, I really know not what does.

Your faithful servant,

A HATER OF HYPOCRISY.

—*Church Intelligencer.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"J. S." shall appear in our next.

Digitized by Google

INDEX TO VOL. V.

(NEW SERIES.)

ARTICLES AND SUBJECTS.

A.

Afghanistan. [*Parliamentary Papers, &c.*] 606—639. Ignorance in England respecting Affghanistan at the commencement of the war, 606, 607. Its vicissitudes, 607—610. Grounds in known facts for inquiry, 611. No pretence that we were injured by the Affghans. We had no concern with any quarrel between Ranjeet Singh and Dost Mahommed, 613. Omission of parts, and mutilation of particular sentences, in publication of Capt. Burnes' despatch, 616—618. Russian encroachments, 621. Transactions with Dost Mahommed, 630—634. Responsibility of all England for the crime that has been committed, 636, 637. Sir R. Peel's refusal of inquiry, 638.

America, the Ruined Cities of. [*Norman's Rambles in Yucatan.*] 490—501. Situation of Yucatan, 491, 492. Specimen of ancient Mexican secular architecture, 492—494. Uxmal, 494—496. Religious Buildings of the Americans, 496—500.

Anselm of Canterbury. [*Möhler's Life of Anselm, translated by Jones. Franck's Anselm von Canterbury.*] 362—377. Birth and youth of Anselm; his entrance into the monastery of Bec; Lanfranc, 362, 363. Care bestowed by Anselm when prior on the education of youth. Intercourse between William the conqueror and Anselm, 365. Question as to the martyrdom of St. Alphage, 366. William Rufus, 366. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; his differences with Rufus, 366—371. Henry I. engages Anselm on his side, 371. Theology of Anselm, 375—377.

Anthony-à-Wood, and Oxford. 430—437. 799—814. Boyhood of Anthony-à-Wood, 431—432; goes to Oxford, 432. His conduct to the visitors, 435. His rambles—Wolvercot, Dorchester, Bartlemas, Fairford, 800—805. Present tenure of Dorchester church, 802, 803. Anthony-à-Wood's dislike to women, 805. Assemblies in churches not for religious worship, 807, 808. Bishop's blessings, 809. Litany a separate service. Unfortunate results of the Uniformity Act, 810—813.

Arnold, Dr. [*Arnold's Lectures on Modern History. Arnold's Sermons on the Christian Life, &c.*] 542—559. Originality of Dr. Arnold's mind, 543. His tendency political, not philosophical; his preference of Aristotle to Plato, 544, 545. His views of the law of war, 550—552. His character of Lord Falkland, 553. His preaching directs us to a living person, more than to dogmas, 558.

B.

Becket, Archbishop, Unpublished Letters relating to, 559—576.

Bernard, St. and his contemporaries. [*Neander's Life and Times of St. Bernard, translated by Matilda Wrench.*] 501—524. Mother of St. Bernard, 503. Monastery of Citeaux, 504. Clairvaux, 504—507. Rival popes, 510. Council of Rheims, of Pisa, 512. Contest between Abelard and St. Bernard, 517. Second Crusade, 519—521. Death of Bernard, 523, 524.

Byzantium, Historians of. [*Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantianæ. Editio, &c. consilio Niebuhrii, &c.*] 721—732. Fall of the Vandal kingdom in Africa, a subject passed over by Gibbon. Victory of Belisarius over the Vandals, probably a calamity, 721. Imprisonment of Hilderic, and elevation of Gelimer to the throne, 722. Justinian espouses the side of Hilderic, 723. Landing of Belisarius in Africa, murder of Hilderic, 724. Victories of the Roman armies, 725—731. Captivity and retirement into private life of Gelimer, 732.

C.

Chemistry of Agriculture. [*Liebig's Organic Chemistry, in its Application to Agriculture, &c. Edited by Dr. L. Playfair.*] 745—758. Organic chemistry very recently known—prosecuted by none so successfully as Professor Liebig, 746. But four elementary bodies in organic substances, 747. Carbon of plants derived from the atmosphere and not from the *humus*, as formerly supposed—origin and action of *humus*, 750—752. Origin and assimilation of nitrogen, 752. Animal manure, 753. Inorganic constituents of plants, 754, 755.

China and its Inhabitants. [*The Chinese, &c. by John Francis Davis, Esq.*] 311—324. Early visitors of China, 313—316. English intercourse, 316—318. Roman-Catholic missions, 318—320. Favourable circumstances in China for the introduction of the Gospel, 320—322. Present religion of China, 322—323.

Church Architecture, styles of. [*The Ecclesiologist, Nos. XIV. XV.*] 81—92. Real question between Ecclesiologist and Christian Remembrancer—architecture of St. Peter's and St. Paul's not pagan, 81, 82. Difference with the Ecclesiologist as to principles of criticism, 83.

Digitized by Google

Necessity of Æsthetic in preference to mere Antiquarian judgments, 84. Question of vaulted roofs, 83—85. Of long chancels, 86—89. Origin and meaning of the Rubric, "the chancels shall remain," 86. Diversity of practice in the use of chancels, an argument for freedom as to their length and proportions, 88. Galleries cannot be harmonised with pointed Gothic, but may with southern Romanesque, 89, 90. The dome of Michael Angelo a christian feature—nationality in architecture, 90. Romanesque not exotic in any country of Christendom, 91.

Church in Russia. [*Mouravieff's History of the Church in Russia, translated by Blackmore.*] 71—81. Eminence and power of the Russian among the Oriental churches, 72. Conversion of Russia in the tenth century, 73, 74. Favourable characteristics of the Russian church, 75—79. Liturgy of the Eastern church, 80, 81.

Church Missionary Society. [*Dallas's Missionary Crisis. Humphrey's Letter to the Rev. the Presbyters and Deacons, &c.*] 52—70. Mr. Dallas's principles overthrow the missionary cause altogether, 53, 54. He admits that the Church Missionary Society has acted on party and sectarian principles, 55, 56. His conduct at Leeds, 57, 58. Interference of the Church Missionary Society with the Colonial Bishops—case of Mr. Humphreys—evasion in this case by its organs of the Society's professed subjection to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Bishops, 59—67. Suitable conduct in the present crisis; first, of such Churchmen as have not yet, and secondly, of such as have, become members of the Church Missionary Society, 67, 68. Messrs. Close, Campbell, and the Propagation Society, 68—70.

Church Unity. [*Manning's Unity of the Church. Möhler's Die Einheit in der Kirche.*] 1—15. Importance of this subject even to the worldly thinker—peculiar attention given to it at present—change in European thought, 1—3. Similarity and dissimilarity of Manning and Möhler as writers on the same subject—causes of the latter, 4—6. Inseparable connexion between the doctrines of Grace and the high view of the Church—consequent greater consistency of the Low Church party in Germany, which rejects both, than of the same in England, which seeks to retain the one, and disparage the other, 5, 6. Account of Archdeacon Manning's work—his division of his subject, &c. 9—13. Present state and wants of the English Church, 14, 15.

Down and Connor, Bp. of, Letter to Christian Remembrancer on Departure of Non-communicants, 779.

Drummond Schism. [*Correspondence between Bishop of Edinburgh and Mr. Drummond. Resolutions of Edinburgh Clergy. Mr. Drummond's Reply to ditto. Drummond's Reasons for withdrawing, &c.*] 295—311. Original ground of controversy—why are Mr. Drummond's prayer-meetings private? 296—299. Mr. Drummond's English ordination will not justify him in committing schism in Scotland, 300—302. Conduct of the Bishop of London in Edinburgh, 303. St. Cyprian on schism, 304, 305. Conduct of the vestry of St. John's chapel towards Mr. Bagot, 306—308. Mr. Drummond's position with regard to the English Church, 309, 310. Consequences of his conduct in Scotland, 311.

E.

England Unchristian and Antichristian. [*Children's Employment Commission. Sanitary Inquiries. Lord John Manners' Plea for National Holy Days.*] 675—704. State of England, ecclesiastical and civil, 675 — 679. Employment of children in the English coalfield; early age of the children, 680. Indecency practised in the pits, 680. Cruelty, 681. Oppression, 682. "Hurrying," 683. The "trapper," 684. Work performed by pregnant women, 686. Brutality of the butties: Halifax, 687. Oldham, 688. Disease and Death, 690. Forest of Dean, 691. Irreligion, 692. Ignorance, 693. Profligacy and promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, 694, 695. Earthenware manufactory, machine lace-making, calico-printing, 695—698. Frightful sins of the manufacturing system, 698, 699. Anticipated judgment, 699—702. Our present duties, 702. Failure of the Sunday-school system, 702—704.

Episcopal Question, the. [*Brown's exclusive claims of Puseyite Episcopalians, &c. The Presbyterian Review, No. LVIII.*] 341—361. Ignorance of even the ablest ministers of the Kirk; system of the Scottish Universities; absence of inducement to the study of theology, 341—343. Dr. Brown more learned than the generality of his brethren, yet not sufficiently so for the task he has undertaken, 343, 344. Irrelevance of his objections illustrated by two examples, 346, 347. Real question not resemblance to, but succession from the primitive Church, 348, 349. The New Testament for the most part descriptive of the gradual formation, not the finished result of the apostolical system; authority of St. Epiphanius, 350. Our opponents must produce an authenticated case of Scripture, or the early Church, of other than episcopal ordination; seeming cases of ordination by presbyters, how met, 351—353. Statements of St. Jerome and Eutychius regarding the Alexandrian Church may be partially true, and yet not help the cause of the Presbyterians, 354—358. Apostolical succession in Scotland, 359. Distinction between theological and canonical nullity, 360, 361.

Exeter, Bp. of, Letter on Weekly Offertory, 785.

F.

Fourier and the Phalansterians. [*De Gamond's Fourier and his System. Fourier's Théorie des Quatre Mouvemens, &c. Fourier's Nouveau Monde, &c. The London Phalanx Magazine. Doherty's Biography of Fourier. Larkin's Christian Sympathy.*] 15—39. Account of Fourier's life, 16—20. Doctrines of Fourierism, 20—38. Plan of a Phalanx, 26—34. Specimen of one near Dijon, 34—37. Real grounds of alarm on hearing of such things, 38, 39.

H.

Hymns for Public Worship. [*Chandler's Hymns of the Primitive Church. Church Hymns, &c. Selection of Psalms, &c. Scobell's Psalms and Hymns. Islington Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship.*] 39—52 Extensive taste for Hymns, 39. Loss of ancient hymns in the English Church at the Reformation; its causes, 40. Present use of metrical Psalms, 40—42. Loss of the Church in the old hymns, 42—44. English churchmen who have written hymns, Ken, Hickes,—Heber's collection,—Drummond, 42—47. Translators from the

Digitized by Google

breviary, Bp. Mant, Messrs. Newman, Williams, and Chandler, 47. Principle on which a collection of hymns ought to be, the same as that on which our collection of prayers has been, formed, 47. Old English collection of hymns richer than the Roman, 48. Objection to the use of hymns written by schismatics,—how to be treated, 50, 51.

I.

Irish Church, duties of. [*Life of Bishop Bedell. Republication by Monk Mason.*] 640—664. Proselytism a duty of the Irish church, 640—642. How best to be carried out, 642—657. Advantages in the national character of Ireland for doing so—its generosity, reverence, and believing tendency, 644—646. Comparison between a Romanist and a Presbyterian proselyte to the Church, 648. Advantages in Irish ecclesiastical antiquities, 649—655.

L.

Laws of Thought. [*Outline of the Laws of Thought.*] 403—412. Province of Logic, 404—406. Forms of thought, 404. Is the validity of the syllogism at all arrived at *a posteriori?* 406. Given premises of a syllogism—conclusion necessary, 407. Meaning of the word Logic—senses of λόγος, 408. Merits of this outline, 409—412.

Lays of Ancient Rome. [*Lays, &c. by T. B. Macaulay.*] 197—222. Powers of Mr. Macaulay as a prose writer,—his previous reputation as a poet, 197, 198. Origin of early Roman legends, 199—204. Unfortunate imitations of Sir W. Scott, in the lay of Horatius, 205. Battle of the Lake Regillus, 213—218. Lay of Virginia, 218—221. Prophecy of Capys, 221, 222.

London, Bishop of: Results of his late Charge. [*Pamphlets by Drs. Holloway and Cockburn, Mr. Yorke, of Shenfield, &c.*] 113—160 State of the diocese of London and its Clergy, 114—117. Delivery of the Bishop's Charge, 118. Its analogy to St. Paul's cathedral. Value of episcopal charges, 119. Inconsistency of the pretended deference to them instanced, 120—123. Immediate effects of the Charge, 124. Character of the Bishop's critics, 125. Dr. Holloway, Dean Cockburn, 125—128. Doctrine: Baptismal Regeneration, 128—132. Power of the Keys, &c. 133. Apostolic Succession, 135. The Church, 137. Church Authority and Interpretation of the Articles, 138. Indecent language addressed to the Bishop, 139, 140. Rubrical directions, 141. Mr. Carus Wilson, 142. Daily service, 143. Ritual intentions of the Reformers, 145. The present objections to ritual conformity urged by the Puritans, 146, 147. By Cartwright, at the Hampton Court Conference; by the rebels, 147—152. Suggestions on ritual uniformity, 152—156. Obedience and disobedience to the commands of the Bishop, 156—160. *Note to the above Article*, 705, 706. Reply from Alethe Zelotes; Laud and King Charles.

London, Bishop of, his late Charge and Ritual Conformity. [*Pamphlets by Bowdler, Ryder, Bp. of Exeter, Haverfield, Robertson. Quarterly Review and Modern Puritanism.*] 777—785. Extract from Modern Puritanism, 777, 778. Letter to Christian Remembrancer from Bishop of Down and Connor on departure of Non-Communicants, 779. Further results of Bishop of London's Charge, 780. Injunctions at confirmations and weekly offertory, 781. Crisis in the Church, 782. Character of the Quarterly Review, 782, 783. Its article on the Rubric, &c. 784. Our present duties, *ibid.* Bp. of Exeter's letter on Weekly Offertory, &c. 785.

M.

Manners, Lord John, Plea for National Holy Days, 675.

Merchants and Manufacturers, claims of the Church of Christ on. [*Third Report of the Ripon Society for Promoting the Increase of Church Accommodation, &c.*] 733—745. Societies, evils which their existence indicates, 733—735. Responsibility of those who bring together large numbers of their fellow-creatures, 736. Physical effects of some kinds of factory labour, 738. Increased value of a child's labour, owing to machinery, has rendered children too independent of their parents, 740. Something more than subscriptions to societies requisite to meet the existing demand on the consciences of many of the wealthy, 743.

Milner, Dean, and his School. [*Mrs. Milner's Life of Dean Milner. Beverley's Church of England examined.*] 377—403. Different Schools in the Church; our present ecclesiastical state, 377—382. Distinct theological schools of Christian antiquity, 383. The modern Evangelicals contrasted with the founders of their school, 384. Isaac Milner, 385. His character influenced by disease, 386. His reserve on religion, 387. His piety and reading, 388. His sense of his own inadequate views, 389. His theology meagre, 390. His objections to the National Society's system, 391. Correspondence with the Bishop of Carlisle, 391—393. Wilberforce, 394. His honesty; interview with a boxer, &c. 395, 396. Colonel Perronet Thompson, 397. Frend, 398. Milner's style of preaching, 399. His politics, 400. His literary merits, 401. Bishop Watson, *ibid.* Simeon, 402. Mrs. Milner's qualifications, 403.

Modern Puritanism, extract from, 777.

N.

Natural Philosophy, Lectures on. [*M'Gauley's Lectures on Natural Philosophy.*] 413—430. Scheme of the sciences, 414, 515 Science of musical sounds, 415—419. Photographic likenesses, 419—421. Process of Daguerre different from that of Mr. Fox Talbot, 420. Polarization, 421—426. Methods of Locomotion—railways, 427—429. Religious use of physical science, 429—430.

O.

Offertory, pamphlet on by Mr. Palin, 525. Letter on by Bishop of Exeter, 785. Pamphlet on by Mr. Bowdler, *ibid.*

R.

Reformation in Italy. [*Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola, &c.*] 593—606. Radical fault in Savonarola's character an insubmissive temper, 594, 595. Not a reformer in *doctrine*, 595, 596. Enters a monastery unknown to his father, 596. Becomes a popular preacher, 597. His invectives against the court of Rome, 599. Excitement among his followers, 601. His death, 602. Latitudinarian principles of his English biographer, 603—606.

Digitized by Google

Religious Development of Children. [*Pious Harriet, Little Ann, by the Author of "The Retrospect," "Bevan's Food for Babes," "Line upon Line," "The Missionary Catechism," &c.*] 665—675. Characteristics of Gnosticism observable in our own day; want of faith in the redemption of our whole nature particularly visible in our notions of the religious development of children, 665, 666. Anecdote of a Puritan family, way in which it would be generally received, 667. In the religious development of children we must be careful to see and keep in mind what childhood is; this would preclude the demand for conversion and experience in them, and the assigning to them spheres of action unsuited to their age and condition, 669—674.

Ritual Irregularity, moral effect of. [*Bishop of Tasmania's Lectures. Palin's Weekly Offertory.*] 525—542. Analogy between the Church of England and the Jewish Church respecting ritual irregularity: books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Malachi, 526, 527. Evasions of our obligations to regularity; dangers of such, evil of tampering with words, 528—530. Daily service, 531—533. The celebration of the sacraments, 533—537. Observance of holy days, 537, 538. Public catechising, 538. Almsgiving, 539.

S.

Sacred Poetry. [*Sir Aubrey de Vere's Song of Faith, &c. Aubrey de Vere's Waldenses, &c. Trench's Genovova. Faber's Styrian Lake, &c. Norris's Nature; a parable.*] 92—113. Difference of character between the elder and younger existing generations not to be found in Sir Aubrey de Vere and his son, 93, 94. Ineligible plan of the Song of Faith—merit of Sir Aubrey de Vere's Sonnets, 96, 97. Merit of Mr. de Vere in undertaking a considerable work, 98. Beauties and defects of "The Waldenses," 98—102. Merit of others of Mr. de Vere's poems, 102—108. Of Genoveva, and of the Styrian Lake, 108—111. False principles of Mr. Morris, yet he is possessed of poetical power, 111, 112.

Scottish Episcopal Church. [*Lawson's History of the Scottish Episcopal Church.*] 461—490. Restoration of Episcopacy in 1610 and 1661, 461, 462. Return of the four Bishops to Scotland, in 1662; their proceedings in 1662 and 1663. Poverty of the sees an argument for the disinterestedness of the Bishops, 464. Their conduct at the Revolution, 465—467. Disestablishment of the Church in Scotland, 468. A step by which she has been, in point of fact, a gainer, 469—471. Purging of parishes, 472—476. Toleration of the Church under Queen Anne, 477—479. The College and Diocesan Bishops, the Concordate, 480—483. Prosperity of the Church before the year 1745. Statute of the year 1746, 484. Act of the year 1748, and its effects, 485, 486. Repeal of the penal statutes, 488, 489.

Spanish America. [*Robertson's Letters on South America. Travels in Mexico. Norman's Travels in Yucatan. Stephen's second visit to America.*] 758—776. Revolt of Yucatan, 758—760. Character of Don Pedro Campbell, 761. State of the Provinces of the River Plate, 763, 764. Penitents of Corientes, 764—766. Christmas at Mexico, 766, 767. Consecration of the first Archbishop of Mexico, 768—770. Mexico in the holy week, 770—772. General Santa Anna, 773. Cave of Cacahuamilpa, 774—776.

T.

Tasmania, Bp. of, Lectures on Catechism, 525.

Tasso, Torquato, Life of, 786—799. Poetical talents of Bernardo Tasso; he attaches himself to Prince Ferrante Sanseverino, and accompanies him to the siege of Tunis, 788. His marriage with Porta de Rossi, and commencement of his great work of Amadis, 788. Birth of Torquato, 788. Insurrection at Naples, and separation of Bernardo from his family, 789. Care taken of Torquato's education, 789, 790. Second separation of Bernardo from his family, 791. Death of Portia, 793. Completion of Amadis, 795. Torquato betakes himself to poetry, by his father's consent; plans his epic on the conquest of Jerusalem, 797. Leaves Padua for Mantua, 799.

Temple Church, Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's. [*Addison's History of the Temple Church. Summerley's Glance at the Temple Church. Ecclesiologist, Nos. XVI. & XVII. Summerley's Hand-book for Architecture, &c. of Westminster Abbey. Jebb's Lectures on the Cathedral Service. The Times of October and December. Miller's Observations upon Cathedral Reform.*] 234—269. The importance of ritual observance in the Temple Church; recent irregularities there, 235—238. Lax practice of St. Paul's, 239. Fittings up of Westminster Abbey, 241, 242. Worshippers should be admitted to the nave, 242. Are the Clergy in cathedral churches bound to receive the Holy Communion every Sunday? 243—247. No dismissal of non-communicants contemplated by the Church, 250. How has the rubric and weekly communion been observed? Controversies between the Bp. of Llandaff and Correspondent of the Times, 251—264. Musical portion of cathedral services; Mr. Dyce's edition of Marbeck's Book of Common Prayer, 267—269.

W.

Warden of Berkingholt. [*The Warden of Berkingholt, by the Rev. F. E. Paget, M.A. &c.*] 222—233. True principles and practice of charity, in opposition to the errors of the present day, enforced in different forms by Messrs. Bosanquet, Baugh, and Paget; advantages of that adopted by the last, 223, 224. Mary Clinton's danger of extreme views in reference to the Catholic movement, 224, 225. Good-humoured character and impartiality of Mr. Paget's satire, 227—231. Dean of Brechin's testimony to the value of the Offertory, 233.

Wesleyan Methodism. [*Methodist Magazine. Wesleyan Tracts for the Times. Eclectic Review.*] 269—294. Tendencies of Wesleyanism, 270. Its fatal development; extracts from Wesley's Works—on the Church, 272. The Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Real Presence, 273. Jackson's letter to Pusey reviewed in the Christian Remembrancer; Methodist answer; our reply; Methodist rejoinder; statement of the arguments, 273—275. Antinomian character of Methodism proved by extracts from their publications, Life of Carvosso, Tracts, Obituaries, &c. 275—286. The Methodist Hymn-book, 286. The Methodists sketched by the Eclectic Review, 287—293. The "Firm Bank," 294.

Digitized by Google

NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

A.

A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford, 167.
A Letter on the Revival of Suffragan Bishops, by Dr. D'Oyley, 707.
Athanasion, 329.

B.

Bingham's Expedition to China, 161.
Bishop of St. David's Charge, 178.
Borrow's Bible in Spain, &c.; and, Is the Bible Society contrary to the Bible, and hostile to the Church? 324.
Burge's Temple Church, 443.

C.

Christmas Bells (The), 818.
Church Clavering, by the Rev. W. Gresley, 326.
Cottrell's Recollections of Siberia, 182.

D.

Dieffenbach's Travels in New Zealand, 712.
Drummond's Reasons for Withdrawing from the Scottish Church, 175.
Drummond Schism Exposed, 175.

E.

Elwood's Memoirs of Literary Ladies, 180.

F.

Foy's Tracts for the People, 445.

H.

Harrison's Views and Details of St. Giles's Church, Oxford, 167.
Hulbert's Theotokos, 332.

J.

Judge Not, 819.

L.

Lathbury's Memorials of Ernest the Pious, First Duke of Saxe Gotha, 817.

M.

Marshall's Art of Reading Church Music. 170.
Mormonism, by the Ven. W. B. Mant, 179.

N.

Napper's Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church, concerning Regeneration and Baptism, 815.

O.

Origin of Evil in the World, by a Layman, 181.

P.

Poems by the Rev. H. Clarke, 329.

S.

Scatchard's Chapel of King Henry III., 443.
Sermons by the Rev. R. Ward, of Skipton, 709.
Sermons preached at Consecration of Parish Church of Leeds, 169.
Specimens of Church Plate, Sepulchral Crosses, &c. 580.
Spencer's Observations on the School of Reform, 437.

T.

The Christian Altar, by Rev. James Scholefield, A.M. 2. Appendix to the Christian Altar. 3. Collison's Remarks thereon. 4. The Lord's Table the Christian Altar, by Rev. Charles Warren, 582.
The Christian Gentleman's Daily Walk, by Sir A. Edmonstone, 711.
Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy, second series, 165.

W.

Waverley Novels, Abbotsford Edition, 166, 576.

SHORTER NOTICES OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

JANUARY.—A Buchtiaree Adventurer—The Jewess—Steill's Pictorial Spelling Book—Beattie's Castles and Abbeys of England—Fraser's Allee Nemroo—Memoirs of the Queens of France—Ancient Hymns for Children—Mrs. J. A. Sargant's Christian's Sunday Companion—Outline of the Laws of Thought—A Father's Letters to his Son on Confirmation, by J. E. Tyler, B.D.—Specimens of Ancient Church Plate, Sepulchral Crosses, &c.—Neale's Herbert Tresham—Bickersteth's Family Prayers—Churchman's Calendar for 1843—Ellis's Key of Faith—Synchronistical Annals—Journal of Education—Masterman Ready, Vol. III.—Warden of Berkingholt—Sermons by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, &c. &c., 183—185.

FEBRUARY.—Knox's Day Dreams—Dakeyne's Baptismal Regeneration—Johnson's Shadows of the Future—Hymns on the Church Catechism—Church Poetry—Life and Times of Savonarola—Spalding Club Miscellany—Bertha's Journal—Grant's Nesterians—Clulow's Aphorisms and Reflections—Bp. Nicholson on the Catechism—Lays from the Parsonage—Hall's Doctrine of Purgatory—Faber's Provincial Letters—The Foreign and Colonial Review—Monsell's Address—Kennaway's Churchman's Manual—Evans's Appeal—An Appeal to English Churchmen—Blackley's Expository Lectures—Seymour's Use of the Offertory—Maurice's Christmas Day—Sermons by Rev. Messrs. Ramsay, Norris, Dodd, Beaufort, Molyneux, Candlish, &c., 333—340

Digitized by Google

MARCH.—Fables and Classical Sketches—Milton's Poetical Works—National School Expositor—True Stories from the History of the Church—Voice from the Holy Land—Principles of Church Arrangement — Hussey's New Edition of the Bible—Garden's Nature and Benefits of Holy Baptism—Modern Miracles—The Lent Fast—The English Churchman Newspaper—Memoir of Pollok—Owen's Lectures on Popery—Reeds shaken by the Wind—Portion of Jezreel—St. Christopher—Dodsworth's Priest's Companion — Haverfield's Letter—Sermons by Manning, Newman, Wordsworth, and Hatherell, 446—448.

APRIL.—Letter to the Bp. of London—Announcement in the Prussian State Gazette—Mr. Kidd's Christian Unity—Thoughts amid Shadows—Real and Rational Church Reform—Dr. Hook's Lent Lectures—Letters on Infant Tuition—Plea for National Holidays—Letter to Lord J. Manners—Appeal on behalf of the S. P. G.—Bilson's Government of the Church; new vol. of Library of the Fathers; and three of Anglo-Catholic Library — Mr. Dyce's Order for Daily Service, Litany, and Communion, with Plain Tune—Wilberforce's Life—Sense of the Book of Common Prayer—British Church, &c.—Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love—Present for Young Churchmen; and the Little Wren—Norrisian Prize Essay—Bost's Felix Neff—Page on National Education — Voice of the Anglican Church — Judah's Lion — Life of Bedell — Health of Towns—Dr. Mill's Prelectio—Stories on the Lord's Prayer, &c.—Sermons by Rev. Messrs. Watson, Hemn, and Vaughan—Theological Catalogues of Darling, Queen-street, and Deighton, Cambridge, 584—588.

MAY.—Burns' Selection of Fables, and Monro's Stories of Cottagers—Short Reasons for Belief in the Divinity of Christ, by a Lady—Dusautoy's Tract on the Jews—Kettlewell's Penitent's Companion and Daily Devotions—The Unbaptized Sceptic—Report of the Chester Diocesan Board—Moral Effects of Ritual Irregularity, reprinted from the Christian Remembrancer—Weekly Communion—Report of the Lichfield Architectural Society—Redhead's Psalter with the Gregorian Tones—Beamish's Letters to Dr. Pusey—Hydropathy—Life of Isaac Milles—Scobell's Thoughts on Church Subjects—Marshall's Exercises on Reading Church Music—The Church Catechism Illustrated—Sermons by the Master of the Temple, Gresley, Hughes, and Eden, 713—715.

JUNE.—Bosanquet's Principle—The Perils of the Nation—Companion for the Sick Room—History of a Pocket Prayer-Book—Life and Remains of Lucretia Davidson—Blunt's Introduction to Lectures on the Fathers—The Smuggler Warned—Remarks on Faber's Doctrine of Regeneration—Guide to Daily Worship—Collection of Psalms and Hymns—Williams' Ecclesiastical Antiquities—The Christian Vine—Sir Robert Peel and his 'Era'—White's Elements of Universal History—Mrs. Ellis's Wives of England—Mrs. Lawrence's History of Woman in England—History of the House of Commons—Lord J. Russell's Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford—The Village Church—The Parent's high Commission—Barr's Anglican Church Architecture—Aunt Ellinor's Lectures on Architecture—Bp. of Down and Connor on Church Architecture—Hulsean Prize Essay—Woodham's Apology of Tertullian—The Enthusiast—Pamphlets by Messrs. Paisley and R. Montgomery—Table of Movable and Immovable Feasts, &c.—Sermons by the Rev. Johnson Grant—Sermons by the Rev. R. C. Trench—Single Sermons by Bps. Doane and Ives, Dr. Mill, and Rev. Messrs. Anderson, Paine, and Dowding, 820—824.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Archdn. Manning and Mr. Gresley on the Offertory, 824.
Architecture, 448—452.
Dissenters' Marriages, 453, 454.
Tithes, the Offertory, &c., new series, 185.
Pastoral letter of the Bishop of New Jersey, 186, 189.

ECCLESIASTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Ordinations—Preferments—Deaths of Clergy—University News — Proceedings of Church Societies — Miscellaneous Diocesan Intelligence—Ireland—Scotland—Foreign, Pp. 190, 337, 454, 589, 716, 833.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google